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EXCAVATIONS IN ITHACA, V

THE GEOMETRIC AND LATER FINDS FROM AETOS

Introductory Note

The circumstances of the discovery of the vases and objects described below by Mr. Robertson were, briefly, as follows:—

1931. In trial pits dug in 1931 (Figs. 2, 4, 6) the foundations of a rough wall (6)[1] resting on virgin soil were found, to the north of which sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric sherds associated with stones and calcined earth appeared. South of this wall appeared two layers of dark earth, of which the lower (8*a*) rested on virgin soil and was about 0·5 m. thick. The upper (8*b*) was only a few cm. thick, and was separated from the lower by a kind of stone platform, above which was a layer of more or less sterile earth (Fig. 6).[2] Both the upper and the lower dark-earth layers were thickly packed with sherds, all post-Protogeometric.[3] The lower layer continued below a wall (7) the foundations of which rested in it, and below a second wall (11) the foundations of which were sunk in the upper dark-earth layer. The upper dark-earth layer also appeared on the other side of wall (7), and continued beyond wall (11) but between walls (7) and (11) there was no stone platform, only earth and loose stones separating the two layers.

The walls (6), (7) and (11) were roughly parallel.

Near the chapel of St. George part of the foundations of a rectangular building was cleared (9).[4]

1932. The area to the North of wall (6) was cleared, as shown in *BSA* xxxiii, 26, fig. 3.[5]

At the same time the trial pit on the south side of wall (6) was extended westwards in order to determine the nature and relationship of the two dark-earth layers. At the end of the campaign the whole of the space shown between walls (7) and (11) and that between walls (6) and (7) as far as section line X–Y (Figs. 2, 5) had been cleared.

Upper Layer.

The sherds in the upper of the two layers were now found to be connected with a dump of vases and small objects of which the nucleus lay just west of X–Y. This nucleus was *c.* 0·5 m. thick, and rested directly on the stone plat-

---

[1] For numbers in brackets refer to Figs. 1–4. For full plan of excavated area see *BSA* xxxiii, 26, fig. 3.

[2] Fig. 3 shows the section farther west.

[3] A few Protogeometric sherds, however, of the same class as those found in the Cairn area occurred on virgin soil. Two resembled *BSA* xxxiii, pl. 4, nos. 47–49.

[4] Cf. *BSA* xxxiii, 26, fig. 3.

[5] Described in *BSA* xxxiii, pp. 22–35.

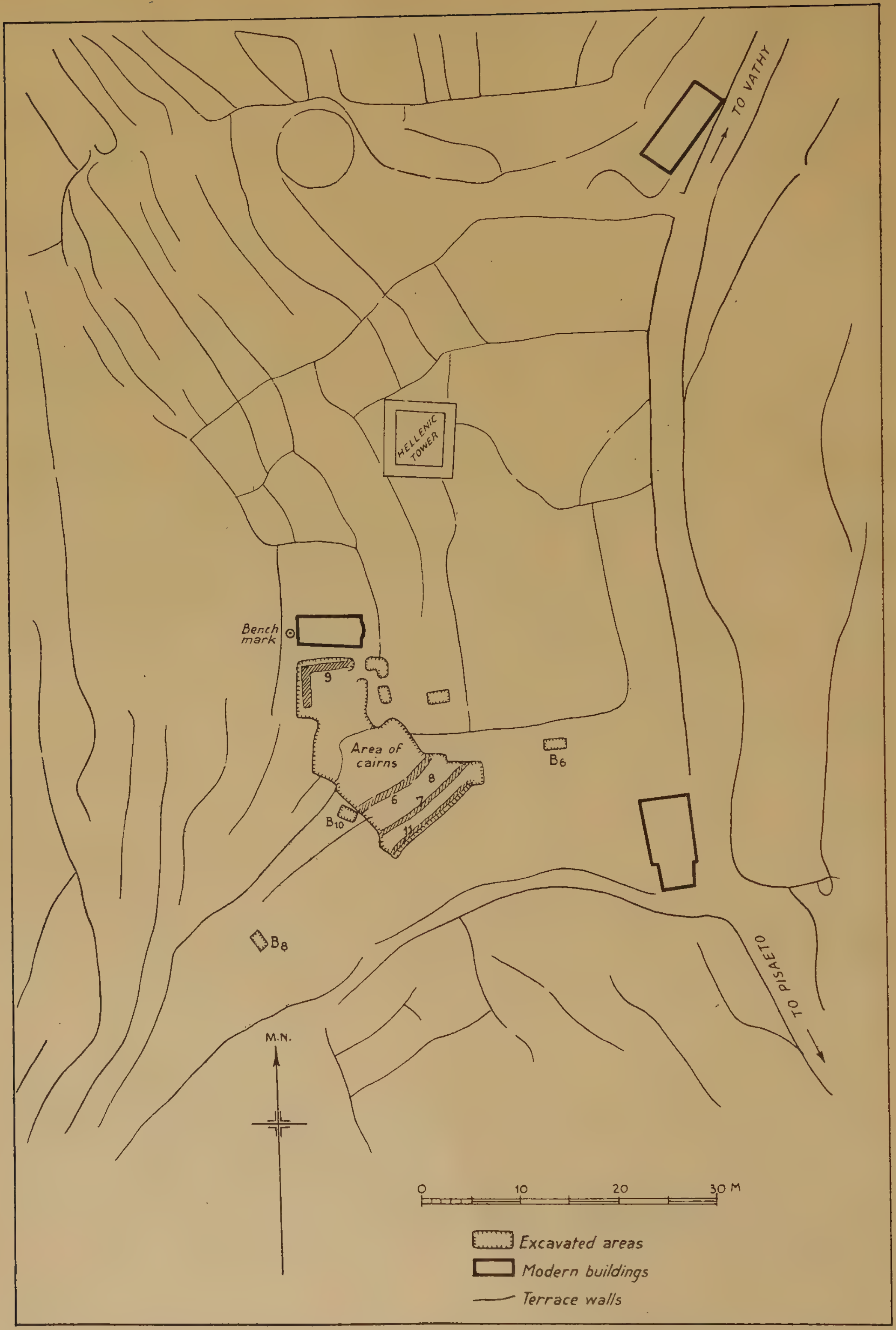
TO VATHY
HELLENIC TOWER
Bench mark
9
Area of cairns
8
6
7
11
B10
B6
B8
TO PISAETO
M.N.
0
10
20
30 M
Excavated areas
Modern buildings
Terrace walls

Fig. 1.—Sketch-Plan of main excavated Area and immediate Surroundings.

form already mentioned. This stone platform ran the whole length of the space between walls (6) and (7), at least as far as (5),[1] but east of X–Y the upper dark-earth layer did not rest immediately on it, about half a metre of comparatively sterile earth, as has been observed in the trial pit, intervening. This appeared to be the case on the other side (west) of the dump also, as far as could be ascertained in the limited area excavated in this direction.

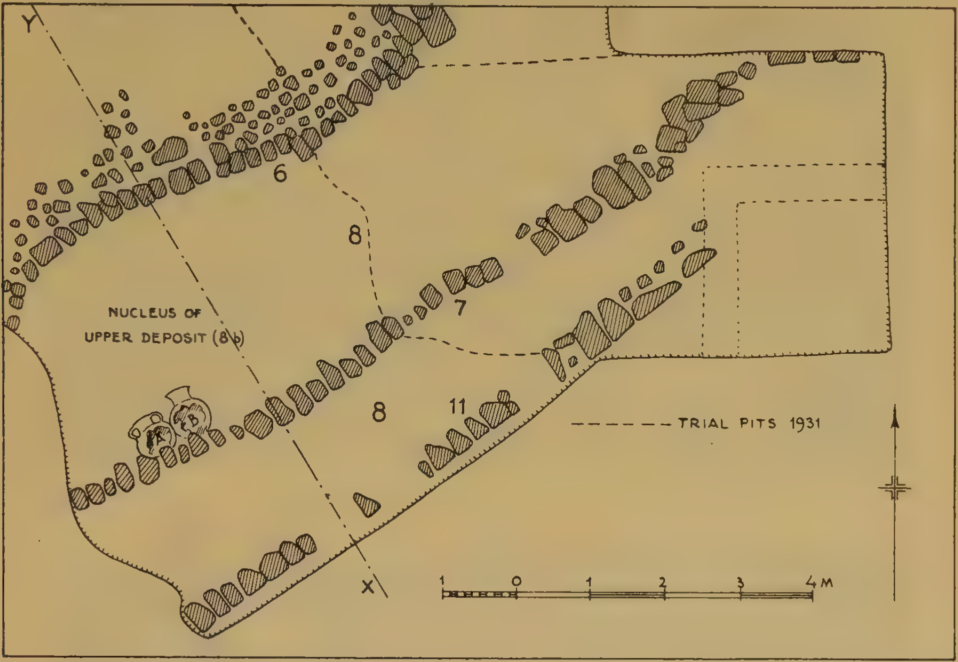
Y
6
8
NUCLEUS OF
UPPER DEPOSIT (8b)
7
A
B
8
11
TRIAL PITS 1931
X
1 0 1 2 3 4 M

FIG. 2.—SKETCH-PLAN, SHOWING AREA OF FINDS. X–Y = LINE OF SECTION (FIG. 3).

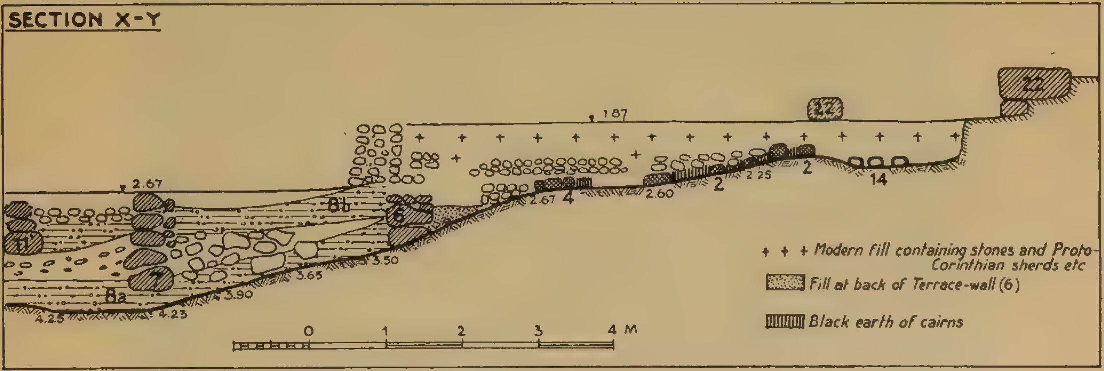
SECTION X-Y
1.87
22
22
2.67
8b
6
11
7
8a
4.25
4.23
3.90
3.65
3.50
2.67
4
2.60
2
2.25
2
14
+ + + Modern fill containing stones and Proto-Corinthian sherds etc
Fill at back of Terrace-wall (6)
Black earth of cairns
0 1 2 3 4 M

FIG. 3.—SECTION ALONG LINE X–Y.

---

[1] Cf. *BSA* xxxiii, 26, fig. 3.

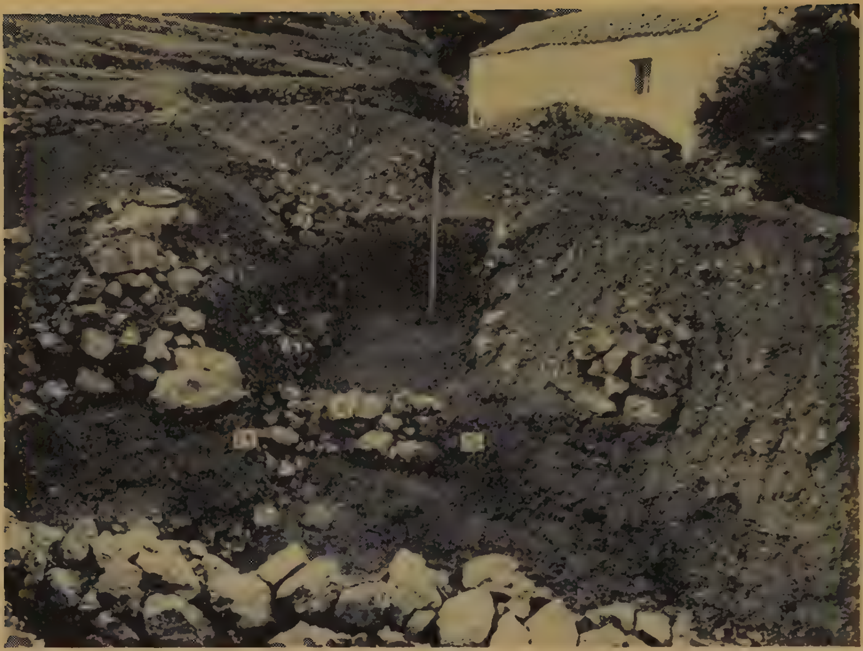

Fig. 4.—Trial Pits (1931) from Wall (7).

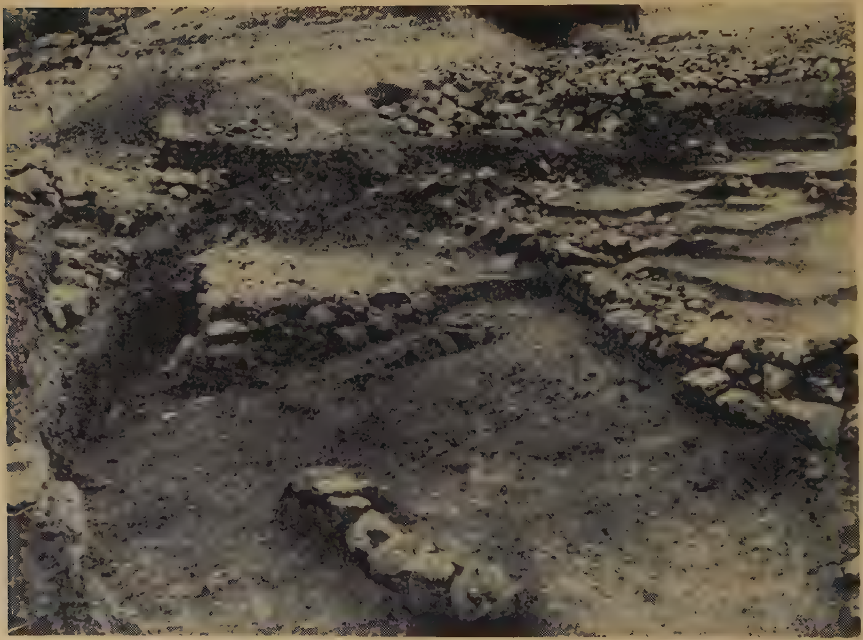

Fig. 5.—View of excavated Area at End of 1932 Campaign, showing undug Part of stone Platform, west of X–Y (Fig. 2).

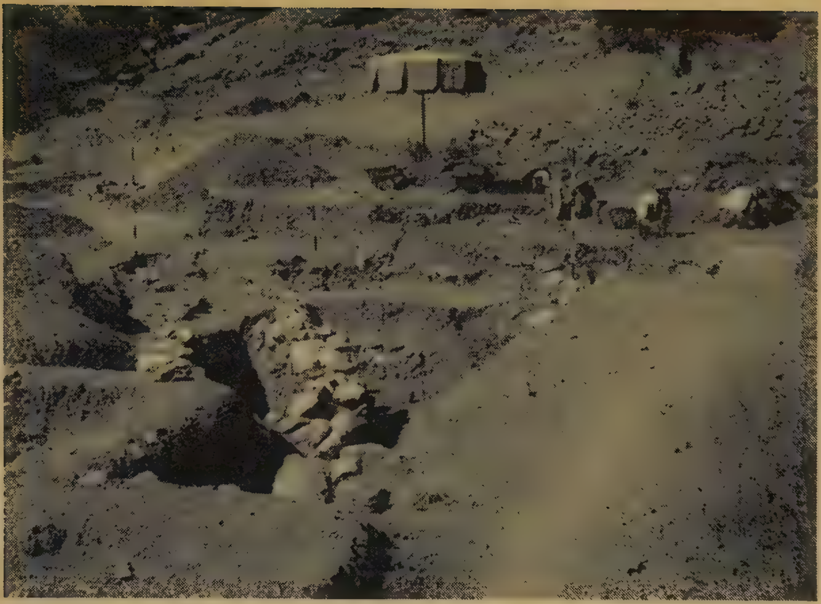

Fig. 6.—View of Excavation from East soon after Beginning of 1932 Campaign, showing Part of Trial Pit (1931), Wall (7), Pithoi (A) and (B) and Top of the Nucleus of the Upper Deposit; Stone Platform in Side of Trial Pit (1931), and Top of Wall (11) to left. Workmen are excavating the Cairn Area.

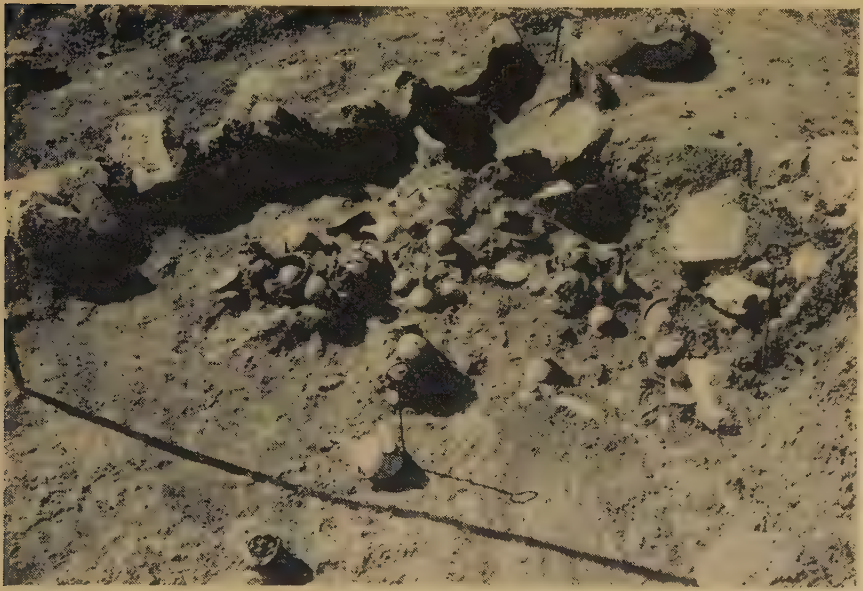

Fig. 7.—Pithos (B) from North and Top of Nucleus of Upper Deposit. Behind are Wall (7) and Pithos (A).

The dump lay, it seems, in a kind of depression formed by converging slopes of earth, probably rain-washed.

The dump itself was associated with two pithoi (*A*) and (*B*) lying on their sides with their necks downwards and away from wall (7), their bodies pressed against it (Fig. 2). The broken ends of their walls had been visible protruding above ground level before excavation began. Around and below the pithoi, closely packed against them or against one another, were some three hundred vases, many of them complete (Figs. 7, 8). The vases lay at all angles, in confusion, small objects being interspersed among them.

Little more than the neck and half the body of Pithos *B* were preserved, and the skyphos found within its circumference could not be said to be part of its contents. The South Pithos (*A*) was less damaged, and may have contained originally some at any rate of the objects found in the earth which filled it. These objects were an iron spear-head, four flints, a triangular eye-bead, part of a skyphos and of a painted tile. There were also some animals' teeth.

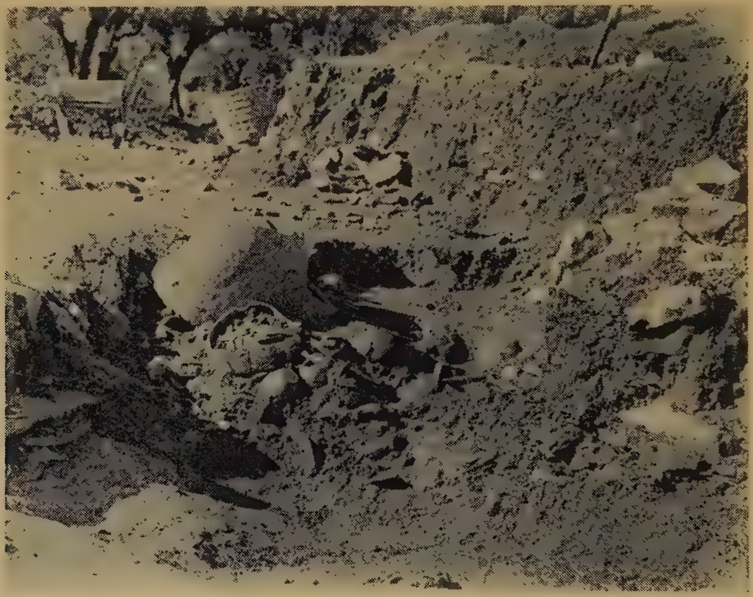

Fig. 8.—Pithos (A) from North after Removal of Pithos (B).

Between walls (7) and (11) the upper layer produced only sherds (no complete vases) and a few small objects.

Lower Layer.

Unlike the upper dark-earth layer, the lower proved to be of uniform depth. It was traced throughout the area excavated. Between walls (6) and (7) it was sealed by the stone platform, but not between walls (7) and (11), where, as has been noted, the two layers were separated only by earth and loose stones. The lower layer contained almost exclusively sherds and a fair number of small bronzes, etc. Some disturbance of it was noticeable between walls (7) and (11) at the line of X–Y, where fragments of vases (including the vase in the form of a bird),[1] the remaining parts of which had been found in the upper layer, lay with three complete aryballoi and the inscribed stem[2] at the foot of wall (7). This disturbance may have occurred when wall (7) was built. Between walls (6) and (7) the lower layer appeared to be undisturbed.

1934. No excavation took place in 1933, but in 1934 I cleared the small section of the stone platform and of the dark-earth layer remaining between walls (6) and (7) west of X–Y (Fig. 5).

Wedged among the upper stones of the platform was a skyphos. Otherwise there was nothing among the stones except sherds and a few small bronze objects.

The relation of the lower layer to the stone platform previously observed was confirmed, and the contents of the layer found to be similar to those in the part already excavated—*i.e.*, no complete vases, but thickly packed sherds and a fair number of small objects. On virgin soil a few sherds of the kind proper to the Cairn area were found.

The impression created by the remains is that wall (6) represents the original limit of the temenos. After an interval, during which the spot was neglected, its sanctity was again recognised (perhaps at this time the shrine was built), and votive offerings were deposited. The contents of the lower dark-earth layer represent one of the periodical clearances of votive offerings, etc., associated with this phase. In course of time the temenos was enlarged by building wall (7) two metres distant from wall (6) and levelling the intervening space by means of a rough stone platform. On this platform rain-washed earth accumulated in such a way as to form a depression, which proved a suitable place for tipping votive offerings when the time for another clearance came. The vases rolled down the slopes to the bottom of the depression, but sherds and small objects remained on the sides, and overflowed to the other side of wall (7). Later the temenos was again enlarged by building wall (11) one metre to the South.

W. A. Heurtley.

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[1] Below, p. 91, no. 556.

[2] Below, p. 88, no. 536.

Note.

A further excavation on the site was subsequently conducted by Miss Sylvia Benton (cf. *JHS* 1938, 225). Among much entirely new material of great interest, many fragments have been identified by the excavator as belonging to vases found in the earlier excavations. Miss Benton's publication, therefore, is likely to modify mine in some particulars; possibly also in some of the more general conclusions, particularly in suggesting an earlier date in the Geometric period for the first renewed contacts of Ithaca with mainland Greece. M. R.

THE FINDS

(PLATES 1–50)

I. THE POTTERY

THE circumstances in which this pottery, and the objects associated with it, were found are explained by Mr. Heurtley in the preceding pages.[1]

Study of the pottery has shown that the deposits between walls 6 and 7, where they were separated by a platform, were of distinct character, but beyond wall 7 were much confused. In the following pages, therefore, vases marked LD and UD, or described as coming from the lower or upper deposit, are ones which were found in those deposits between walls 6 and 7. Within these deposits there was no satisfactory stratification, fragments of the same vase often being found near the top and bottom. The deposits were evidently throw-outs of temple votives; we do not know how long such things were normally kept before being thrown away, but some variation in practice must be supposed to account for the presence in the upper deposit of an early Corinthian Geometric krater.[2] The earliest material in the upper deposit is very nearly contemporary with the latest in the lower, so that the two are clearly, as one would expect, continuous in time.

The pottery falls into three classes: imports from Corinth, imports from other identifiable centres, and a hitherto unknown ware or wares. The first and the last form an enormous preponderance of the material, and a great deal of the last shows very strong Corinthian influence. I therefore begin with a catalogue of the vases imported from Corinth and a discussion of some aspects of that fabric on which our finds throw new light. Then comes a catalogue of the vases of the new class, followed by a catalogue of the vases attributable to known fabrics other than that of Corinth, and of a few which are not identifiable, and which seem not to fit into the new class; then a discussion in which I try to justify my belief that the new class is chiefly the work of one centre, and that probably Ithaca; then a catalogue of the objects other than pottery and a discussion of them; and finally an attempt to estimate the significance of the finds as a whole.

---

[1] See also Heurtley and Lorimer in *BSA* xxxiii, 22 ff. and xxxiv, unnumbered page inserted at beginning of text.

I owe thanks to Mr. Heurtley for inviting me to study this material, and for information about the excavation which was invaluable to me, as I was not myself present. I also have to thank him for a few of the photographs reproduced here.

The preponderance of imports from Corinth and the domination of the local style by Corinthian influence mean that I am primarily indebted to the works of Johansen and Payne. I also learnt much more than I can acknowledge from personal contact with Payne. He did not see the majority of the Ithacan material, but I showed him the photographs and drawings of my first year's work on it, and profited by his comments and suggestions. Where I remember that I owe a particular idea to him I say so, but that bears little relation to my debt, which extends far beyond the material for this particular study. I was also present with him on the first year of his excavations at Perachora, and had his permission to examine the finds of that and the later years, which was very useful to me. To Miss Benton, who was in charge of the excavation of the cave at Polis in the North of Ithaca, I owe thanks for showing me the material of that excavation and for help with photography and section drawing, besides many valuable discussions. I have also shown some of my photographs to Prof. Wace, Prof. Beazley, Prof. Jacobsthal, Dr. Kunze and others, and have learnt from all. Where I am indebted elsewhere to published works or private suggestions, I have, I hope, acknowledged it in the text.

I have to thank the Council of Trinity College, Cambridge, for a most generous grant from the Rouse Ball Research Fund, without which it would have been impossible to illustrate this article adequately.

[2] See below, p. 23, no. 55.

The catalogues are arranged under shapes. I believe Payne to have proved [1] that Protocorinthian was made at Corinth, not, as Johansen thought, at Sicyon. I have therefore catalogued under the heading of Corinthian vases of all periods from Early Geometric to the sixth century. When I speak of the late seventh- and sixth-century pottery to which the name Corinthian is traditionally limited, I use the conventional terms Early, Middle and Late Corinthian (see *NC*).

Some of these objects have been summarily published in the *Illustrated London News* for 20 February 1932 and 14 January 1933, and some in *JHS* 1932, 245 ff. and 1933, 282 f. The drawing of the Kalikleas inscription [2] comes from the last. It was made by Payne.

Catalogue I

Corinthian

Cups

(sections Fig. 1)

1. LD. Diam. 0·24.[3] Pl. 1.
2. LD. H. 0·10. Pl. 1; Fig. 1.
3. LD. H. 0·10. Pl. 1; Fig. 1.
4. H. 0·18. Pl. 1; Fig. 2.
5. Diam. 0·16. As 3.
6. Diam. 0·21. As last.
7. H. 0·08. Pl. 1.
8. Diam. 0·19. No. panel.
9. H. 0·11. Pl. 2; Fig. 1.
10. LD. H. 0·10. Pl. 2; Fig. 1.
11. Diam. 0·17. As last.
12. Fr., l. 0·06. As *VS* pl. XIX, 2, but with fine lines on rim and below handles. Fig. 1.
13. Fr., h. 0·03. As *VS* pl. XIX, 2. Fig. 1.
14. H. 0·11. Pl. 1.
15. H. 0·10. Pl. 2.
16. H. 0·08. Plain black. Fig. 1.

There are fragments of many others. See sections, Fig. 1, *a–k*.

Kotylai

(sections Fig. 2)

17. LD. H. 0·10. Pl. 1; Fig. 2.
18. LD. H. 0·10. As last.

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[1] *NC* ch. IV and elsewhere.

[2] Below, pl. 39, no. 534.

[3] All dimensions are given in metres.

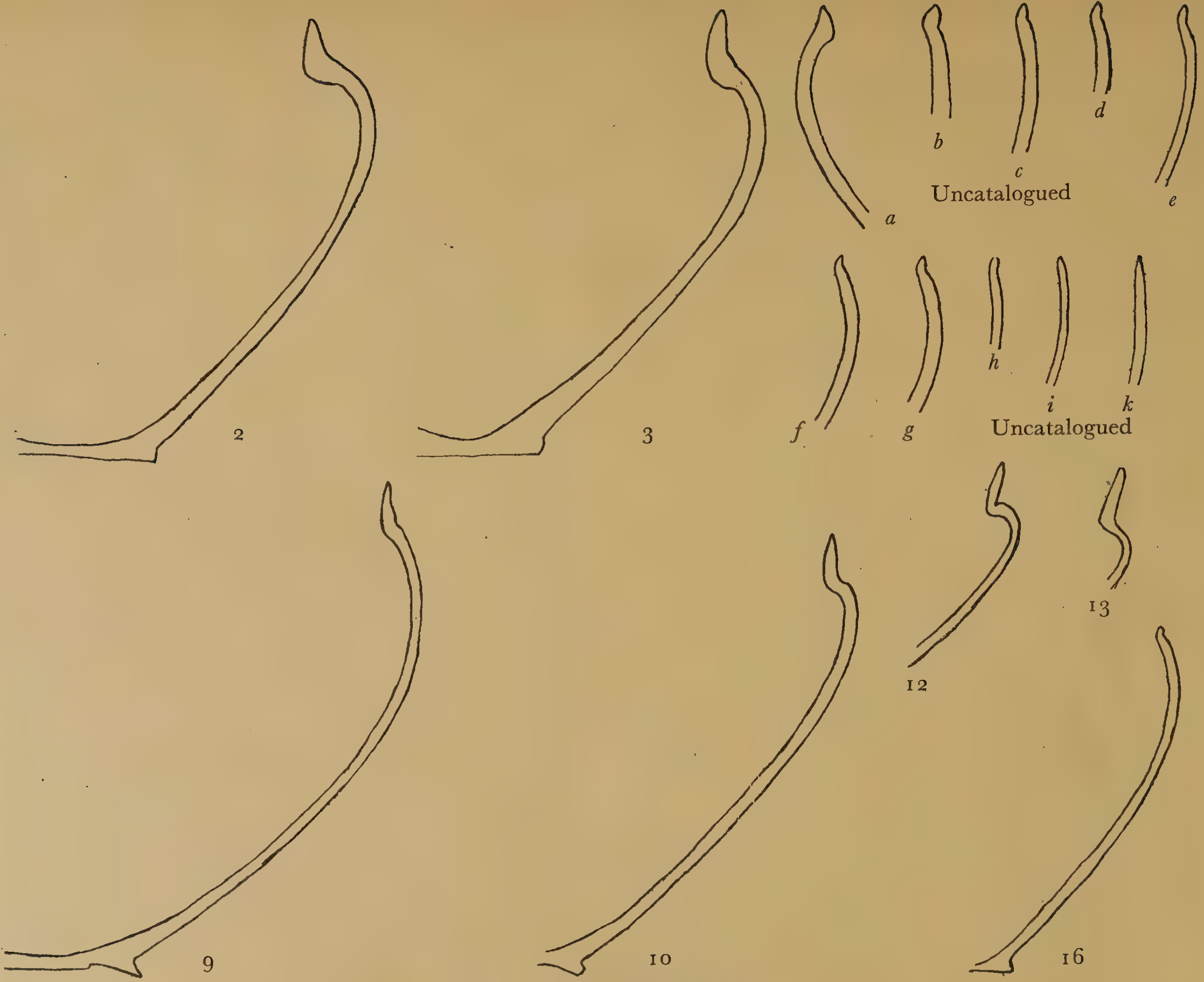
a
b
c
d
e
Uncatalogued
f
g
h
i
k
Uncatalogued
2
3
12
13
9
10
16

Fig. 1.—Corinthian Cups.
Scale 2 : 3.

19. LD. H. 0·11. As next.
20. H. 0·11. Pl. 2; Fig. 2.
21. LD. H. 0·16. As next.
22. LD. H. 0·10. Pl. 2.
23. LD. Fr., h. 0·09. Pl. 2.[1]
24. Various fragments of bird kotylai. Pl. 3 (*a–i*) and Fig. 3 (*k–n*).
25. H. 0·11. As next. Fig. 2.
26. H. 0·11. Pl. 2.
27. H. 0·12. Pl. 2; Fig. 2. Fragments of many others.
28. UD. Frr., longest 0·10. Fig. 4.
29. Frr., longer 0·05. Fig. 5.
30. Fr., h. 0·08. Fig. 6.
31. Frr., longest 0·08. Pl. 14; Fig. 7.
32. Frr., longest 0·07. Pl. 14; Fig. 8.
33. Fr., l. 0·09. Pl. 14.
34. Frr., longest 0·04. Transitional; cf. *NC* pl. 12. 8–10. Pl. 14.
35. Frr. of several Subgeometric kotylai with animals. Late Protocorinthian to Early Corinthian. Cf. *NC* Cat. 192 ff.
36. Fr., h. 0·03. Base of kotyle, with row of upside down birds instead of rays. Cf. examples from Perachora, and a kotyle in Bonn of peculiar style, with a frieze of swans, and among the rays at the base rosettes and upside down birds.
37. Fr., h. 0·06. Frieze of seated birds; very crude style. Late Protocorinthian to Early Corinthian.
38. Fr., l. 0·03. Lines at rim; head of lion to r.; incised rosette. Early Corinthian. Fragments of others.
39. Frr., h. 0·04. Pl. 14; Fig. 9.
40. Frr., longest 0·03. Pl. 14.

I use the words ‘ cup ’ and ‘ kotyle ’ in the senses established by Payne.[2] Both are drinking-vessels with two horizontal handles. Payne includes as cups vases with vertical handles, which I call ‘ mugs ’—see below, under ‘ mugs ’ and ‘ kyathoi ’—but the cup has ‘ some modulation of contour near the rim ’, while the kotyle has not. The cup has two forms, shallow and deep, but ours are all of the deep type from which the kotyle develops. Our 14–16 show the transition from cup to kotyle, while 9–13 are refinements of the cup as it developed alongside the kotyle. 10 and 11 are contemporary with the kotyle 20—decoration and technique are identical—while 12 and 13 are of the regular seventh-century miniature type. 9 points the way to another form [3] which is rarer and dies earlier.

The invention of the kotyle takes place well in the Geometric period. A great number of fragments of cups were found, none in the upper deposit except in a stage of refinement approaching that of 12. This deposit likewise contained no kotylai of the earliest form (17–23), though the excavation produced a great many.[4] The sections (Fig. 2) give a fair show of the intermediate degrees.

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[1] What looks in the photograph like a ‘ bridge ’ to the handle is a shoulder.

[2] *Perachora* i, 55 ff.

[3] Johansen, *VS* pl. XIX, 1.

[4] See below, pp. 54 f.

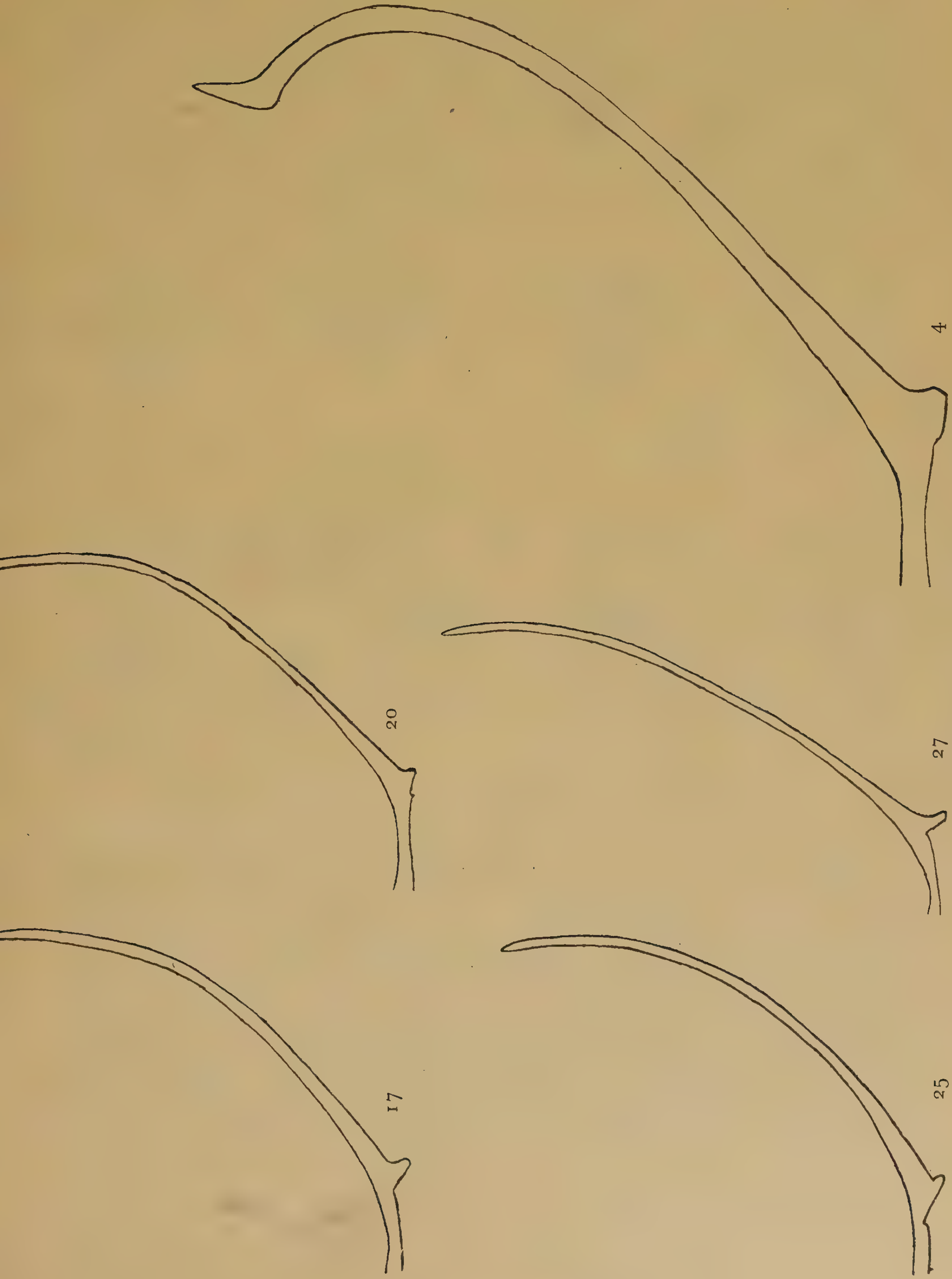
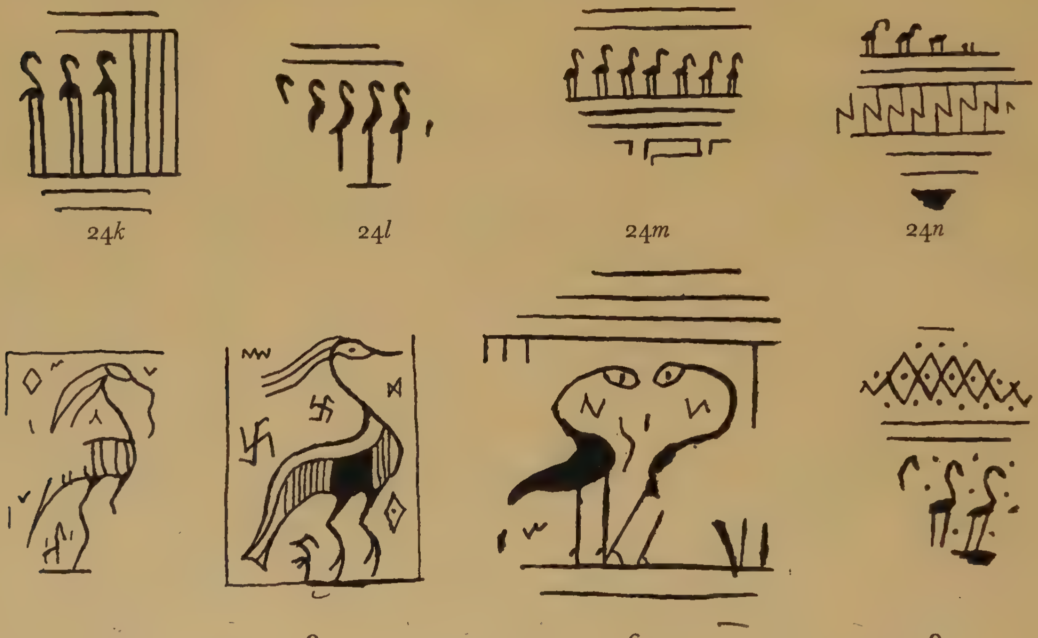


Fig. 2.—Corinthian Cup and Kotylai. Scale 2 : 3.

The decoration of our pieces is regular. That of 9–11 and 17–20 makes a link, like their shapes, between vases like 2 and vases like 25–6. Some of the bird-fragments are interesting. The parades of two-legged birds are close to those on the earliest tall pyxides (see below), and show that the soldiers of *VS* pl. XI, 2 come of the same stock as the chorus-girls of *VS* pl. XVII, 1. Our Subgeometric pieces are perfectly regular; I illustrate 27, but there are quantities of fragments showing all the regular types of rim-patterns.



24*k* 24*l* 24*m* 24*n*

51 80 67 81

FIG. 3—BIRDS FROM CORINTHIAN KOTYLAI, KYATHOS AND PYXIDES.

28 is typical of the helplessness of the late eighth and early seventh century.[1] The lotus is of unusual type; cf., however, that on the shoulder of a slightly later aryballos in the British Museum.[2] Small kotylai with other than linear decoration have hitherto been rare in Protocorinthian. We have, however, four early black-figure examples, 29–32, all discussed further below (pp. 58 f.). The lion-hunt (29) is, as Johansen has pointed out,[3] a common subject in Protocorinthian; our piece is one of the earliest examples. It is close in style to an aryballos in Athens,[4] standing between that and 30. The subject of 31 is peculiar. The creature in front is a chimaera—the front is missing and the goat's head is summarily treated. Next comes a man riding a lion; the

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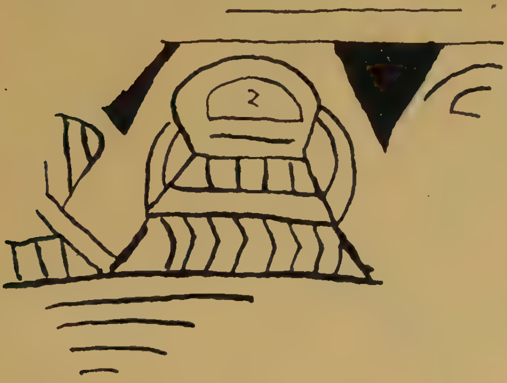
[1] Cf. *Perachora* i, pl. 26. 15 (14 in the text p. 95).

[2] *VS* pl. XXIX, 2.

[3] *VS* 149 f.

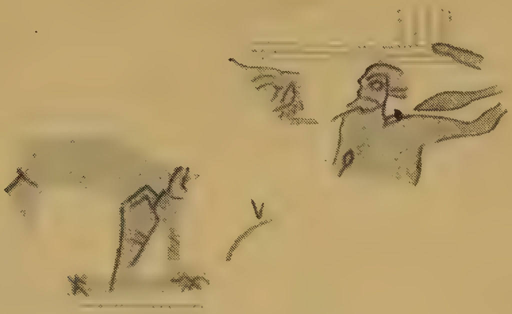
[4] *VS* pl. XX, 3; *PV* pl. 9. 1–2.

details are obscure, but his leg appears below, and he is certainly riding it, not growing out of its back. There were evidently several myths of the Bellerophon type, cf. the aryballos in Boston,[1] and Bellerophon was not the only person associated with the chimaera; there was the sinister Amisodaros



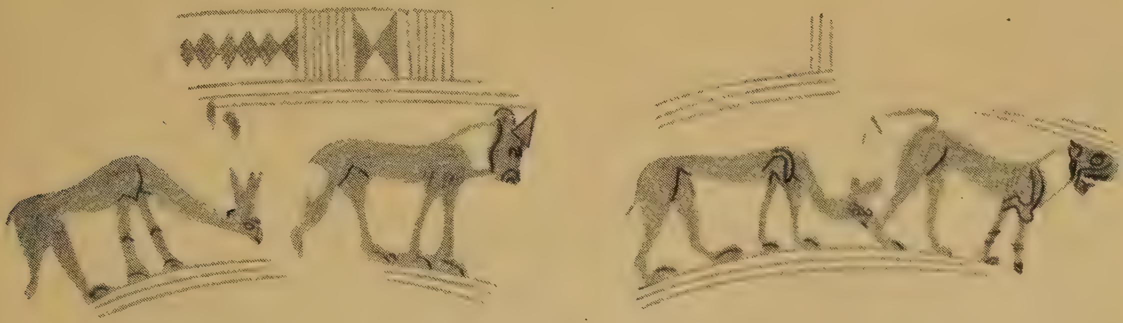
28

FIG. 4.—DESIGN FROM CORINTHIAN KOTYLE.



29

FIG. 5.—DESIGN FROM CORINTHIAN KOTYLE.



30

FIG. 6.—DESIGN FROM CORINTHIAN KOTYLE.

ὅς ῥα χίμαιραν
θρέψεν ἀμαιμακέτην πολέσιν κακὸν ἀνθρώποισιν

about whom little further is known.[2] If the scene is mythical, the panther is a separate picture (cf. the Boston aryballos mentioned above); but the fact that the chimaera and the lion are moving in the same direction perhaps means that it is just a row of monsters. On the other hand, the chimaera is not found elsewhere as a purely decorative feature before the Late Protocorinthian period. It is very likely that it was faced by the figure of a hero,

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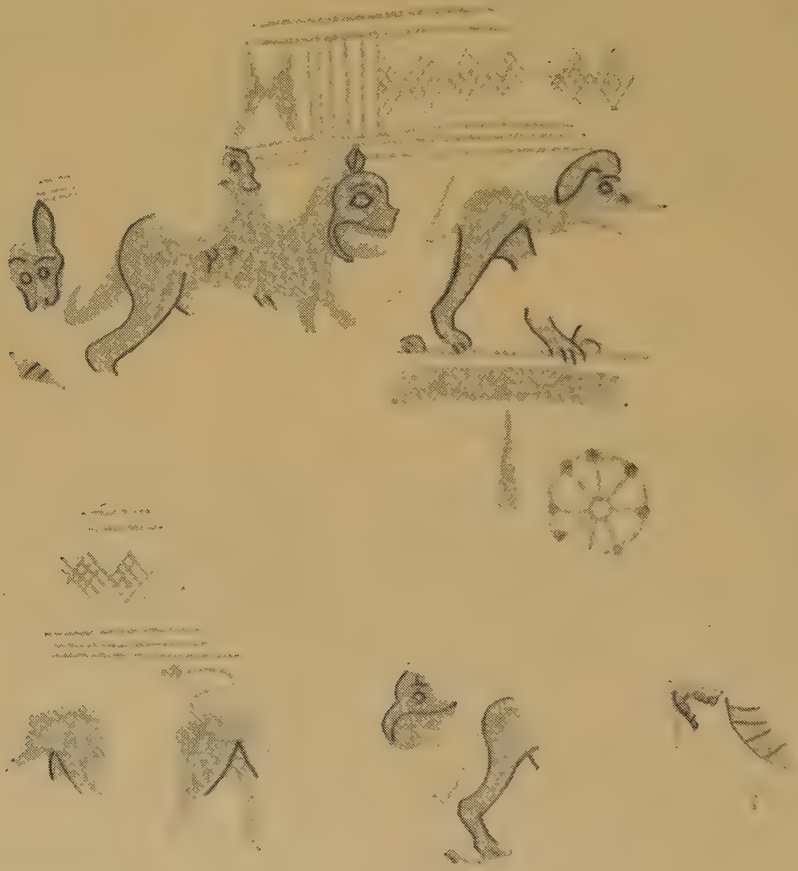
[1] *VS* pl. XXVII, 1; *PV* pl. 20. 1 and 5.

[2] *Il.* xvi, 328 ff. Usually called 'King of Lycia' (*e.g.* Aelian, *N.A.* ix, 23), but sometimes of Caria (Xenomedes ap. Schol. Townl. Hom. *ad. loc.*, who substitutes him for Iobatas as Bellerophon's father-in-law; cf. Schol. Townl. *ad. Il.* vi, 170, πενθερῷ· Ἰοβάτῃ ἢ· Ἀμισοδώρῳ). According to Plutarch (*De Mul. Virt.* 9), he was called Isaras by the Lycians, and came from the Lycian colony of Zeleia, with a pirate fleet under the command one Chimarros, who sailed in a ship with a lion carved on the prow and a snake on the stern, and more in the same strain. There are other euhemeristic accounts of Amisodaros, *e.g.*, in Palaiphatos (περὶ ἀπίστων XXVIII [XXIX]), who says that he lived on a volcano near the river Xanthos and the forest of Telmissis. In the *Iliad* (*l.c.*) his sons Atymnios and Maris are described as coming with Sarpedon to Troy, where they were killed by the sons of Nestor.



31

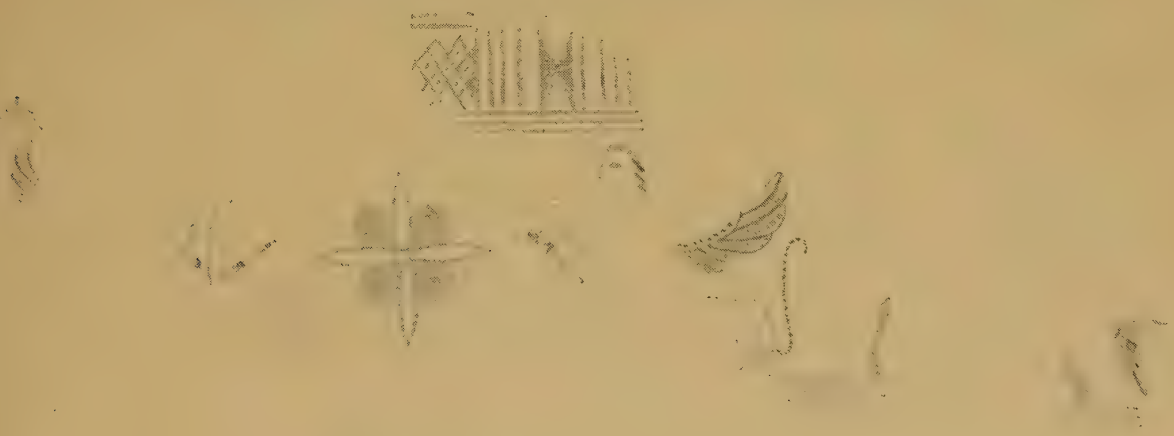
Fig. 7.—Design from Corinthian Kotyle.

and, if so, the figure on the lion will be a second opponent that the hero has to face when he has destroyed the chimaera. The killing of the chimaera in the story as we know it was the first of three tasks, and there may well have been a version in which Bellerophon had to kill a man who rode a lion—or possibly a man who could turn himself into a lion, which would account for both our vase and the Boston aryballos. Hasty, but effective style. Very close the aryballos *VS* pl. XXVI, 5, and the later pieces pl. XXIX, 1 and 2.[1] Our vase is the earliest of the group, but the stylisation of the lion's head puts it fairly late in the first quarter of the seventh century.

On 32 see p. 58, below. Dotted net-pattern occurs as a rim-pattern on kotylai from the eighth century.[2]

33 seems to be Late Protocorinthian. The subsidiary decoration is unusually elaborate and very exquisite, but the figures are strangely feeble and inarticulate. Cf. the curious style of an aryballos in Syracuse.[3]

There are fragments of several Corinthian animal-frieze kotylai, mostly early, but some certainly middle, and one probably late; 38 is early.



32

FIG. 8.—DESIGN FROM CORINTHIAN KOTYLE.

The exquisite fragment 39 is from a kotyle with vertical lines at the rim. It shows part of two figures facing right: in front a man in a chiton washed with thin varnish and a himation originally black; behind him a woman in a cloak, which she holds in front, washed in thin varnish and patterned in darker; behind the man downwards ᴎO . . . (. . . ων retrograde) behind the woman ṂOΣMAΣ (Μοισαι), so the subject is Apollo Musagetes.[4] The level of Apollo's arm compared to the Muse's suggests that he was in a chariot.[5] For the pattern on the Muse's dress cf. Daiphon's on the contemporary krater with the marriage of Paris and Helen.[6] The women on the same vase give parallels for the method of holding the cloak, while Paris with his arm held forward shows how Apollo stood. Apollo is shown with Artemis on a beautiful plate from the Acropolis of Athens of the same date,[1] but this, the Delphi kotyle and ours are, I think, his only appearances on Corinthian vases. This vase does not belong to one of the regular Middle Corinthian groups of kotylai, but there is a closely related fragment from Perachora. Otherwise the nearest stylistic parallels are the plate and the krater mentioned above.

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[1] Cf. also *VS* 92, fig. 53, and *NSc* 1929, 42, fig. 5.

[2] Cf. the fine example from Cumae, *MA* xxii, pl. 50. 1; *VS* pl. IX, 7; *AJA* 1941, 36, fig. 8.

[3] *VS* pl. XXXVII, 5.

[4] Cf. the scene on the shield of Herakles, Hesiod *Aspis* 201 ff.:

> ἐν δ' ἦν ἀθανάτων ἱερὸς χορός· ἐν δ' ἄρα μέσσῳ
> ἱμερόεν κιθάριζε Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱὸς
> χρυσείῃ φόρμιγγι· . . .
> . . . θεαὶ δ' ἐξῆρχον ἀοιδῆς
> Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, λιγὺ μελπομένῃς ἐικυῖαι.

[5] Cf. the contemporary kotyle from Delphi, *F. de D.* v, 144, fig. 590; *NC* Cat. no. 958, where 'Απέλλων—the normal Doric form—is represented apparently in a chariot.

[6] *NC* pl. 33. 5.

The form Μοῖσα is unexpected. It is regular in Aeolic (Sappho and Alcaeus), but also occurs in later Doric poets—*e.g.*, Pindar and Theocritus. There it is explained as an Aeolicism, but its presence here suggests that perhaps it was also a Doric form. I can find no other reference to the Muses in a Corinthian inscription. The vase belongs in the first quarter of the sixth century, and probably not late in it.

39

Fig. 9.—Design from Corinthian Kotyle.

The pretty 40 is related to the group *NC* nos. 970–1, which is a derivative of the Samos group. The latter is dated about 580 B.C., and the former presumably belongs in the second quarter of the century. The pattern on our vase, however, is close to that on certain architectural terra-cotta revetments beginning in the third quarter.[2]

Bowls

(sections Fig. 10)

41. LD. Fr., h. 0·06. Fig. 10.
42. UD. Fr., h. 0·06. Fig. 10.

I do not know any other Corinthian Geometric examples of this shape, but related are two fragments of straight-sided bowls from Perachora;[3] cf. also some Samian pieces.[1] It recurs in the Early Corinthian period.[2] It is probably related to the kotyle-pyxis, which often has reflex handles. 42, from the upper deposit, may be Subgeometric. Both are black, 41 with a reserved band and groups of lines on the rim.

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[1] Graef pl. 25. 425; *NC* no. 1056.

[2] *NC* 260; cf. 257, fig. 112B.

[3] *Perachora* i, 62, pls. 15. 4 (14. 4 in text), and 123. 7; 11. 5.

Kantharoi

(sections Fig. 10)

43. LD. H. 0·06. Pl. 6.
44. LD. H. as restored 0·14. Pl. 4; Fig. 10.
45. Fr., h. 0·08. Figs. 10 and 11.

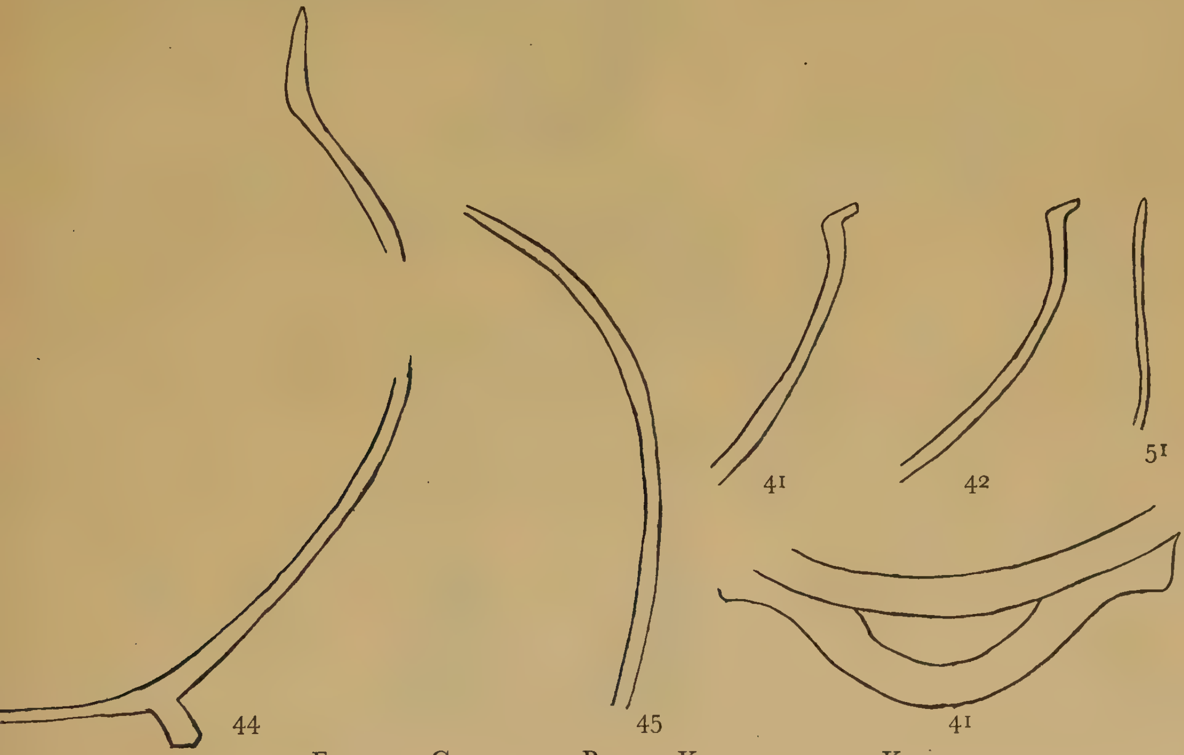
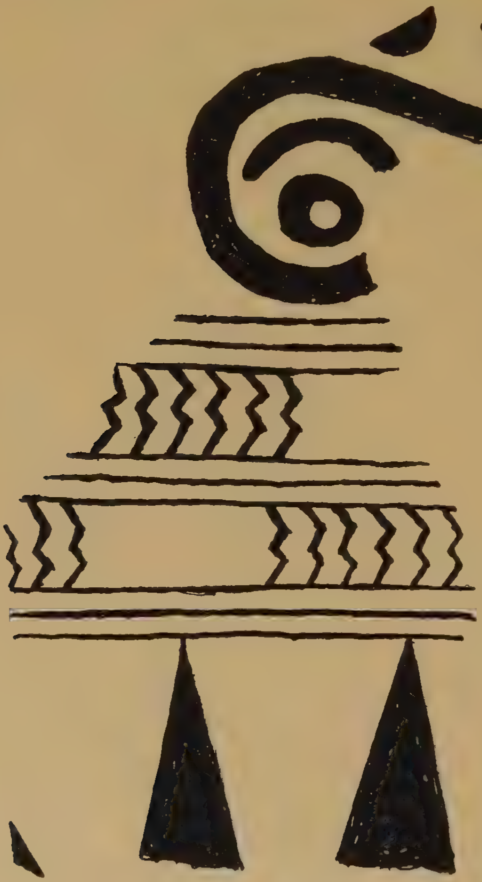


FIG. 10.—CORINTHIAN BOWLS, KANTHAROI AND KYATHOS.
Scale 2 : 3.

The kantharos is a rare shape in Corinthian. There is a very fine Geometric example in Dresden,[3] from Greece, and a replica of it in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, said to be from Thebes; and there are fragments from Perachora.[4] These all have high-swung handles; vases like Johansen, *VS* pl. II, 4, are something between kantharoi and mugs.[5] It is not certain

[1] *AM* lviii, 115, fig. 58*c* and 116, fig. 60.
[2] *NC* Cat. nos. 716 ff.
[3] ZV 837, *AA* 1892, 162, no. 24 (fig.).
[4] *Perachora* i, 61, pls. 13. 8 and 9; 123. 1 and 2.
[5] See below.

whether the handles of 44 and 45 were high-swung or level, but they are most conveniently classed here. The form of body and lip of 43 are close to those of the cup 8, and it is probably to be dated, like the latter, just before the invention of the kotyle. 44 is a good if rather florid piece, related in style to the earliest tall pyxides.[1] 45 is related by fabric and style to the oinochoe 161 and more loosely to the Cumae group, with which it is probably contemporary.



45

Fig. 11.—Design from Corinthian Kantharos.

Mugs

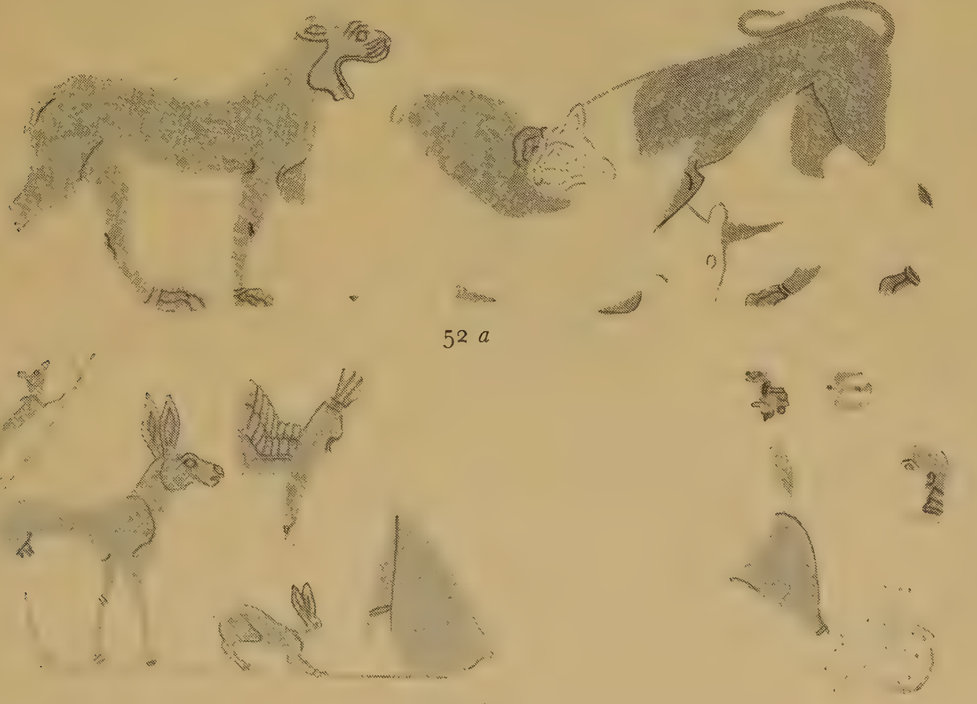
46. LD. H. 0·09. Black.
47. LD. H. 0·06. Pl. 4.

[1] See below, nos. 77 ff.

Kyathoi

48. LD. H. 0·08. Pl. 4.
49. LD. H. 0·08. Pl. 4.
50. H. 0·08. Pl. 3.
51. LD. Fr., h. 0·04. Figs. 3 and 10.
52. H. 0·11. Pl. 4; Fig. 12. On handles, three panels with saltires; on handle-plate, dotted net-pattern.

By ‘ mug ’ I mean a drinking-vessel, generally footless, with offset lip and one or two vertical handles. Payne classes these as cups, but they seem to me to be a separate shape to which kyathoi stand precisely as kotylai to cups. The mug is rare in Corinthian,[1] and most of the numerous examples from our site are of local manufacture, but 46 seems to be an import. 47 shows the transition to the kyathos. The kyathos (Payne's term) was probably invented on the analogy of the kotyle. It has one or two vertical handles, like the mug, but is straight-sided, with no modulation of contour at the rim. 48, 49, with linear decoration, and 50, with birds, are typical pieces; 51 has more style: the form and stylisation of the bird, the filling ornament and the little bird under the tail all connect it with the early tall pyxis 80.


52 *a*

52 *b*

Fig. 12.—Design from Corinthian Kyathos.

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[1] Examples: *Perachora* i, pl. 11. 1 and 2; 12. 4.

By far the best kyathos, and one of the best Protocorinthian vases existing, is 52. On its style and date see below, pp. 58 f. The shape has been refined under the influence of the fine Subgeometric kotylai. Handle-plates occur on black mugs from Perachora. Mugs of this type persist in Crete till the seventh century, and very likely in Corinth, too, and there is no reason why handle-plated examples should not have been produced down to the date of this vase.[1] They may be derived from the Protogeometric 'trigger-handle'.[2] Lions attacking an animal is, of course, a favourite subject in Greek art, and there is at least one earlier example in Protocorinthian, on an aryballos from Rhodes,[3] and others contemporary, on an aryballos in the British Museum,[4] and a magnificent conical oinochoe from Perachora.[5] Ours, however, is by far the most integrated of these, perhaps through the influence of free painting.[6] The closest parallel to it is found on a black-polychrome olpe in the Villa Giulia.[7] This is some quarter of a century later, and is a late work of a very mannered artist whose earliest works are contemporary with our vase.[8] The composition of the main group—a lion pulling down a bull—is extraordinarily similar in the two cases; note particularly the position of the lion's right paw. The later piece, however, shows certain points in advance of the other: in particular the lion's left foreleg is shown as pressed into the bull's neck behind its ear and jaw. The scene on the reverse is unlike anything in contemporary vase-painting, and again may owe something to free painting. The thing in front of the hare is the back of a draped figure seated on the ground; facing him at the edge of the picture is another seated figure, this time apparently naked and covered with spots, probably representing hair, possibly disease. His gaze is turned upwards, and he is perhaps looking at the minute seated owl and flying bird at the top of the picture. The object immediately in front of him may be the back of another draped seated figure, and there is room for yet another or something else between this and the one first mentioned. The figures seated on the ground and the surrounding menagerie recall the Amphiaraos vase and suggest that omens may be in question here. The spotted figure on the right is exactly the type of a well-known series of Corinthian plastic vases.[9] It is true that this type of vase, which lasts only a decade or so, begins some eighty years after our vase was painted, but it has Protocorinthian ancestors,[1] and the resemblance is such that it can hardly be fortuitous. The figure is normally regarded as a humorous type, like a silen or a padded dancer—the Ionian counterparts of these plastic vases are unmistakable satyrs—but what he is doing in this company I cannot say. For an ingenious explanation of his attitude see Jenkins in *Perachora, l.c.*

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[1] For sixth-century and later pieces see Greifenhagen in *AA* 1936, 402 f., no. 50, fig. 57. Dunbabin tells me that there are handle-plated kyathoi of the seventh century from Perachora, to be published in *Perachora* ii.

[2] Cf. Marmariane, *BSA* xxxi, 46, n. 2.

[3] *PV* pl. 9. 7.

[4] *VS* pl. 29. 2.

[5] *JHS* 1930, pl. X, 4 and p. 239, fig. 1.

[6] See below, p. 58.

[7] *PV* pl. 26. 1 and 5.

[8] See *NC* p. 342, XI.

[9] Robinson, *AJA* 1906, 423 ff.; Maximova, 140 f. and no. 149, pl. XLII; *NC.* 180 with fig. and refs. Add one from Rhodes, *Clara Rhodos* vi–vii, 87 f., fig. 92 ff.; one in New York, and one from Perachora, *Perachora* i, 235, no. 199, pl. 104.

The vase is, unfortunately, in a very bad state, which makes its unusual merit hard to appreciate. My drawings do not at all do it justice, and the photograph shows little beyond the shape.

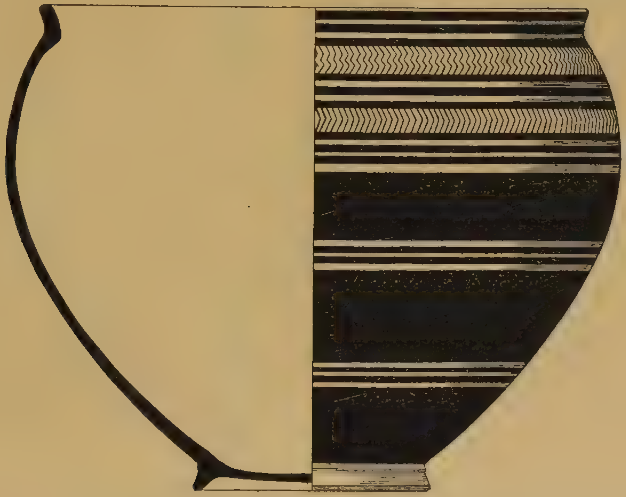

Fig. 13.—Reconstruction of Corinthian Krater No. 55.
The handles are not shown as there is no evidence for their form. Scale 1 : 4.

Kalathoi

53. Fr., l. 0·10.
54. Fr., diam. of base 0·10.

Both these vases are of the cut-out type.[2] 54 is abnormally heavy, and the base and lower part are covered with not very fine lines.

Kraters
(sections Figs. 13 and 14)

55. UD. H. 0·25. Fig. 13.
56. LD. Fr., h. 0·20. Pl. 4; Fig. 14.
57. Fr., h. 0·24. Fig. 14.
58. LD. Fr., h. 0·15. Fig. 14.
59. Fr., l. 0·10. Pl. 4.
60. LD. Frr., longest 0·11. Fig. 14.
61. LD. Fr. Fig. 14.
62. Fr., h. 0·08. Fig. 15.

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[1] *E.g.*, an unpublished vase in the British Museum, 38.6–8.20, and cf. Maximova, pl. XLV, 168, 167. A replica of the latter in London is cited as the same object, p. 191. There is a draped female figure of the same class in New York.

[2] *VS*, 68.

The bridge-handled krater is one of the regular types of Corinthian Geometric, and 55–61 are all quite normal. 55, in spite of its provenance, is certainly the earliest, as both shape and decoration prove.[1] 56, with its low lip and broad form, is also early, 57 rather more advanced, and 58, 60 and 61 fully developed with deep, strong rims. The ‘ false spiral ’ of 59 is a very rare motive in Corinthian Geometric.[2] The vertical wavy lines in the panel next to the handle on 56 are a curious and most ungeometric motive.

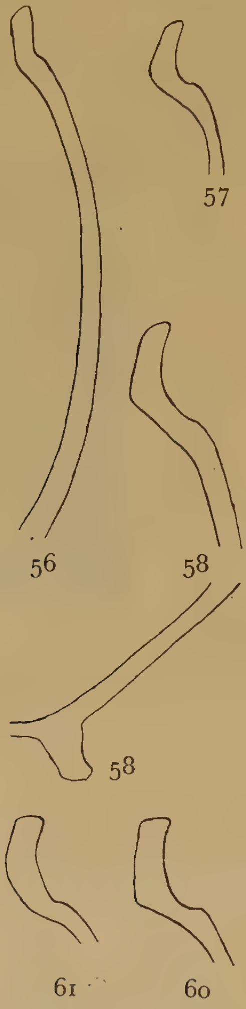

Fig. 14.—Corinthian Kraters.
Scale 1 : 2.

The krater dies out at Corinth in the Geometric period, and is only revived in the early sixth century as the column-krater—quite a different form. 62 is perhaps from a dinos, a rare shape at Corinth, but occasionally made there during the second half of the seventh century.[1] It is at any rate from the shoulder of a large vase varnished inside. The varnish outside has almost entirely perished, but it certainly went all over, and the bird was incised on it, no doubt with colours added. This technique belongs to the Late Protocorinthian and Transitional periods,[2] and the drawing of our fragment is typical of fine Late Protocorinthian. The lifted head is typical, too; Transitional birds tend to nuzzle their breasts.[3] The ugly line of the back of the neck looks as if it were determined by the springing of a handle, but I can find no trace of one.

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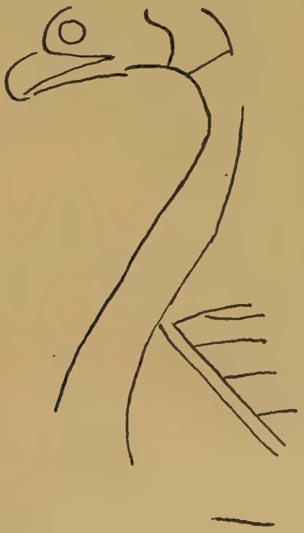
[1] See below, p. 53.

[2] *VS*, 8.



62

Fig. 15.—Design from Corinthian Krater.

Pyxides

A. Globular

(sections Fig. 16)

63. LD. H. 0·35. Pls. 3 and 5.
64. LD. H. 0·13. Pl. 3; Fig. 16.
65. LD. H. 0·14. Panel on shoulder: birds facing over wavy lines. Fig. 16.
66. Fr., l. 0·17. Double handle. Pl. 10.
67. Frr., tallest 0·07. Fig. 3.
68. LD. Fr., l. 0·09. Pl. 3 and Fig. 16.
69. UD. H. 0·22. Pl. 5; Fig. 16.
70. LD. Diam. 0·13. Pl. 5; Fig. 16.
71. LD. H. 0·18. Pl. 5.

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[1] *NC* Cat. nos. 52A, 115, 116.

[2] Rare Middle or Late Corinthian examples, *NC* Cat. nos. 1104, 5.

[3] Contrast *NC* pls. 8. 3 and 10. 2 with 11. 1, 2, 4 and 5. Cf., however, the crane on a fragment in Leiden (see below on no. 149).

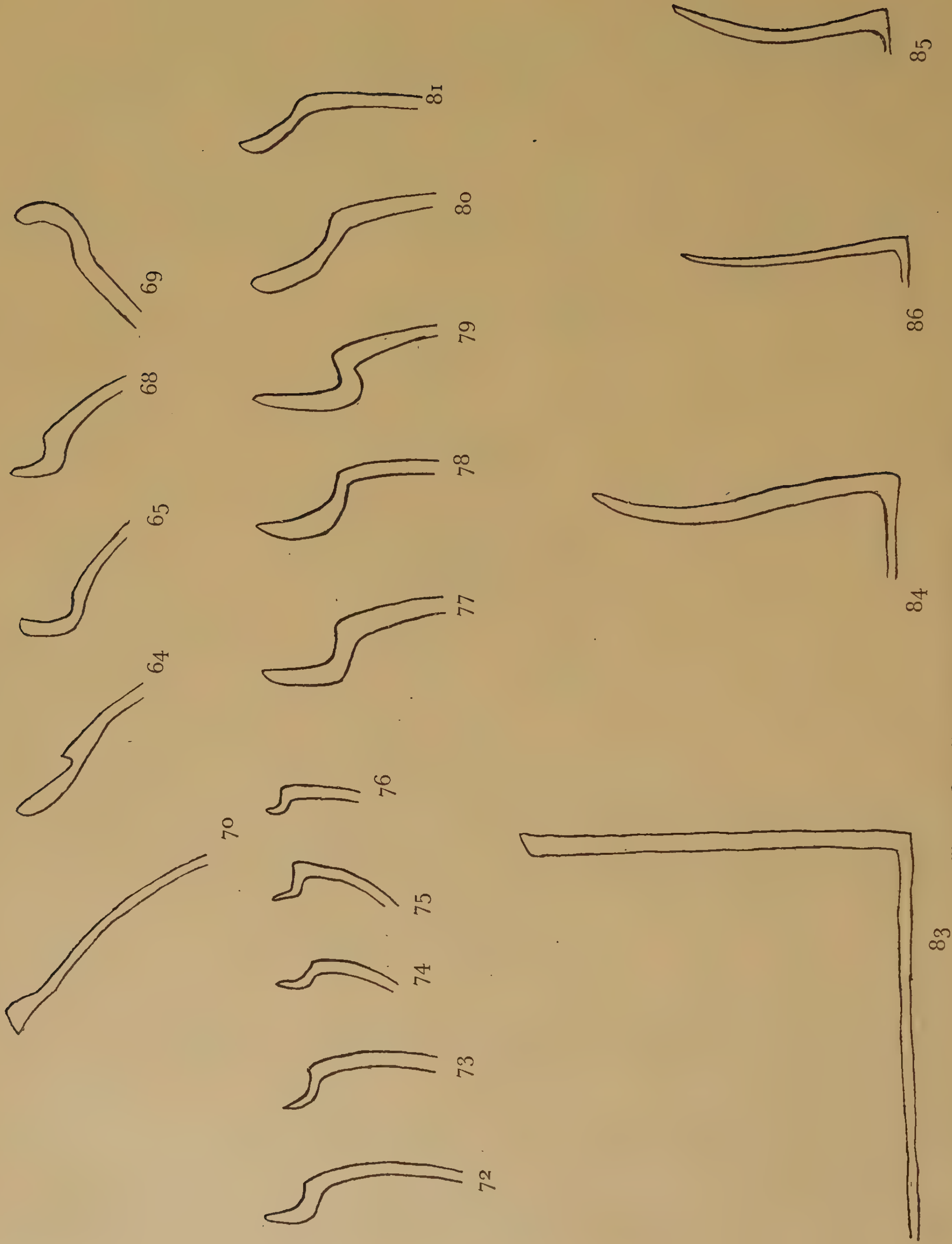
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Fig. 16.—Corinthian Pyxides. Scale 2 : 3.

The earliest regular type of Corinthian Geometric pyxis is the globular form with rather narrow mouth, raised rim and handles of circular section standing almost vertically on the shoulder—our 70, 71.[1] Earlier than any example of this type, however, is our 63, whose exact form is not normal, but which is certainly the direct ancestor of the rather later globular form with offset rim and handles of flat section standing at a strong angle. The handles and the decoration [2] make the connection clear, while 70, 71 are only collaterals. 63 is extremely large, and suggests that the form is ultimately derived from some kind of pithos, as are the tall pyxides.[3] 64 and the slightly later fragments 67 form a special group in fine style and technique; fighting birds seem to be proper to the central panel. The very sharply cut offset rim of 64 perhaps shows the influence of the tall pyxis which was introduced about this time.[4] In return the decoration of some tall pyxides—*e.g.*, 80—shows the influence of our vases. The composition of 65, 68 is the same as that of the contemporary bird-kotylai. The type of bird is original to the pyxis, but the new composition was probably first tried on the new shape—the kotyle. The shape of 65 and 69 is certainly influenced by the kotyle, becoming wider and lower with slighter lip, and thereby looking forward to the kotyle-pyxis. Small vases of this form are found later.[5]

B. Kotyle-pyxides

(sections Fig. 16)

72. LD. Diam. 0·24. Pl. 5; Fig. 16.
73. Diam. 0·21. Fig. 16.
74. LD. H. 0·05. Black. Pl. 5; Fig. 16.
75. LD. H. 0·05. Striped; at handle level zig-zags between vertical bars. Pl. 5; Fig. 16.
76. Fr., l. 0·07. Black. Fig. 16.

This type replaces the globular form in the late Geometric period, and is evidently a remodelling of it under the influence of the kotyle. The earliest example—72—will be about contemporary with the kotyle 23, and is of similar proportions, though rather lower. It has reflex handles and is unvarnished inside. The decoration possibly shows the influence of the tall pyxides,[6] but in a chastened form. The majority of pieces are Subgeometric, a few large, like 73, but mostly small—74–6—forming a less delicate counterpart to the subgeometric kotylai. Both large and small are very low, like ‘ cup with offset rim ’ (our 12). 73 and 76 are varnished inside, but the norm is stripes, as in kalathoi; it almost looks like a deliberate reference to the fact that the form is based on two types: the kotyle varnished inside and the globular pyxis not. 73 and 76 have varnish on the rim, too, and were perhaps not meant to be lidded. The shape does not seem to have survived the eighth century in this form, though the later 'kotyle with inset rim' is related.[1]

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[1] Cf. *VS* pl, III, 1.
[2] See below, p. 53.
[3] See below, nos. 77 ff.
[4] Cf. 79 below.
[5] *E.g.*, *AH* ii, 136, fig. 67, and British Museum 1912, 6–26, 212; also from the Argive Heraion. See also below on 572.
[6] See below, nos. 77 ff.

C. Tall Pyxides

(sections Fig. 16)

77. LD. H. with lid 0·26. Pl. 6; Fig. 16.
78. LD. Fr., h. 0·16. Fig. 16.
79. Fr., h. 0·11. Pl. 6; Fig. 16.
80. Fr., h. 0·22. Pl. 6; Figs. 3 and 16.
81. Fr., h. 0·08. Figs. 3 and 16.
82. UD. H. 0·05. Pl. 6.
See also lids 111–114.

The examples of this shape listed by Johansen, p. 30, all belong, with one possible exception, to the period of the round aryballoi.[2] They are clearly contemporary with such kotylai as 25, 26—*i.e.*, transitional from Geometric to Subgeometric. It has hitherto been thought that the shape was invented in this period, but our examples all belong to the generation before—the period of the earliest kotylai. They are larger than the later examples, but the proportions are much the same, showing that the piece *VS* pl. XI, 4 is not the ancestor of the others, but a by-form, though no doubt, as Johansen pointed out, rather earlier than those with which it was found. The decoration of our pieces is peculiar and homogeneous. 79 shows in the central panel of each side a straight-legged bird with triangular raised wing, holding a worm and standing between groups of concentric circles; above runs a dotted lozenge chain with no separating line between it and the picture in the panel. This failure to demarcate the areas of design is not at all typical of Corinthian vase-painting, nor are the groups of concentric circles and the lozenge chain common Corinthian motives. The latter recurs on 77 and 81 and on the lids 111, 112, 114, dotted on all but the last two. The birds with two straight legs recur on parade on 81 with the background dotted. These with some probably contemporary kotylai are the first appearance of this unnaturalistic type. It persists in a refined form on the later tall pyxides,[3] but on the kotylai the two legs generally give place to one, and this is commonly represented by a zig-zag, giving a more lively and bird-like effect. The raised wing is rare on Corinthian vases, but cf. an oinochoe in Berlin,[4] and the more or less Corinthianising Ithacan kotyle 298.

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[1] See Payne in *NC* pp. 295 f.

[2] Add a rather odd example of the same date, *Clara Rhodos* vi–vii, 43, fig. 35.

[3] *VS* pl. XI, 2.

[4] *VS* pl. I, 3; *NC* 3, fig. 1*e*; *PV* pl. 1. 2.

I know no other Corinthian example of the triangular form. The decoration of 80 is different, and connects it with contemporary kyathoi, a shape which, as we have seen, was probably, like the kotyle, an invention of this period. The side panels show birds confronted over wavy lines, as on the kyathos 50, while the central bird, by the form and internal stylisation of its body, the filling ornament, and the little bird under the tail, is shown to be from the same hand as 51. These birds are evidently derived from the old Corinthian type found on the globular pyxides, and adopted about this time by the kotyle, but the small birds under the tail are of the new straight-legged type. A fusion of the two occurs on a kyathos[1] in Leiden. Refined forms of the lozenge chain, doubled and trebled with dots or hatched, become quite regular in the succeeding period.[2]

Payne[3] and Hartley[4] have conclusively proved that the shape is derived from the Cretan straight-sided pithos. The decoration also, as we have seen, introduces many new elements, and some of these are found in Crete: groups of concentric circles very commonly, lozenge chain with dots,[5] bird with raised wing,[6] or associated with small bird.[7] The type of bird, however, is not Cretan, nor is the composition, nor the triangular form of the raised wing, and the other features occur elsewhere—*e.g.*, in the Cyclades—so it is perhaps best to suppose that the workshop from which these vases emanated imitated foreign styles indiscriminately rather than Cretan in particular. The straight-legged bird associated with concentric circles is found on a Rhodian vase in Oxford,[8] a kotyle whose shape perhaps shows Corinthian influence.

The shape is continued in the seventh century in a series of coarse Subgeometric miniatures, of which 82 is an example. Johansen mentions two,[9] and there are others from Perachora.[10] Two of these come from a late seventh-century deposit, and ours may be of the same date.

D. Low Pyxides, Straight- and Concave-sided

(sections Fig. 16)

83. H. 0·09. Pl. 7; Fig. 16.
84. H. 0·07. Decoration as *VS* pl. XVIII, 1; very fine technique. Fig. 16.
85. H. 0·05. Pl. 6; Fig. 16.
86. H. 0·09 (with lid). Pl. 7; Fig. 16.
87. Fr., h. 0·03. Subgeometric animals; cf. kotyle 35.
88. Fr., l. 0·04. Animals; Transitional or Early Corinthian.
89. H. 0·09. Animals; Early Corinthian; very poor.
90. Fr., l. 0·05. From a tripod-pyxis; swan; Middle or Late Corinthian.

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[1] *VS* pl. X, 2.

[2] *E.g.*, our kotyle-pyxis 72 (early) and *VS* pls. IX, 7; XI, 3; XII; XIII, 3.

[3] *NC* 7; *CVA Oxford* ii, II*a*, pl. 1. 7.

[4] *BSA* xxxi, 61.

[5] *BSA* xxix, 237, figs. 8 and 9.

[6] *BSA*, xxix, 236, fig. 7.

[7] *Ibid.*, pl. 19.

[8] *CVA* ii, II*d*, pl. 1. 3.

[9] *VS* 82, fig. 51.

[10] *Perachora* i, pls. 23. 6; 25. 5; 26. 11 (10 on p. 95; the last finer); 30. 2 and 10.

There are examples of low straight-sided pyxides of rather early Geometric type,[1] but the shape does not become common till the end of the Geometric period. Our 83 is evidently late eighth or early seventh century; its flat handles connect it with a vase from the Argive Heraion,[2] and the style is similar. The handles possibly derive from those of the globular pyxis, though there is a gap; the normal type has recurved handles borrowed from the kotyle-pyxis. The style and technique of 83 are exceptionally fine; most of the decoration is in black, but the solid lozenges in the central panel of the top frieze, the zig-zag below, the curve joining the ends of the running dog and the dots in the same frieze, and the groups of vertical zig-zags at the bottom are in red, not that used to enliven black-figure, but the bright scarlet sometimes found for potters' marks under bases, and occasionally like this for decoration.[3] Both colours have unfortunately flaked. The net-pattern derives through such forms as *VS* pl. XII, 1 from the dotted lozenge chain of the earliest tall pyxides. It appears again on the handle-plates of the kyathos 52.

This is the only type of pyxis that survives the Geometric period at Corinth. The general course of its development is from straight- to concave-sided, but it does not run smoothly. 84 has a very curious contour; 85, which looks early, is more concave than 86, whose decoration places it between the early Protocorinthian [4] and the late Protocorinthian types.[5] There is a similar piece from Perachora.[6] 87, on decoration as well as shape, is Late Protocorinthian or Transitional. 88 is definitely, 89 strongly concave. The shape is dropped about the end of the seventh century, and replaced by the convex pyxis. 90 is from a tripod-pyxis,[7] which can be regarded as the last stage of the straight-sided type, though there may be no connection. The type hardly appears before the sixth century and is commonest from the end of the Middle Corinthian period.

E. Convex

91. Fr., h. 0·06.

This shape replaces the concave at the end of the Early Corinthian period. Our piece, in very coarse style, appears to be Middle Corinthian. The shape has no connection with the Geometric globular type.

Lids

A. Flattish Over-fitting

92–110. At least nineteen examples. Diam. 0·08–0·16. Pl. 7.

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[1] Johansen, *VS* 6.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. XII, 4.

[3] See Payne in *Perachora* i, 54.

[4] *VS* pl. XVIII, 3 and 4.

[5] *NC* Cat. no. 55.

[6] *Perachora* i, 93, pl. 23. 1; 'first half of the seventh century.'

[7] *NC* Cat. nos. 671 ff., 921 ff., 1330 ff., 1506 ff.

These probably belong to globular and kotyle-pyxides. They outnumber the bodies, perhaps because fragments of lids are more easily identified. Shape and decoration are consistent; I illustrate typical examples, but some are black all over.

B. Domed Over-fitting

111. Lid of 77. Pl. 6.
112. LD. H. 0·15. Pl. 6.
113. H. 0·14. Pl. 6.
114. Fr., l. 0·06.

These belong to tall pyxides; see on 77 ff.

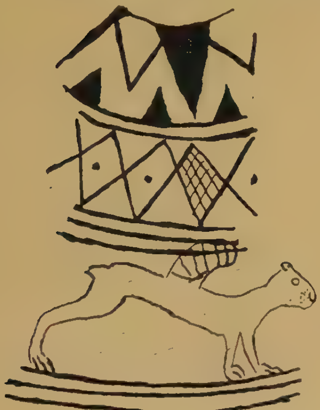
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FIG. 17.—DESIGN FROM CORINTHIAN PYXIS-LID.

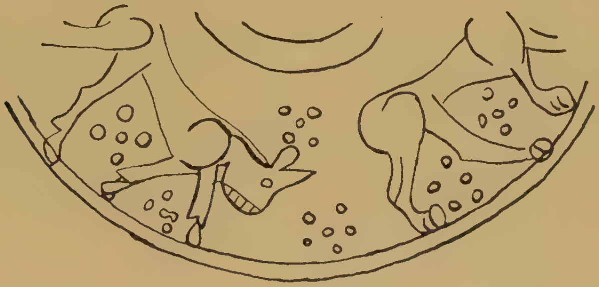
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FIG. 18.—DESIGN FROM CORINTHIAN PYXIS-LID.

C. Rimless (116) or with Inset Rim

115. LD. Diam. 0·20. Slightly domed; black with narrow reserved band.
116. Diam. 0·09.
117. Diam. 0·12. Fig. 17.
118. Lid of 86. Pl. 7.
119. LD. Fr., l. 0·03. Snake and dot-rosette.
120. Fr. l. 0·08. Pl. 13; Fig. 18.
121. Diam. 0·09. Lid of 87. Subgeometric animals.
122. Fr., l. 0·09. Band and dot; cf. *NC* Cat. no. 665. Late Protocorinthian to Early Corinthian.
123. Diam. 0·19. Flat, probably from convex pyxis; goat, lion; Early Corinthian.
124. Dimensions unrecorded; small. As last. Seated lion, bird; Early Corinthian.

Most of these belong to low pyxides, straight- or concave-sided, but 115 is too early and too large. It was possibly intended for a vase like 63, whose rim is not that of the regular globular type, and might have taken an inset lid; 63 itself, however, is too narrow. The rimless type is rare, and probably rather early; its decoration is like that of the flat over-fitting group, 92–110. 119, though coming from the lower deposit, is Subgeometric. On the style of 120 see below, p. 59. One of the incised shoulder lines is filled with red—a unique feature suggesting the influence of metal inlay. Possibly, however, the red was originally applied all over the neck or shoulder, but carelessly, so that it filled the incised line, which held it when it had disappeared elsewhere. Also black-figure of the same period or perhaps a little earlier is 117. The shape is slightly domed, and this, with the dotted lozenge chain, suggests some influence from the earlier tall pyxides. The style is feeble but unusual; perhaps by the same hand is an aryballos in Syracuse.[1]

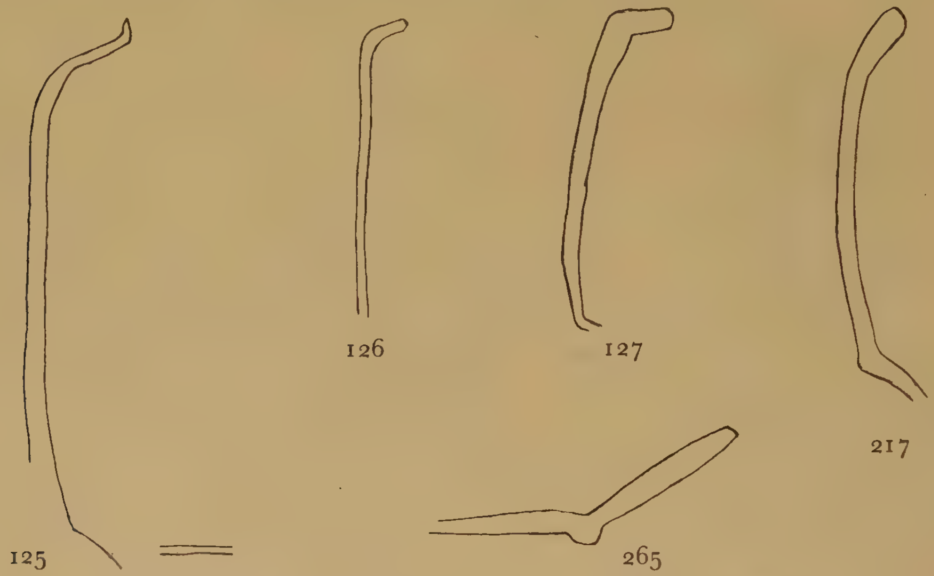

Fig. 19.—Corinthian Amphorae, Oinochoe and Dish.
Scale 1 : 2.

Amphorae

(sections Fig. 19)

125. LD. H. 0·33. Pl. 8; Fig. 19.
126. LD. H. 0·09 (neck only). Very thin fabric; fine stripes; holes in lip for attachment of lid. Fig. 19.
127. UD. H. 0·08 (neck only). Fig. 19.

The amphora is a rare shape at Corinth. 125 and its predecessors are discussed below (p. 53). 126, from the lower deposit, is fine Protocorinthian Geometric. 127 is from the upper deposit, and is perhaps Subgeometric. It does not correspond to either of the types of amphoriskos found in Protocorinthian at this period.[2] There is not evidence to trace the development of the shape; it seems to die out in the Subgeometric period, and is only revived in Early Corinthian in quite a different form.

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[1] *VS* pl. XXI, 3; the Subgeometric 1 of the same plate is also related.

[2] *VS* pl. XIII, 2 and 3.

Hydria

128. LD. H. 0·25. Pl. 8.

The hydria is another very rare shape in Corinthian Geometric. There are fragments of one from Perachora,[1] and there are Subgeometric hydriskoi,[2] but that is all. 128, from the lower deposit, belongs to an advanced period of Geometric; cf. the decoration of the handles with that on those of the kotyle 23.[3] The shape, like that of the hydriskos and the Ithacan examples 410–12, is broad and unrelated to the slender Attic type.[4] The hydria dies out with the amphora, and, like it, is revived in the 'Corinthian' period on entirely different lines.

Oinochoai

A. Regular trefoil-mouthed

129. LD. H. 0·15. Pl. 8.
130. LD. H. 0·16. Decoration as last.
131. LD. Fr., h. (as restored) 0·30. Pl. 8.
132. Fr. h. 0·13. Stripes; band of herring-bone.
133. H. 0·06 (neck only). Stripes; in panel, band of lozenges enclosing reversed esses.
134. Frr., longest 0·06. Panels with quatrefoil rosettes.
135. Fr., h. 0·13. Pl. 8.
136. UD. H. 0·28. Pl. 8.
137. Frr., longest 0·05. Fig. 20.
138. UD. H. 0·30. Pl. 9; Fig. 21.
139. UD. H. 0·28. Fig. 22.
140. UD. H. 0·13 (neck); there are fragments of the body.
141. UD. Fr., h. 0·09. Loop chain.
142. UD. Fr., h. 0·19. Pl. 9.
143. Frr., longest 0·14. Stripes; on shoulder, picture in very primitive black-figure: tripod between birds, deer. Fig. 23.
144. Frr., higher 0·07. Fig. 24.
145. Fr., l. 0·12. Pl. 13; Fig. 25.
146. UD. Diam. 0·19. Fig. 26.
147. Frr., longest 0·06. Fig. 26.
148. UD. Diam. 0·21. Pl. 15; Fig. 26.
149. UD. Fr., l. 0·16. Lions, boar, deer.
150. UD. Fr., l. 0·03. Fig. 27.
151. Frr., longest 0·06. Subgeometric animals.
152. UD. Fr., l. 0·13. Pl. 11. Transitional.
153. UD. Fr., h. 0·06. Pl. 11. Transitional.
154. Frr., longest 0·12. Lions and deer, dot and circle rosettes. Transitional.
155. Frr., longest 0·10. Ram, lion; blob rosettes as in *NC* pl. 20. 3. Early Corinthian.
156. Frr., longest 0·10. Fig. 28.

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[1] *Perachora* i, 64.

[2] Fölzer, *Die Hydria* pl. 3, nr. 48; *VS* pl. XIII, 4; *Perachora* i, pl. 31, 2. Dunbabin tells me that there are a few others, dating from *c.* 700 to well down in the seventh century, to be published in *Perachora* ii.

[3] Also on a neck-amphora with horizontal handles from Perachora, *Perachora* i, 64, pl. 124. 7.

[4] J. M. Cook points out to me that a dumpy hydria form, typologically earlier than the slender type, occurs in Attic Late Geometric, *e.g.* Neugebauer, *Antiken in deutschen Privatbesitz*, pl. 59, no. 141.

The regular trefoil-mouthed oinochoe has a steady development at Corinth,[1] and our vases fit into it naturally. The earliest stage [2] is absent, but 129–31 show types intermediate between that and the 'Protocorinthian Geometric' type.[3] In these the neck is shorter and thicker than in the developed type, and merges more gradually into the body, which tends to be heavier. The decoration is not very fine. 132 is more elegant, but the angle of shoulder and neck is still very gradual. In the succeeding period some vases show a tendency to sharpen this angle even more, notably the fine Subgeometric 136, but the majority, while keeping the angle sharp, concentrate on refining the forms of neck and body, making the latter more ovoid, the former more spreading.[4] Our 138 shows something between the two. The extreme version of the first type is an oinochoe in Toulouse,[5] while a contemporary and related piece in Syracuse [6] shows a new tendency to broaden out, which is developed in the Late Protocorinthian period. The development after this is fully discussed by Payne.[7]

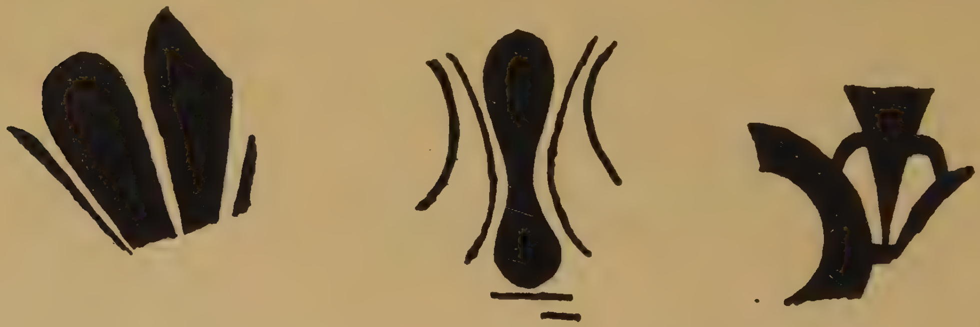

137

Fig. 20.—Ornaments from Shoulder of Corinthian Oinochoe.

The motive of 133 is peculiar. A row of lozenges is regular in this position, but hatched; reversed esses occur on early kotylai. The neck is low, and looks comparatively early, and the eclectic style and careless execution recall the earliest tall pyxides. 135 is most unusual. The motive of large groups of concentric circles over the body of a vase is, of course, at home in Cyprus and often imitated in Crete, and the technique—white on black unaccompanied by incision—is Cretan, and very rare in Corinthian, except on small kotylai.[8] The shape and fabric of the vase, however, are not Cretan, but distinctively

[1] Payne in *NC* pp. 2–3 and 32.

[2] *AJA* 1905, pls. 12, 13; *NC* 3 fig. 1*a*; *PV* pl. 1. 1; *Corinth VII* i, pls. 2–5 and 9–11, with remarks on p. 21 (Weinberg); see also *AJA* 1941, 30 ff.

[3] *VS* pl. I, 3; *NC* 3 fig. 1*e*; *PV* pl. 2.

[4] *E.g.*, *PV* pl. 4. 1 and pl. 7.

[5] *PV* pl. 12.

[6] *NC* 13 fig. 6.

[7] *NC* 32 and fig. 10.

[8] *VS* p. 69.

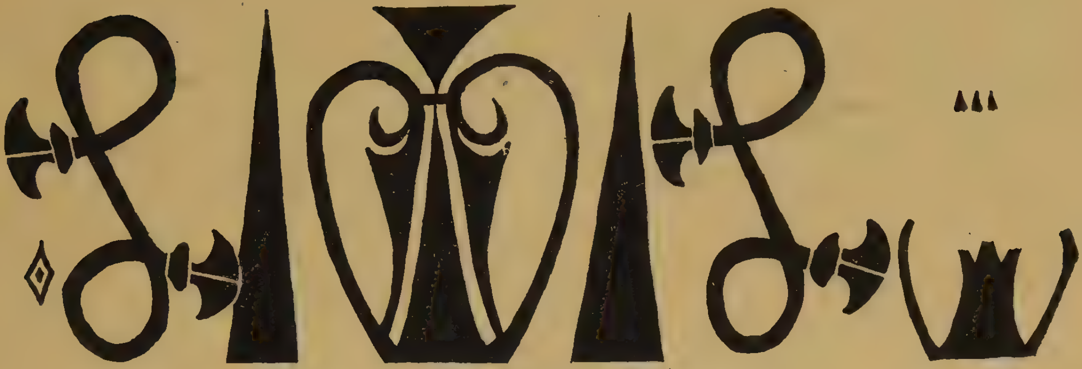


Fig. 21.—Design from Corinthian Oinochoe.

Missing parts have been made up where the design is certain; the form taken by the ornament under the handle is not clear.

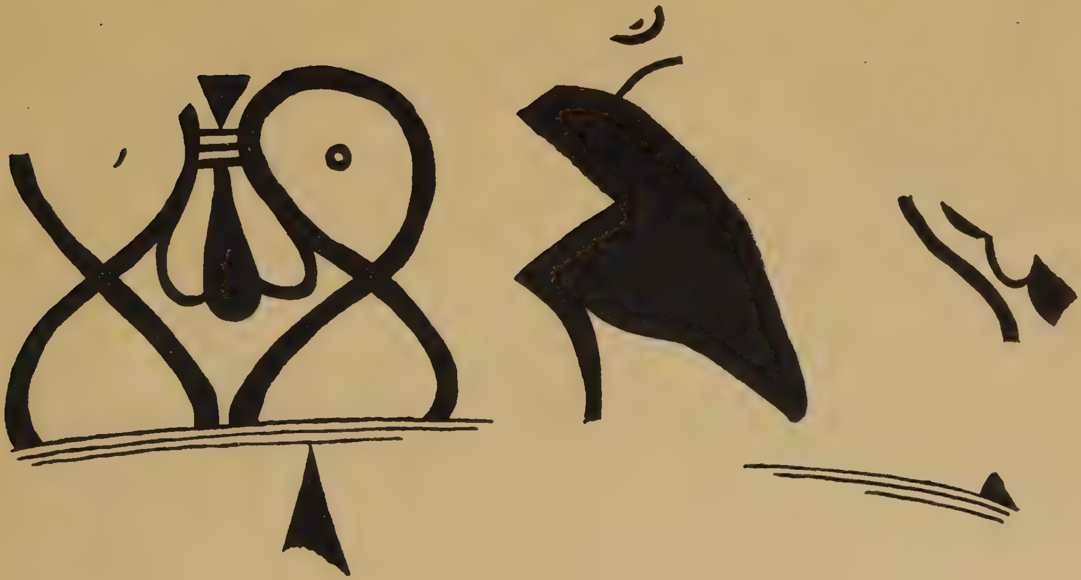
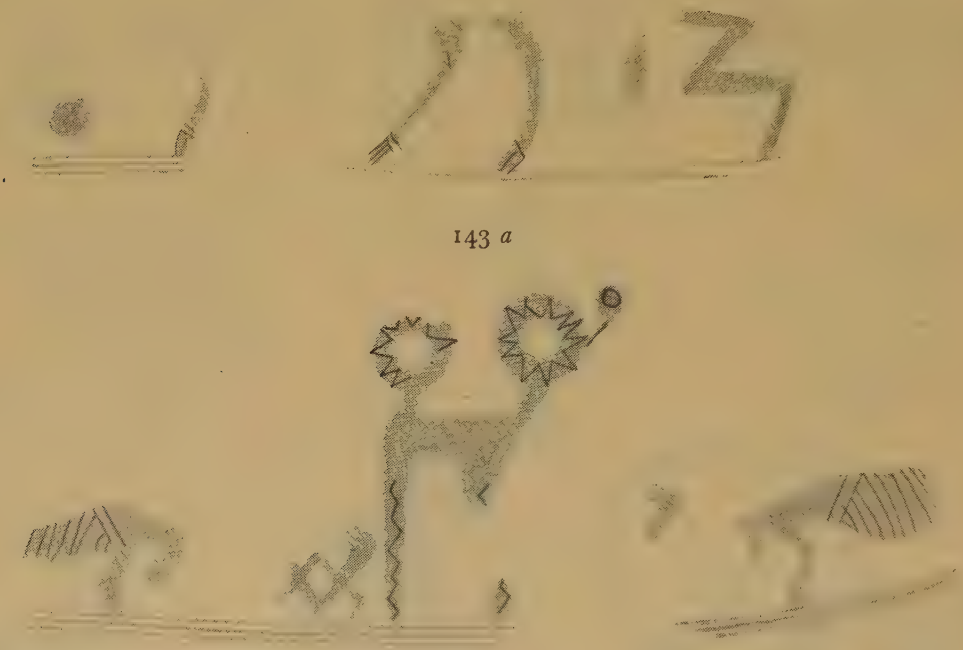


Fig. 22.—Design from Corinthian Oinochoe.

Corinthian, and there is a close parallel in an aryballos found at Corinth.[1] The eye on the lip, rare in both Corinthian and Cretan, is common in Cypriot, and the vase is a further example of the influence of Crete on Corinth and of Cyprus on Crete. From the shape, it seems to be Late or Subgeometric. The fine orientalising fragments 137 look early.

138–41 belong to the Cumae group. 138 is a typical piece, particularly close to an example from Cumae.[2] 141 has a simple loop-pattern, such as is found on the backs of large Attic and Cycladic orientalising vases. The ornaments of 139 are based on a loop-pattern, and it differs from most of the group in the lack of incision and in having large birds in silhouette with heads in outline. Only scraps of the decoration of 140 are preserved. It is possible that 141 and 139 belong early in the group; at any rate it is 138 and the Cumae pieces which form the most direct connection with the succeeding phase—the black-figure oinochoai in Toulouse[3] and Syracuse.[4] 142 is black-figure, but shape, colour of clay and glaze, use of incision and decorative



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143 *b*

FIG. 23.—DESIGN FROM THE SHOULDER OF CORINTHIAN OINOCHOE.

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[1] *AJA* 1930, 415 fig. 9; cf. also an oinochoe from Perachora, *Perachora* i, pl. 124. 6, pp. 54, 63.

[2] *PV* pl. 7. 1 and 2.

[3] *PV* pl. 12.

[4] *NC* 13, fig. 6.

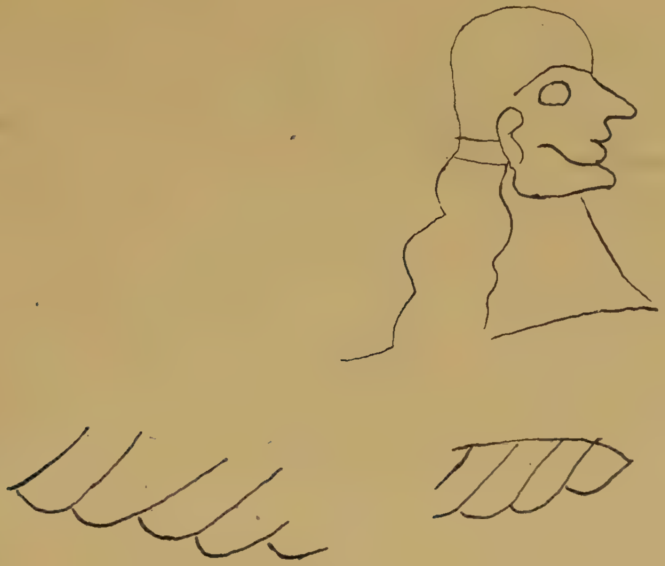

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FIG. 24.—DESIGN FROM CORINTHIAN OINOCHOE.

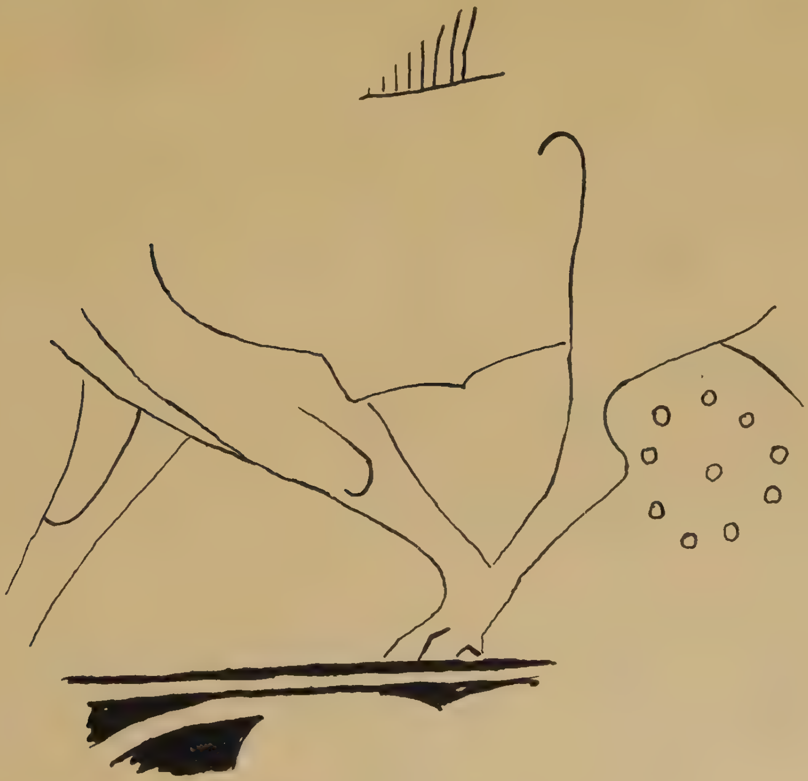

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FIG. 25.—DESIGN FROM CORINTHIAN OINOCHOE.

feeling all connect it with the Cumae group, especially 138 and the Cumae vases. I have no doubt it is a contemporary product of the same workshop, and the date must be in the first quarter of the seventh century. The very spare incision suggests that it is early in the quarter, and this is confirmed by the uncanonical aspect of the griffins.

143 is among the earliest Protocorinthian black-figure. The oinochoe with stripes below and a picture on the shoulder begins in the ripe Geometric period—*e.g.*, a well-known vase from Thebes.[1] 137 is an intermediate example. Later the scheme is confined to broad-bottomed oinochoai.[2] Tripods occur on other vases of this date, the aryballos 248 [2a] and another in Berlin.[3] 144 is also from the shoulder of an oinochoe, but this may have had other friezes below. It belongs to the latter part of the first quarter of the seventh century. The nearest parallel is on a fragment from Perachora,[4] though there the beardless head is drawn in outline. The profile can also be compared to those on the vases *VS* pls. XXII–XXIII, *PV* pl. 11, but it is poor work; on good pieces the eye is given corners from an early period. The figure is perhaps a Boread, as on a contemporary fragment from Aigina,[5] since sirens with recurved wings and sphinxes with beards are unexampled before the 'Corinthian' period. 145 also belongs near the end of the first quarter.[6] The pattern below is obscure to me.

146–9 are all Late Protocorinthian, decorated with a single narrow frieze, plain black below and incised scale-pattern above—a regular scheme, used also in the Subgeometric 151 and the Transitional 154; it is also found on olpai. 146 and 147 have a more elaborate scale-pattern and are more finely drawn than the others.[7] The paint is all gone, but the double incision of the scales implies white dots, a mark of the Chigi group, and the style fits with this indication. The hump-backed birds of 147 are peculiar; possibly they represent swans swimming. 148 is perhaps early Transitional rather than Late Protocorinthian. Men are rare on vases of this date and style, but occur on some fragments in Leiden[8] perhaps by the same hand.[9] The group is a variation of the common one of a man between facing animals, an Oriental motive adopted early into Greek art and lasting long. The elongated body of the right-hand lion is an anticipation of Corinthian practice.

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[1] *VS* pl. I, 3; *PV* pl. 2; *NC* fig. 1*e*.

[2] *VS* pl. XIX, 4 and 5; a piece contemporary with 143 is 167.

[2a] *BSA* xxxv, 108, fig. 14 (Benton).

[3] *VS* pl. V, 6; *PV* pl. 9. 3.

[4] *JHS* 1932, 241 fig. 5 right.

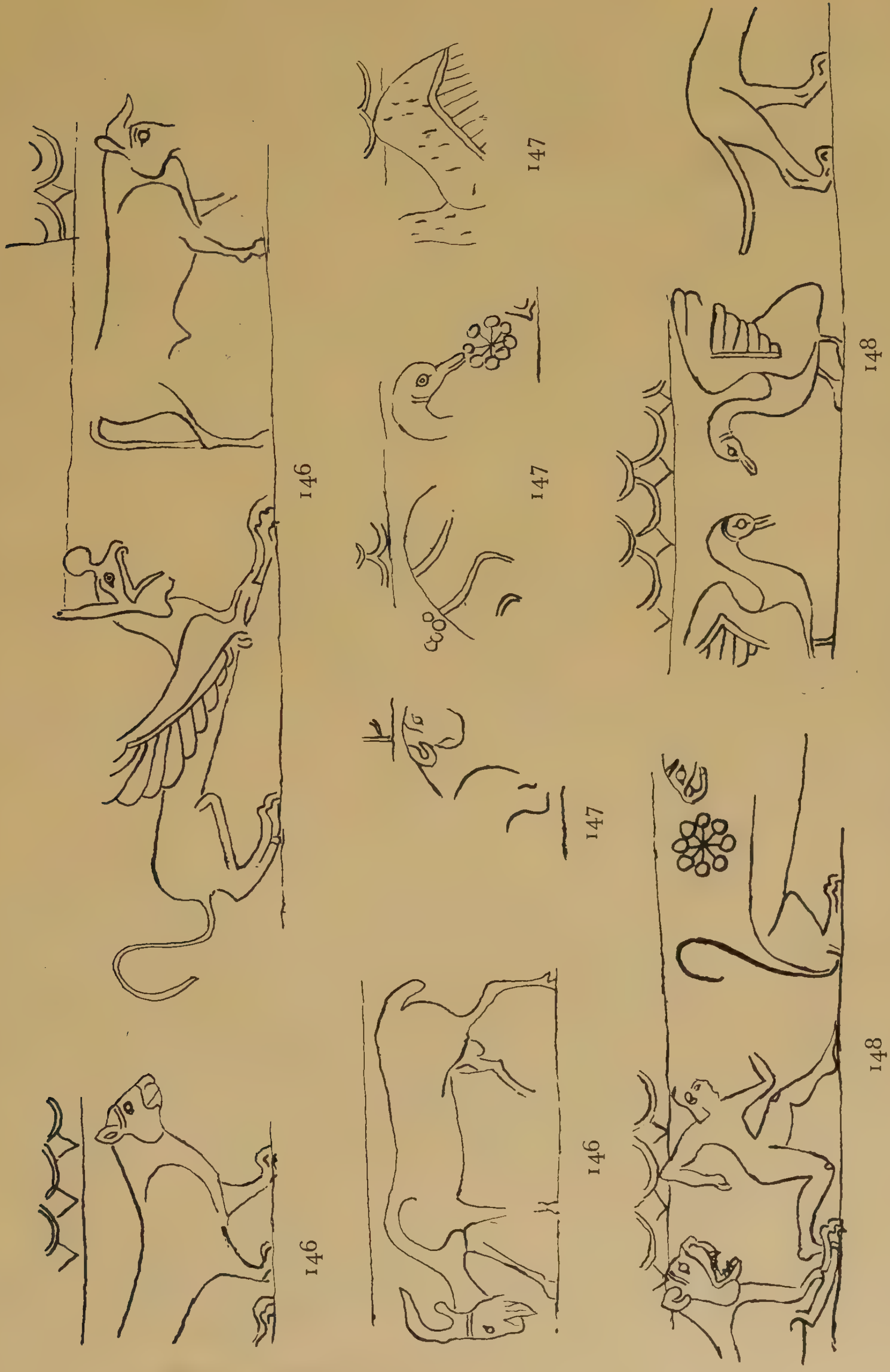
[5] *PV* pl. 11. 6.

[6] See below, p. 59.

[7] See below, p. 59.

[8] Brants, 12, VIII, 8–9.

[9] Cf. especially the lions; the human figures on the Leiden fragments are very clumsy, but that may be intentional if the scene is a geranomachy, though pygmies are not generally shown as deformed before the fifth century.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148

Fig. 26.—Designs from Corinthian Oinochoai.

Early Transitional is the fragment 150, from the shoulder of an oinochoe. It was doubtless a group of a swan between two confronted sphinxes. I know of two examples of this group in Late Protocorinthian,[1] a dozen in Transitional,[2] and one in Early Corinthian.[3] In almost all examples the bird is treading on the paws of the sphinx which it is facing—unwise: the sequel is shown on a Rhodian oinochoe.[4] The frequent repetition of the symmetrical design is typical of Transitional taste.

156, apparently from an oinochoe, seems to belong to the group of Louvre E 565, which is dated to the turn of Early and Middle Corinthian. The drawing of the panther's face closely resembles that on an aryballos in Syracuse [5] which belongs to the group, and on two plates in Copenhagen by the same hand.[6] I know two other examples of this rendering of the eye-socket of a panther [7]; for lions it is normal in the Corinthian period. Apart from the kotyle 39 this is the best piece of ' Corinthian ' date from the site.

B. Broad-bottomed

(157–162 wide-necked; 163–165 narrow-necked)

157. LD. Fr., h. 0·09.
158. LD. H. 0·06. Pl. 10.
159. UD. H. 0·11. Pl. 10.
160. Fr., h. 0·10. Neck missing; shoulder: rays; body: fine lines with chequer band near top, rays at base.
161. H. 0·16. Pl. 9.
162. UD. H. 0·13. Pl. 9.
163. UD. Handle, h. 0·08. Fig. 29.
164. Fr., h. 0·09. Pl. 13; Fig. 30.
165. Neck, h. 0·08. Type, *NC* pl. 13. 1. Not earlier than Late Protocorinthian.

The broad-bottomed oinochoe with wide, low neck seems to be a Corinthian invention of the end of the Geometric period. 157 is the earliest, and it is in the fine technique that leads on to Protocorinthian Subgeometric. Definitely Subgeometric are 158, 159, the latter from the upper, the former perhaps by accident from the lower deposit. 160, by its proportion of rays and fine lines and its use of check-pattern, recalls the kyathos 52, whose figurative decoration dates it to the beginning of the second quarter of the seventh century. 161 and 162 resemble the Cumae group in fabric, and the style is consistent with a date at the beginning of the seventh century, though

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[1] *NC* Cat. nos. 13, 30A (pl. 10, 2).

[2] Cf. *NC* pl. 11. where it occurs six times on four vases.

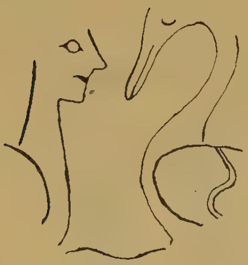
[3] *NC* pl. 21. 7.

[4] *Clara Rhodos* iv, 336 f. and pl. VI. Cf. also *CVA San Francisco* i, p. 18 (H. R. W. Smith).

[5] *NC* Cat. no. 835, fig. 140 *bis*.

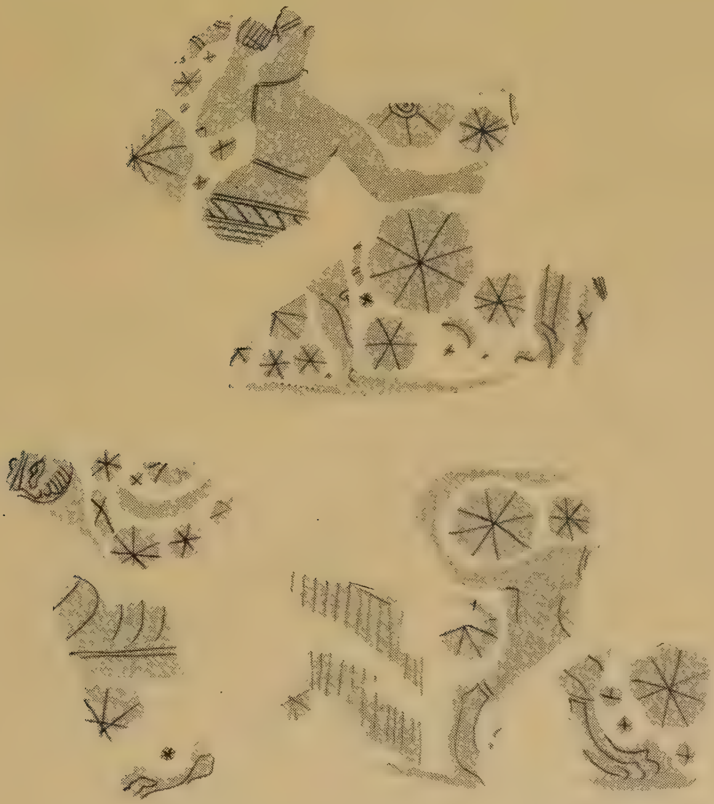
[6] *CVA* pl. 90. 3–4; *NC* Cat. nos. 1054 f.

[7] Alabastron, Bonn 860, *AA* 1936, 351, fig. 7, related style, but perhaps earlier; fr. from Polis, *BSA* xxxix, 23, fig. 12; it was also imitated in Rhodian: *CR St. Pet.* 1870–71, pl. IV; see *JHS* 1940, 12.



150

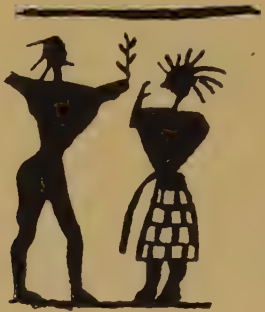
Fig. 27.—Design from Corinthian Oinochoe.



156

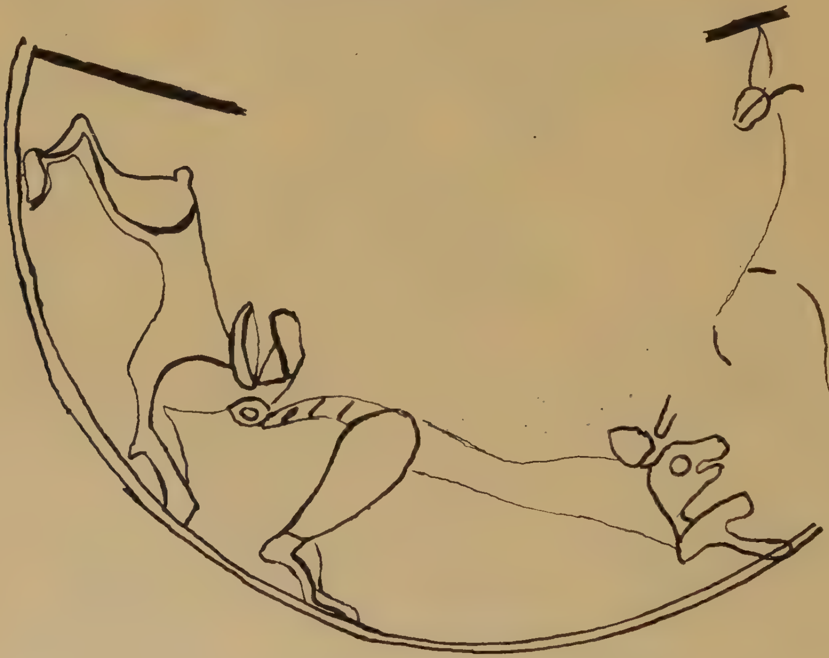
Fig. 28.—Design from Corinthian Oinochoe.

161 at least might be earlier. Its rather jazzy style is unusual, but cf. the kantharos 45. The tall rays at the base of 162, bounded by three fine lines recur on some of the Cumae group; the beautiful motive of the shoulder is known from a pyxis-lid in the British Museum.[1]



163

Fig. 29.—Design from Handle of Corinthian Oinochoe.



164

Fig. 30.—Design from Shoulder of Corinthian Oinochoe.

The narrow-necked type seems to be a slightly later modification, perhaps suggested by the tall-necked oinochoe. On 164 see below;[1] it is in keeping with the style that the hare should be chasing the hounds. The handle 163, which seems to belong to this shape, must date from the second half of the eighth century. The subject is obscure: if the man holds a club or a thunderbolt he is presumably Zeus or Herakles, but it may be just his fingers; similarly, has the woman a head-dress or only hair? Her skirt is surprisingly short. The dangle in front is common in Argive Geometric and occurs in Late Attic; it may represent ribbons or an apron. The scene on the polychrome pithos from Knossos should be compared,[2] and the later oinocho from Arkades,[3] as well as the groups from the temple model, 598.

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[1] *VS* pl. XII, 3; cf. Hartley in *BSA* xxxi, 85.

C. Tall-necked (including conical)

166. H. 0·19. Pl. 10.
167. H. 0·13. Stripes; black mouth; cross-hatched triangle on shoulder.
168. LD. H. 0·10. As last.
169. LD. H. 0·10. Band with groups of zig-zags on shoulder.
170. H. 0·11. Fine stripes; cross-hatched triangles on neck and shoulder.
171. H. 0·21. Pls. 10 and 13. Snake on shoulder.
172. Fr., h. 0·04. Pl. 11.
173. UD. Fr., h. 0·05. Pl. 10. On fillet at base of (missing) neck, running dog ornament. Cf. 206.
174. H. 0·18. Egg-shaped body; neck: cross-hatched triangles; body: stripes, black at base.
175. H. 0·23. As last.
176–205. Thirty small conical oinochoai with simple linear Subgeometric decoration. H. 0·08–0·13. Pl. 11.
206. UD. H. 0·05. Pl. 10. Cf. 173.
207. UD. H. 0·17. Pl. 10.
208. Neck, h. 0·10. Pl. 12.
209. Neck, h. 0·13. Pl. 12.
210. (Dimensions not recorded.) Neck and shoulder missing; black, rays at base.
211. Fr., l. 0·05. Pl. 14.
212. UD. Frr., highest 0·08. Pl. 11. Middle Protocorinthian.
213. H. 0·09. Pl. 11; Fig. 31.
214. Fr., l. 0·06. Lion. Early or Middle Corinthian.
215. Handle, h. 0·16. Pl. 12.
216. Handle, h. 0·18. Pl. 12.

The form of rather small oinochoe with globular body and tall neck is found already among the earliest known Corinthian Geometric vases—those from Corinth mentioned above.[4] The example there has a shorter neck than is usual later, and it seems probable that this and the regular oinochoe originally derive from a single form. Our 166 is not very far in shape from the Corinth piece, and the plain black decoration makes it certain that it is still early. The clay is very pink, like that of the early plain black pyxis 70 and many of the Corinth vases. 167–70 show the development of the form.[1] The hatched triangles on shoulder and neck suggest a Protogeometric ancestry. The splendid 171 illustrates the stage of the form reached in the second half of the eighth century. The shape may have undergone the influence of Cretan models.[2] The practice of painting under the base is commoner in conical oinochoai; it was much imitated in Ithaca. For the fish cf. an aryballos from Cumae [3] which need not be later.

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[1] Pp. 57, 59; there is a fine broad-bottomed oinochoe with wide neck, and perhaps slightly later, but by the same hand, from Corinth (*Corinth* VII, i, pl. 19. 141, and *AJA* 1941, 41 fig. 21. Cf. also a domed pyxis-lid from Perachora, *Perachora* i, 95, pl. 27. 1 and 3 (1 and 2 in the ref. on p. 95).

[2] *BSA* xxix, pls. XII and XI, 10–11.

[3] *Ann.* x–xii, 338 ff. fig. 443 and pl. XXIII.

[4] P. 34. *AJA* 1905, pls. XI–XVI; the vase in question is A3, pl. XII; see also *Corinth VII*, i, pl. 10, 64.

About this time the form was superseded by the conical oinochoe. This shape is derived, as Johansen has shown, from small hand-made vases of the 'Argive Monochrome' class. As a wheel-made form it takes the very tall, sharply offset neck from the type just discussed, and intermediate forms appear based on the two. Examples are 172, 173; in Ithaca a similar form on a large scale becomes popular (490 ff.). 173 may be as late as the second quarter of the seventh century, but for the most part the conical form is completely victorious.

174, 175 are perhaps simply a derivative of the globular type, but they bear some resemblance to certain Cretan pieces.[4] The shape was imitated in Ithaca (485–6).

The conical shape is ugly, and the earlier pieces are frankly useful rather than beautiful—small vases careful neither in make nor decoration. We know from representations that they were carried on trays,[5] and the attraction was probably the difficulty of knocking them over. Many of the small pieces 176–205 are certainly early; in the canonical form the diameter of the base is greater than the height of the body, and the height of the neck greater than either, but many of these do not conform. Whether because of its convenience or because it offered a nice surface to paint on, it soon became one of the most popular shapes for linear Subgeometric and for black-figure. To the first class belong 207 and probably the fine necks 208, 209. The black piece 210 is probably late seventh century.

211 is early black-figure—somewhere in the first quarter of the century, between the pyxis from Sparta [6] and the aryballos from Rhodes.[7] 213 is Late Protocorinthian, and by the same hand as five aryballoi put together by

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[1] Cf. *NSc* 1930, 132, fig. 17.

[2] *E.g.*, *Ann.* x–xii, 136, fig. 123.

[3] *PV* pl. 6. 4.

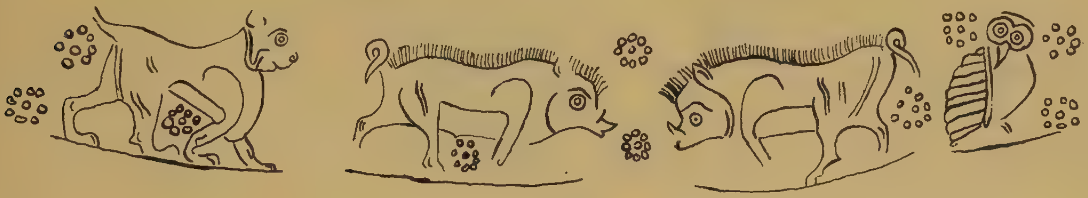
[4] *E.g.*, *BSA* xxix, pl. IX, 8 (round-mouthed) and 15 (large), and X, 5.

[5] *AJA* 1926, 448, fig. 3 (mid sixth century); *AJA* 1934, 523, fig. 1 and 524, fig. 2.

[6] *VS* pl. XXIV, 3.

[7] *PV* pl. 9. 6–7.

Johansen [1] and Payne.[2] The passion for boars and lions betrays him, and the drawing is identical; all his creatures appear absurdly proud—he might be called the Head-in-air painter. The handle pattern is that of the aryballos in Boston.[3] Payne pointed out that certain alabastra [4] were extremely close and perhaps by the same hand. One of these he subsequently published,[5] and the resemblance of the owl to that on our vase I think clinches the connection. I feel sure that they are all by one hand. His limited choice of types anticipates the next period; on nine vases we find fifteen boars, eleven lions, four owls, one bull and one chimaera—nothing else except the hounds in the lower friezes of the aryballoi.[6] His very mannered style is good and pleasing, but, like his subjects, monotonous. Very close is a more elaborate fragment from the Argive Heraion.[7]



213

FIG. 31.—DESIGN FROM CORINTHIAN OINOCHOE.

The handles 215, 216 are probably early. Necks and handles of these vases retain Subgeometric decoration to a late date, but the plastic snake at least looks genuinely early: a fine example of an ugly convention.

D. Round-mouthed (including olpai)

217. LD. Neck, h. 0·11. Maeander; frr. of black body. Fig. 19.
218. H. 0·12. Pl. 11.
219. LD. Fr., h. 0·06. As last but smaller body and higher mouth.
220. UD. H. 0·14. Pl. 11.
221. Frr., longest 0·05. Several friezes; lions, bulls, dot rosettes. Late Protocorinthian or Transitional.
222. Frr., longest 0·08. Single narrow frieze of animals, scale-pattern above. Transitional.
223. UD. Fr., 0·16. Neck missing; black with short rays at base. Late Protocorinthian shape.
224. Fr., h. 0·12. Mouth black, incised tongues on shoulder. Not Protocorinthian; probably Transitional—might belong to 222.

[1] *VS* 101 f., nos. 68, 71, 72 and 73.

[2] *NC* Cat. nos. 14–18.

[3] *NC* Cat. no. 14; cf. no. 17.

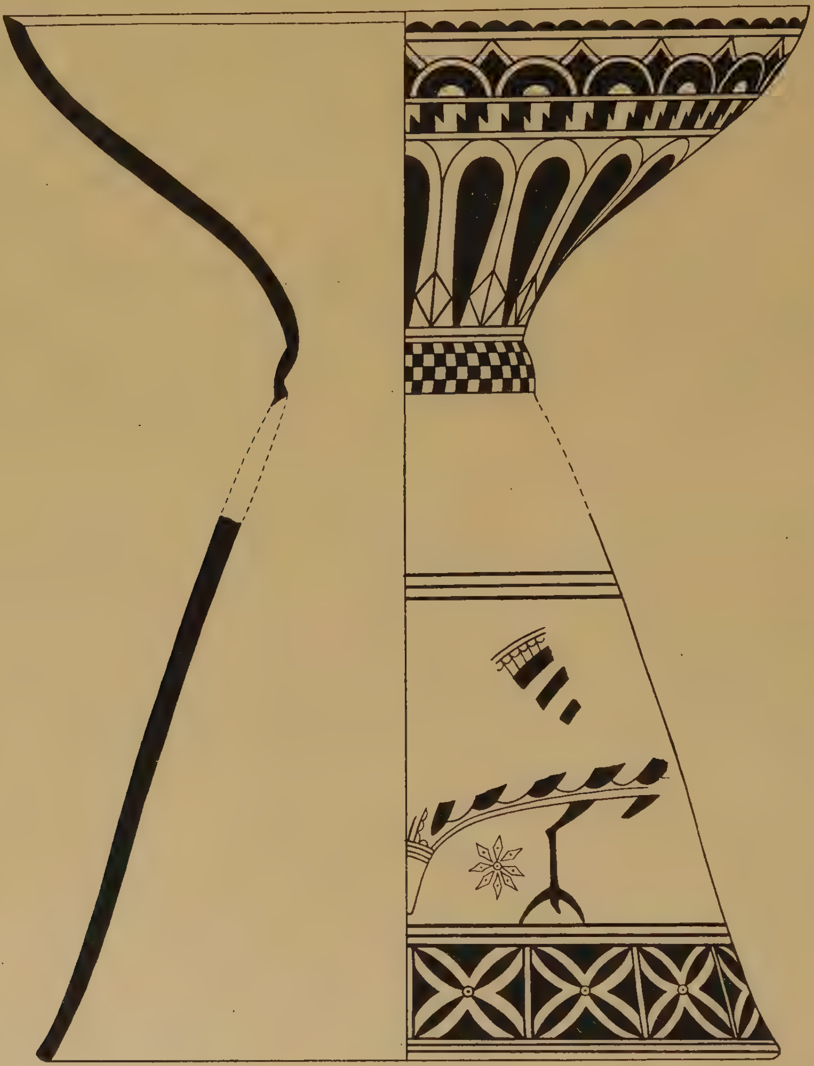
[4] *NC* Cat. nos. 25–27.

[5] *PV* pl. 30. 4.

[6] A tenth and major work by this painter has recently been published: an olpe from Corinth (*Corinth* VII, i, pls. 20, 21, no. 142). On three friezes there are sixteen felines (twelve lions, two panthers and two doubtful), eight boars, two hounds, one owl, one bull and one goat.

[7] *AH* ii, pl. 59. 31; *PV* pl. 30. 3. Payne in a note in his copy of *NC* added this fragment to the painter's works, as well as a fragmentary aryballos from Corinth, B80, and two from Perachora. Dunbabin adds an aryballos from Taranto, *NSc* 1940, 493, figs. 60–1.

The regular olpe comes to Corinth in the mid-seventh century, and has been thought to be of East Greek origin,[1] though that is not proved. Before that time round-mouthed oinochoai are very rare in Corinthian pottery, and no clear development can be traced. The only large piece is 217, from the lower deposit, whose decoration looks early. The rest are all small Late or



225

Fig. 32.—Reconstruction of Corinthian Stand. Scale 1 : 4.

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[1] *NC* 299.

Subgeometric pieces, evidently related to East Greek types; cf. 218, 219 with the East Greek specimens 588, 589. The shape recurs in Ithaca (416–24). It is not clear where it originates. With 220 we are in sight of the regular olpe. It is probably copied from an East Greek type.[1]

Stand

225. UD. Diam. of bowl, 0·42; h. as restored 0·56. Pl. 15; figs. 32, 33.

This is not a regular shape in Corinthian ceramics, but was evidently a common metal form occasionally imitated by potters.[2] Ours, in spite of its great size, is certainly Protocorinthian. The clay is unmistakably Corinthian, and the style of the birds and filling ornaments corresponds exactly to that of the early orientalising globular aryballoi.[3] It is particularly like the rather late example in Boston.[4] The two pieces are clearly roughly contemporary, and are, I suppose, to be dated at the very end of the eighth century.

The metal original was presumably allied to the oriental examples from the Barberini tomb.[5] In these the bowl is much smaller in proportion to the conical base; the bowl, however, has a leaf-pattern analogous to our tongues, and the cone has figure decoration. There are strongly metallising ceramic examples from Narce,[6] and bases of two from Dreros in Crete.[7] By far the closest parallel is represented on the contemporary Protocorinthian aryballos in Berlin.[8] Here the fillet is missing, but this may be due to scale; the conical base is the same, and the globe above must represent the bowl—the perspective proved too much for the artist, but he made his meaning clearer by a semicircular incision. It supports a dinos with griffin-protomes like those found with the Narce and Barberini pieces. There are no fragments of such a dinos from our site. I know five more representations of stands like this on Protocorinthian vases. The earliest, contemporary with ours, is on a conical oinochoe in New York.[9] Here, as in the Barberini examples, the cone is very large in proportion to the bowl. It supports a griffin-headed dinos. Next comes a pyxis from Sparta in very early black-figure.[10] Johansen calls it a floral ornament, but I take it for a stand with cone, fillet and bowl. Whether it supports a dinos or whether the bowl is very large I am not sure; if a dinos it is without griffin-heads. Into the top of it are stuck two objects

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[1] Such as *AM* lviii, 130 fig. 78.

[2] Cf. *NC* Cat. no. 116.

[3] *VS* pl. V; *PV* pls. 5–6.

[4] *VS* pl. V, 4; *NC* pl. 1. 3; *PV* pl. 5. 2.

[5] Poulsen, *Or. und Frühgr. Kunst*, 122 fig. 131 and 129 fig. 142.

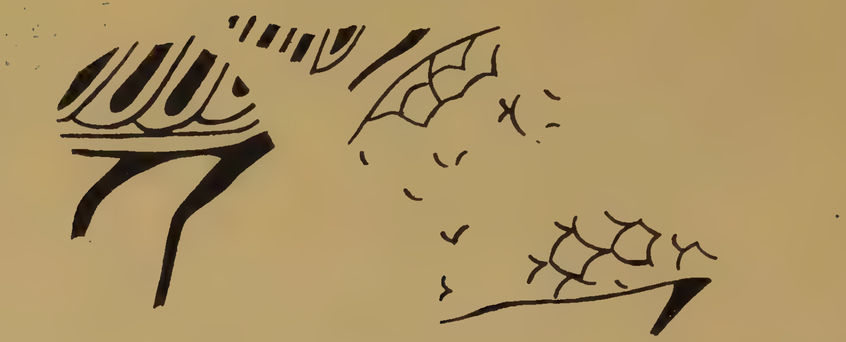
[6] *MA* iv, *e.g.*, 262 fig. 124; here the fillet is much larger than in our piece, but it is decorated like ours with check, a feature which recurs on the example in *Necrocorinthia* cited above.

[7] *BCH* 1936, 258 fig. 22.

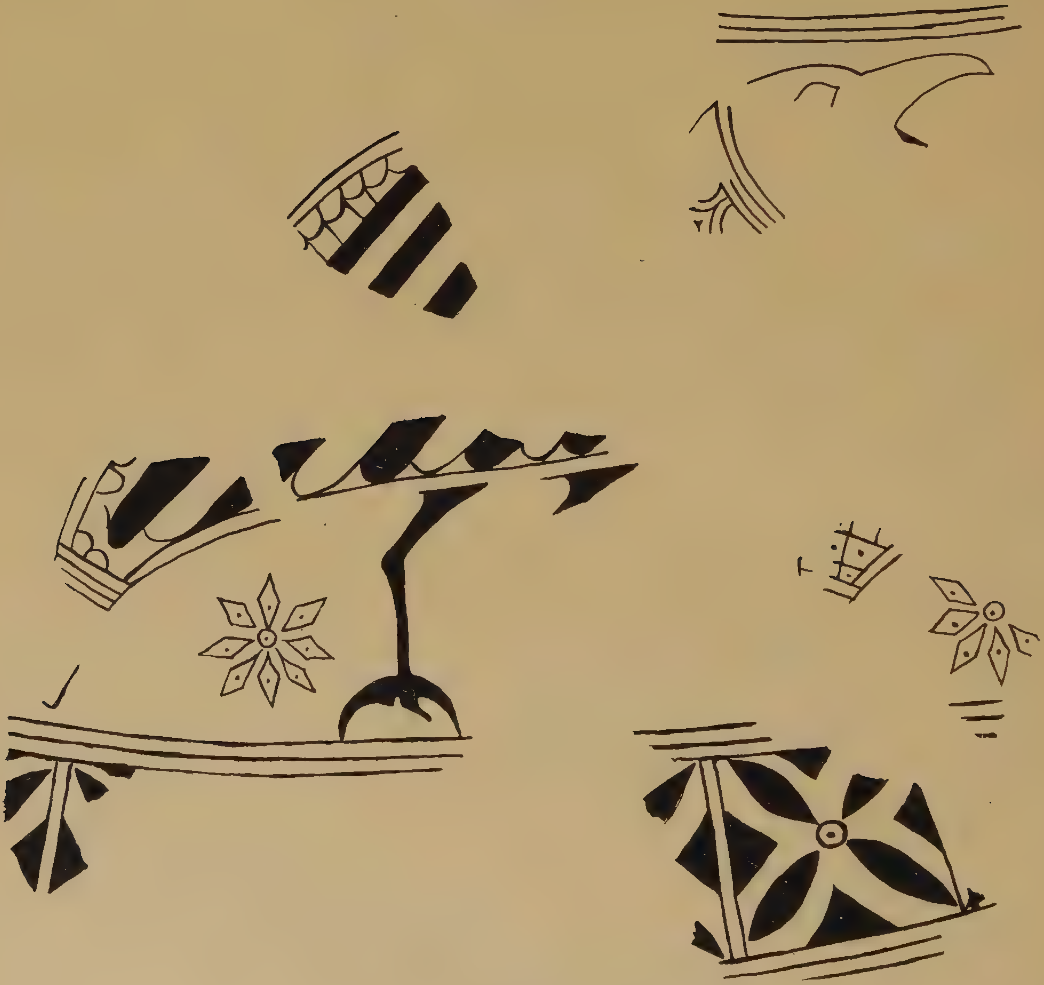
[8] *VS* pl. V, 6; *PV* pl. 9. 4.

[9] Richter, *Handbook*, 61 fig. 36, the stand not shown; incorrectly described as Protoattic.

[10] *VS* pl. XXIV, 3.



225 (*a*)

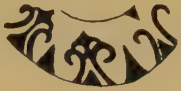


225 (*b*)

Fig. 33.—Design from Corinthian Stand.

which I cannot explain.[1] The next is on an aryballos in Boston;[2] the dinos has been removed and a couple of birds have perched on the stand. Next is a fragmentary kotyle from Perachora. In a frieze containing animals and at least one human figure occurs a stand, very like ours, consisting of cone, fillet and bowl. The upper part is lost, and there is no telling whether it supported a dinos.[2a] The last Protocorinthian example is a prize in a chariot race on a lively aryballos in Syracuse of the second quarter of the century.[3] This is clearly a stand without a dinos, the fillet shown. The proportions are not unlike ours.

Our piece had piercings, as commonly on stands, one in front of the preserved bird's head.



232

Fig. 34.—Design from Shoulder of Corinthian Aryballos.

Aryballoi

226. H. 0·06. Pl. 12.
227. UD. H. 0·06. As last.
228. H. 0·06. As last.
229. H. 0·08. Pl. 12.
230. H. 0·07. Pl. 12.
231. H. 0·07. Pl. 12.
232. H. 0·06. Pl. 12; Fig. 34.
233. H. 0·06. Pl. 12.
234. H. 0·17. Pl. 10.
235. H., as preserved, 0·09. Pl. 13; Fig. 35.
236–45. Ten ovoid, h. 0·05–0·11. Usual Subgeometric decoration. Pl. 12.
246. H. 0·07. Pl. 12.
247. Fr., diam. 0·04. Pl. 14.
248. Fr., h. 0·04. *BSA* xxxv, 108, fig. 14 (Benton).
249–54. Five piriform, h. 0·07–0·08. Usual Subgeometric decoration.
255. UD. H. 0·07. Pl. 14; Fig. 36.
256. Fragments of several Corinthian round aryballoi.
257. Fr., l. 0·04. Shape C; griffin's head (from griffin-bird). Early sixth century.
258. H. 0·11. Shape C; siren; under handle small siren. Middle Corinthian.

The origin and development of the Corinthian aryballos have been amply discussed by Johansen and Payne. Our series illustrates it, but throws little new light. 226–8 are of the earliest form, 229 only very little later. 230,

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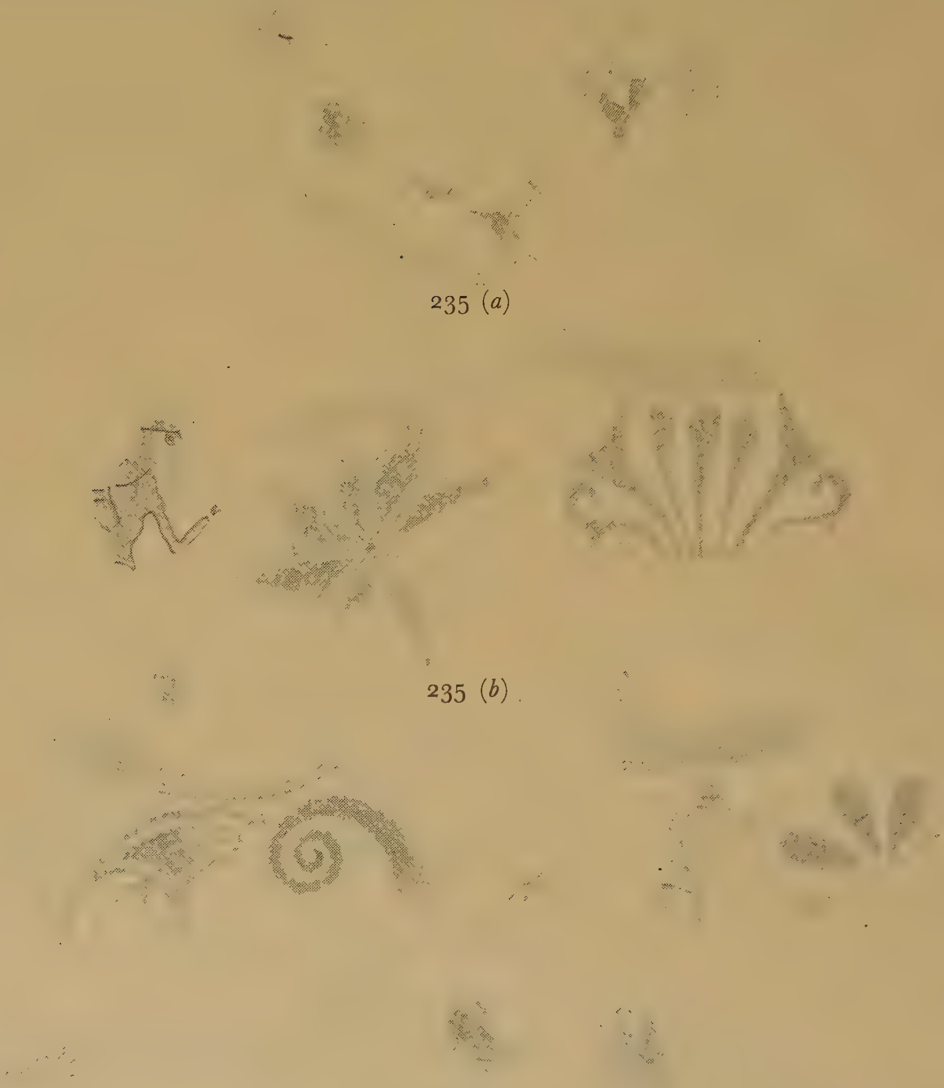
[1] Cf., however, Belloc, *The Modern Traveller*, fig. on p. 75.

[2] *VS* pl. XXII, 2 and 146, fig. 109; *PV* pl. 11. 1–5.

[2a] Dunbabin drew my attention to this piece, which is to be published in *Perachora* ii. There is another possible stand on another, earlier, fragmentary kotyle from Perachora, but too little of the design survives for certainty.

[3] *VS* pl. XXXIV, 1.

231 show the transition to the ovoid type, and 232 is practically there. 233 is a by-form of the transitional period. The shoulder motive of 232, drawn from a rough sketch, is unusual and pretty. I know no parallel to the very large piece 234; it evidently belongs to the transitional period. On 235 see below;[1] the sphinx is the earliest I know in Corinthian vase-painting. For



235 (*a*)

235 (*b*)

235 (*c*)

Fig. 35.—Design from Corinthian Aryballos.

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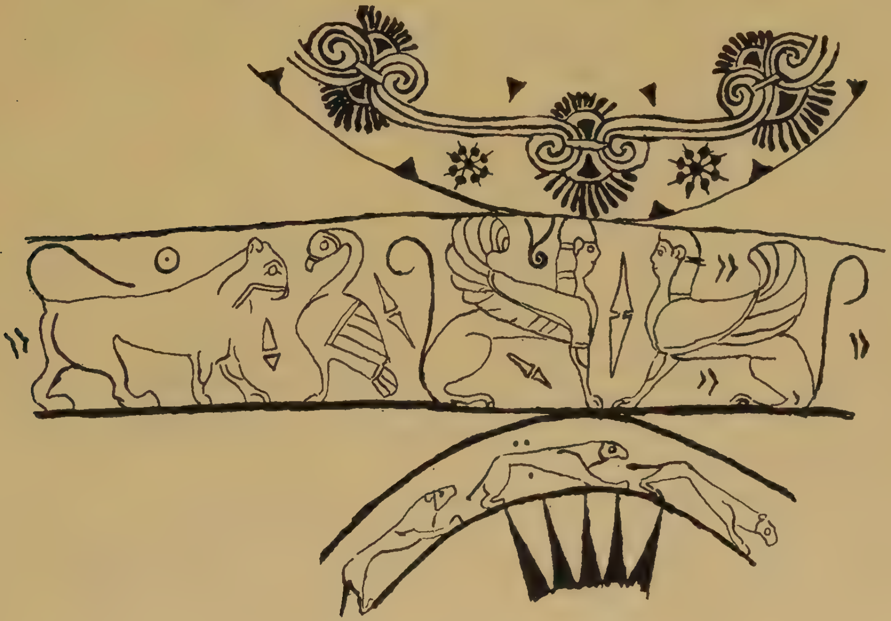
[1] Pp. 56 f.

the frieze of dots on the Subgeometric 246 cf. a vase in Boston;[1] the shape looks rather early, as does the exquisite and unusual decoration of 247. 248, also Subgeometric, has a pair of kneeling boxers flanking a tripod. Human figures occur rather rarely on vases of this technique.[2] Contemporary tripods occur on our oinochoe 143 and an aryballos in Berlin.[3] 255 belongs to a fine Late Protocorinthian group.[4] Alternate petals of the rosettes, the inner line of the spiral, the dogs' necks and perhaps other details in red. On the handle cable on black ground, as on an aryballos from Delphi.[5]



255

Fig. 36.—Design from Corinthian Aryballos.

The shape is killed in the Early Corinthian period by the alabastron [6] and the round aryballos. The latter begins in the Late Protocorinthian period, but becomes common only in the last quarter of the century. The numerous fragments classed under 256 are hard to date. They certainly cover both Early and Middle Corinthian, and probably Late too.

Alabastra

259. Fr., h. 0·04. Subgeometric; animal friezes separated by red lines. Transitional, or possibly Early Corinthian; cf. *NC* Cat. nos. 274 f.

260. Fr., h. 0·07. Cocks confronted over snake. Early Corinthian.

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[1] *VS* pl. XVI, 1.

[2] Cf. *VS* pls. XXI, 5 and XXIV, 1.

[3] *VS* pl. V, 6; *PV* pl. 9. 3.

[4] *VS* 100 nos. 59–64; *NC* Cat. nos. 1–8.

[5] *VS*, *l.c.*, no. 60, pl. XXXVI, 4.

[6] See below.

261. Fr., h. 0·06. Confronted panthers. Early Corinthian. Type *NC* Cat. nos. 277 ff., but the snake has incisions along its sides as though hairy.
262. Fr., h. 0·03. Base with dot rosette. Early Corinthian? Cf. vases by the Dolphin Painter, *NC* Cat. nos. 208 ff.
263. Fr., h. 0·06. Seated feline. Middle Corinthian.
264. Fr., h. 0·07. Siren. Middle Corinthian.

The alabastron first appears at Corinth in the second quarter of the seventh century. Its origin and development are discussed by Johansen and Payne. It becomes common only after the Protocorinthian period. Our pieces are all fragmentary and of little intrinsic interest. 259–62 are small, like all seventh-century examples, and there are fragments of many more small examples, mostly probably early. 263, 264 are from larger vases each with a single large figure.

Dish

265. UD. Fr., l. 0·26. Pl. 15; Fig. 19.

This shape is distinguished from the plate by having handles; it is also generally larger. The two forms appear at Corinth at the end of the Geometric period, where this piece belongs. The clay is whitish and the paint fired red, giving a good effect. The rather flashy style recalls the kantharos 44 and the tall pyxides 77 ff. The shape does not seem to survive.

On plates see the Ithacan catalogue, 559 ff. The section shows that 265 is close in date to 560–2, and to a plate from Perachora,[1] all being later than 559. All our pieces are from the upper deposit, and 561 has orientalising motives; on the other hand, the Perachora example is from the closed Geometric deposit. This seems to fix the series in the second and third quarters of the eighth century. The other Ithacan plates (563–6) are later.

Plastic Vase

266. Fr., l. 0·06. Part of the body of a crouching quadruped; covered with dots. Sixth rather than seventh century.

For further remarks on plastic vases see the Ithacan catalogue 556–8.

‘ *Argive Monochrome* ’

Small oinochoai

267. Frr., h. of neck 0·03. Pl. 12.
268. H. 0·09.

Aryballoi

269–72. Four vases, h. 0·07–0·09. Pl. 12.
273–78. Six vases, h. 0·06–0·08. Pl. 12.
279. H. 0·08. Pl. 12.

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[1] *Perachora* i, 62, pls. 123. 15 and B, 1.

267–72 belong to the widely distributed class of hand-made vases known as 'Argive Monochrome'.[1] They belong to the eighth century and later, and their distribution seems to show that they were made in one of the centres of the North-east Peloponnese, probably Corinth or Argos. Many of them, like 272, are decorated with incision.

273–9 are small, undecorated, wheel-made vases of similar fabric which may belong to the same class. The angular form of 279 has Cretan affinities, and the others have rather a Cretan form.[2]

THE CORINTHIAN POTTERY

The pottery of Corinth has been so fully studied in recent years by Johansen and Payne that it may seem unnecessary to do more than comment on the particular vases, as I do in the catalogue. These finds, however, do, I think, throw new light on the general development, and justify a new discussion. My account is based on Johansen as modified by Payne.[3] Two important publications by S. S. Weinberg (*AJA* 1941, 29 ff.: 'What is Protocorinthian Geometric?' and *Corinth* VII, Part i, 1943, *The Geometric and Orientalising Pottery*) became available to me too late for me to make as much use of them as I should have wished. I am not immediately convinced by Weinberg's dissociation from Corinth of a class of Geometric vases generally given to that city. This class would include, for example, our nos. 1, 2, 4 and 59.

There is very little from Ithaca that belongs to the earliest phase of Corinthian pottery, illustrated by vases from Corinth.[4] The cup 1 (Pl. 1), however, is certainly early, while the long-necked oinochoe 166 (Pl. 10) must belong to nearly the same time. There is plenty that is transitional between these and the regular 'Protocorinthian Geometric'. The cups show the continuity very well; the large 4 (Pl. 1) is a splendid example of the fully developed style, but there is no separating it from the series beginning with 1. On this and the analogous development of oinochoai, kraters and other shapes see the catalogue. A typical piece of this intermediate period is the amphora 125 (Pl. 8); its shape is definitely in advance of the earliest type,[5] and the decoration is in the newer manner, but quite lacks the finesse of the ripe style. More important examples are the krater 55 (Fig. 13) and the big pyxis 63 (Pl. 5). The decoration of both, with the soberly banded lower part, makes a direct connection with the early group, while the birds of the pyxis look forward to the later. The shape tells the same story. The krater is of the regular type popular in the developed period, but the lip is in a single curve with the body, not set off, as in the later examples.[1] The pyxis is not of a form found later, but it is clearly the immediate ancestor of the globular type, 64 ff. (Pl. 3), and the birds of 64 are simply more mannered summary versions of those on 63—big feet, tails on ground, even the rough star for filling. This is enough to show that our material does much to bridge the gap between the Corinth vases and 'Protocorinthian Geometric'—an important confirmation of the Corinthian origin of Protocorinthian. The course of other shapes is followed in the catalogue.

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[1] See *VS*, p. 22; Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona*, p. 18.

[2] Cf. *BSA* xxix, pl. X, 2. Dunbabin tells me that he believes 279 to be Late Corinthian II, the shape being akin to that of L.C. II oinochoai from Perachora of a type not illustrated in *NC*.

[3] See introduction.

[4] *AJA* 1905, p. 411 ff.; *NC* p. 2 ff.; Weinberg *Corinth VII*, i.

[5] *AJA* 1905, pl. 11; *Corinth VII*, i, pl. 11. 58.

Johansen places the introduction of the round aryballos into Corinthian, and the concomitant changes of style, to about 800 B.C., putting the earliest black-figure into the last quarter of the eighth century, and the rather late Geometric group, which is all the Geometric he associates with Protocorinthian, into the ninth. Payne's dating puts it all about a quarter of a century later, and I follow this, though without feeling that the case is proved. The absolute dating of this period depends largely on the earliest vases found at various Greek colonies in the West, the dates of whose foundations are recorded. The relative dates of these vases conform well with the relation of the traditional foundation dates, and this indicates that the ancient tradition was correct in the order of the foundations and approximately in the length of time between them. But even if the traditional dates are correct, the relation to these of the earliest imported vases found in the city graves cannot be exactly fixed. The relative dating, however, which is the most important thing, is pretty well agreed on, and the absolute evidence, so far as it goes, seems to me rather in favour of Payne.

Our upper deposit contained a round aryballos of early type (227), and there were none in the lower deposit; on the other hand, the lower deposit contained a large number of kotylai of the earliest form (17–23; Pl. 1–2; see catalogue)—a type which is generally supposed to have been invented at the same time as the round aryballos was introduced. These are certainly among the latest vases from the lower deposit, and the aryballos among the earliest from the upper, but the considerable number of the kotylai—there are fragments of a great many uncatalogued—does suggest that the invention of this shape antedates the introduction of the aryballos. Against this one might argue: throughout the finds, among the smaller vases, drinking vessels, perhaps for some ritual reason, predominate. Previously no small kotylai or kyathoi of early black-figure style were known, while there were many aryballoi; from our site come four kotylai and a kyathos and no aryballoi, while the linear Subgeometric kotylai greatly outnumber the aryballoi of similar style.[1] There are several points, however, in favour of the first view. Firstly, there are round aryballoi of very early type with orientalising decoration, which shows that the shape cannot have been introduced long before the earliest orientalising influences; there is no trace of such influences in our lower deposit. Secondly, the lower deposit contained tall pyxides (77 ff., Pl. 6) of a type earlier than any hitherto known; the later examples have rightly been associated with the round aryballoi. Thirdly, the kotylai normally found with round aryballoi are of the type of our 25–6 (Pl. 2), and not of our 17–23, the only types found in the lower deposit. These are shallower and certainly earlier, and are rather rare elsewhere.[2] We may then perhaps take it that the round aryballos was not among the earliest introductions of the period to which it gives a name, but was anticipated by the kotyle, the kyathos—this goes with the kotyle, and examples of early type were found in the lower deposit—and the tall pyxis. The last is also now the first shape to show Cretan influence.[3] These forms, however, are very little found elsewhere: the dating by the Italian colonies works not through them, but through the round aryballoi and their contemporary kotylai. If, then, we follow Payne in putting the introduction of the round aryballos in the second quarter of the eighth century, these beginnings of the new movement will go into the first quarter, and the division between the two deposits can conveniently be placed at about 775 B.C. This will put the regular 'Protocorinthian Geometric' largely into the ninth century, but there is no further evidence for its absolute dating or for that of the less refined Geometric which preceded it.

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[1] There is a very similar vase from Corinth (*Corinth* VII, i, pl. 12. 74 and *AJA* 1941, 31 fig. 1*b*).

Between about the middle of the eighth century and about 675, when, with the beginning of Payne's 'second black-figure', we find the Protocorinthian style fully developed, three styles of vase-painting are found: linear Subgeometric, accompanied to begin with by an unchanged Geometric style for larger vases, of which more below; linear orientalising; and black-figure. Typical examples of linear Subgeometric are kotylai like 27 (Pl. 2) and the oinochoai 136 (Pl. 8) and 160: of linear orientalising [4] the aryballos 235 (Pl. 13 and Fig. 35) and stand 225 (Pl. 15 and Figs. 32, 33). The 'Cumae group' vases 138 ff. (Pl. 9 and Figs. 21, 22) [5] belong rather between linear orientalising and black-figure, for though they are linear they use very broad lines, and make their effect by a contrast of light and dark, often heightening it with incision.

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[1] For similar phenomena cf. *Perachora* i, 54 f.

[2] Johansen, *VS* pls. IX, 1 and X, 1 (a replica of our 23). Weinberg (*AJA* 1941, 35 and *Corinth VII*, i, 86) appears to consider the common tall kotyle to be an independent invention contemporary with the rarer broad type. The evidence of our finds is against this.

[3] See catalogue, p. 28.

[4] Cf. the vases illustrated in *VS* pl. V and *PV* pls. 5–6.

[5] Cf. *VS* pl. VI, *PV* pl. 7.

Linear Subgeometric lasts with very little modification well into the developed period, and need not detain us, but the relation between linear orientalising and early black-figure still needs, I think, to be established satisfactorily. Chronologically it is generally taken that the first belongs to the latter part of the eighth century, and stops when the second begins very early in the seventh. This, I think, is nearly true, but it gives us only the chronological, not the stylistic relationship between the two, and the latter is worth investigating.

It is clear that by contact with Oriental manners of art the Greeks suddenly became impressed with the feeling that the conventions of Geometric art were exceedingly hampering. This Oriental art was not exactly naturalistic, but it turned Greek ideas towards naturalism, and so set up the παλίντονος ἁρμονίη which is the secret of Greek art—of archaic Greek art, at least—a continual striving after greater naturalism continually checked by the urge to abstract, stylised decoration, which by itself had been contented with the conventions of Geometric. The first move towards naturalism had to be some modification of pure silhouette, and the obvious alternative was outline. Corinthian potters in the Geometric period had rarely used figure work, and their earliest efforts in outline were correspondingly modest: aryballoi with narrow friezes of birds or animals and Geometric subsidiary decoration. The corresponding phase in Attica, which had an important tradition of figure decoration, is represented by the Analatos hydria. This is something of a greater kind than the little Corinthian vases, but the moment is the same: the mature tradition of Geometric decoration is not yet broken, but transformed by the bold and spring-like freshness of a new style.

As far as a greater naturalism goes, however, these Corinthian vases are very tentative, and they are all on a very small scale and with a very limited repertory. Even the big aryballos in Delos[1] confines its pictures in a narrow band. Our aryballos 235 (Pl. 13 and Fig. 35), on the same scale as the Delos one, makes a new departure. It has two friezes—a broad one on the body with a floral (the centre piece), a bird, a large volute, a sphinx, a large rosette, a man and a large star—and a narrower one on the shoulder with three hounds (?). The change of scale and repertory is paralleled in the style, where the old restraint has been thrown to the winds and nothing much found to take its place. The artist seems to have abandoned old stylisations for a naturalism which he has not the basis of observation to support, and so sinks back into aimless stylisations of his own. It is hard to say whether the drawing is good or bad—one can find no standard to judge it by. Much the same can be said of a contemporary black-figure work, the oinochoe 164 (Pl. 13 and Fig. 30)—bewildered, absurd figures regarded as representation, but there is a vast difference between the two vases from a decorative point of view. The peculiar technique of black-figure has often been traced to the influence of metal-work, no doubt rightly, but I think it is insufficiently recognised that as a style it is the direct continuation of Geometric. It carries on the principle of decoration by contrast of light and dark expressed in silhouette, but meets the urge to naturalism by giving the means of drawing within the silhouette.[1] It is not a simple development, but an ingenious invention, precisely parallel to the invention at Athens two hundred years later of the red-figure technique, which preserves the silhouette while making possible a much greater naturalism and freedom of drawing than black-figure was capable of. It is clear that the Greeks always felt that outline-figure drawing was unsatisfactory as vase-decoration. In the various outline styles of the seventh century there is always much silhouette, and all eventually give way to black-figure.[2] In Corinth, however, the continuity between Geometric and black-figure is far clearer than elsewhere. Payne has pointed out the connection between the late Geometric krater in Toronto [3] and the kotyle with riders in Aigina,[4] and the development of Protocorinthian black-figure is clear and consistent from this point.

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[1] *VS* pl. V, 7.

There is no consistent tradition of outline drawing. First come the aryballoi mentioned above, ending—this is clear from the shape—with those in Boston [5] and Syracuse [6] which must be about the turn of the century. Contemporary and closely related are the black-figure pieces in Berlin [7] and from the Branteghem collection.[8] I take it that our big aryballos 235 and the black-figure oinochoe 164 are about the same date. Our stand 225 (Pl. 15 and Figs. 32, 33) shows the outline style of the Boston aryballos adapted to a colossal scale. On a nearly contemporary black-figure vase—a lid from Ephesos in the British Museum [9]—are a cuirass and a bearded head drawn in outline, with a little incision, like the man on the aryballos 235. For the rest of Protocorinthian vase-painting outline is only used in this way, as an adjunct to black-figure. The commonest use is for sphinxes' faces, the earliest being on a fragment from Perachora,[10] which cannot be at all late in the first quarter of the seventh century. Other early examples are another fragment from Perachora[1] and an aryballos in Syracuse[2] transitional between the first and second black-figure styles.

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[1] The so-called Subgeometric of the seventh century could equally be called sub-black-figure; it is simply black-figure without incision.

[2] Fikellura is a black-figure style, though it uses reserved lines, as Clazomenian sometimes uses white lines, instead of incision.

[3] *PV* pl. 3.

[4] Hampe *Fr. Gr. Sag.* pl. 40.

[5] *PV* pl. 5. 2.

[6] *PV* pl. 5. 3.

[7] *PV* pl. 9. 3 and 4.

[8] *VS* 61, fig. 42.

[9] Hogarth, 230 fig. 57.

[10] *JHS* 1932, 241 fig. 5 right.

At the beginning of the second black-figure style comes a group of vases in which outline is used to an exceptional extent:

1. Kyathos, 52 (Pl. 4 and Fig. 12).
2. Kotyle, 32 (Pl. 14 and Fig. 8).
3. Aryballos from the Argive Heraion.[3]
4. Aryballos in Boston.[4]

Outline is used on the first for a lion's head and neck, a bull's head and a man's body; on the second for sphinxes' heads and bodies; on the third for sphinxes' heads and wings; on the fourth for a bearded head growing out of a lion's back. I have little doubt that these four outstanding vases are by one hand: note the tense calligraphy of the feline bodies on 1, 3 and 4; the resemblance of the sphinxes' profiles on 2 and 3, and the recurrence of dots on their wings; also the likeness of the unusual filling ornament on 2 and 3, and the use of dotted net-pattern on the handle-plates of 1 and the rim of 2. The very spare incision is also notable. Our two vases will be the earliest: note the broad area of fine lines below the picture instead of the normal three, and the transverse incisions at the lions' ankles—generally an early feature. Contrast in all these points the contemporary animals of *PV* pls. 13–19. Outline is found on the Chigi vase for the goddesses, the head of the sphinx, and for two dogs, and on the Macmillan lekythos for a horse, and this is not the only connection of our vases with the polychrome series. The lion's head on a fallen warrior's shield on the Louvre aryballos[5] is exceedingly close to the black-figure lion's head on 1, and the warriors are kin to the Boston warrior, the dogs to the dog on 1. Payne has conclusively shown that the polychrome style was derived from free painting, and I have no doubt that our vases were the immediate predecessors of that style, and that the influence of free painting is already reflected in them, in the choice of subjects and in the use of outline drawing. That is to say, there is no continuous tradition of outline drawing in Protocorinthian vase-painting, but two independent phases: first, the aryballoi and stand of the late eighth century to the turn of the seventh, in which vase-painters were experimenting in outline as they experimented more successfully in black-figure; second, after the establishment of a satisfactory black-figure style, certain vase-painters adopted first outline and then polychromy from free painting. This phase begins with the outline sphinx heads of the first quarter of the seventh century, and ends with the Chigi group after the middle. It was never the work of more than a few artists, and normal black-figure continued alongside it as the main vase tradition, inheriting from it the practice of drawing female heads in outline which is commonly found in ' Corinthian '.[1]

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[1] *JHS* 1930, pl. X, 2.
[2] *VS* pl. XXVI, 5; *NC* pl. 1. 4.
[3] *NC* 10, fig. 5, pl. 4. 6.
[4] *PV* pl. 20. 1.
[5] Best seen in *NC* 95, fig. 29*a*.

The development of black-figure is quite straightforward, and most stages are represented among our finds. Very early are the oinochoai 164 (Pl. 13 and Fig. 30), 142 (Pl. 9) and 143 (Fig. 23). 142 is close to the Cumae group in fabric and appearance, in the spare use of incision, and in its fantastic character. Next come the kotylai 29 (Fig. 5) and 30 (Fig. 6), comic and unsure, but rather more coherent, and then the pyxis lid 120 (Pl. 13 and Fig. 18), which is related to aryballoi in Corneto [2] and Rhodes [3] connected by Payne. The technique of these vases is crude, but the drawing is purposeful and strong, and the figures are informed with a new life. Their direct successors are the vases *VS* pls. XXII–XXIII and XXVI and *PV* pls. 10–11, late among which belongs our kotyle 31 (Pl. 14 and Fig. 7) and a closely related aryballos in Syracuse,[4] which are on the verge of the developed second black-figure style. Related to the pyxis-lid 120 by the heavy hooked incisions and the loose dot-rosette is the big oinochoe fragment 145 (Pl. 13 and Fig. 25), but it looks more advanced and anticipates the large style of the next period.[5] Probably about the same date is the large, but rather bad 144 (Fig. 24). To the beginning of the second black-figure style belong the kotyle and kyathos of the special group discussed above. Otherwise we have nothing of the second quarter of the century, except the conical oinochoe fragments 212, but there is a good group of Late Protocorinthian and Transitional pieces. These all fit without difficulty into the existing material, and are discussed in the catalogue, but it is perhaps worth pointing out the difference between the oinochoai 148 (Pl. 15 and Fig. 26) on the one hand and 146 and 147 (Fig. 26) on the other. The latter are related to the Chigi group, the exquisite dependents of free painting, while the former is in a robuster, less fine style, and one that looks farther both backward and forward.[6]

Our ' Corinthian ' material is small, and, with the exception of the kotyle fragments 39 (Pl. 14 and Fig. 9), uninteresting. Individual pieces are discussed in the catalogue.

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[1] It is also there used for clothes etc. more freely than in Protocorinthian.

[2] *VS* pl. 21. 2.

[3] *PV* pl. 9. 6–7.

[4] *VS* pl. XXVI, 5; *NC* pl. 1. 4.

[5] *E.g.*, the Aigina fragments, *NC* pls. 6 and 4. 4; *PV* pls. 18 and 19. 3.

[6] Cf. the lions' faces on 148 with those on *NC* pls. 4. 11 and 18, and contrast those of 146, 147.

CATALOGUE II

ITHACAN

Cups

(sections Fig. 37)

280. LD. H. 0·12. Pl. 16; Fig. 37.
281. LD. H. 0·11. Pl. 16; Fig. 37.
282. Fr., h. 0·07. Black. Fig. 37.
283. LD. Fr., h. 0·08. Plain, fired red. Fig. 37.
284. LD. H. 0·11. Pl. 16; Fig. 37.
285. H. 0·16. Pl. 16.
286. LD. H. 0·10. Pl. 16.
287. LD. H. 0·08. Black, reserved line on lip. Pl. 16.
288. LD. H. 0·10. As 10, but only narrow reserved band at handle-zone, with verticals and vertical zig-zags. Pl. 16.
289. LD. Diam. 0·17. Pl. 16. Cf. *Perachora* i, 58, pl. 11. 4.
290. Fr., l. 0·04. Pl. 17.
291. UD. Diam. 0·20. As next but deeper. Fig. 37.
292. Diam. 0·23. Pl. 23; Fig. 37.

Kotylai

293. LD. H. 0·09. Pl. 16.
294. LD. H. 0·12. Ungainly version of 20.
295. UD. Diam. 0·25. Pl. 16.
296. Fr., l. 0·06. Zig-zags and bird in panel.
297. (Dimensions unrecorded.) Pl. 17.
298. Diam. 0·20. Pl. 17.
299. UD. Frr., that illustrated, l. 0·03. Pl. 17.
300. LD. l. 0·07. Pl. 17.
301. Fr., l. 0·18. Pl. 16. At base, large figure-of-eight chain.
302. H. 0·19. Pl. 17.
303. Frr., longest, 0·11. Pl. 17.
304. Frr., higher, 0·10. Pl. 17.

On my use of the words ‘ cup ’ and ‘ kotyle ’ see the Corinthian catalogue. The Ithacan cups form two main groups: 280–4 directly derived from a local pre-Geometric type, and 285–90 directly imitated from Corinthian. Unlike the kantharoi,[1] the local cup type seems to have disappeared completely before the Corinthian form at quite an early stage. This is doubtless due to the fact that the cup is one of the commonest Corinthian shapes and was imported into Ithaca in quantity, while Corinthian kantharoi are rare.[2] 289, 290 show the transition to the kotyle. 291, 292, in rather pale clay, are of a type unknown at Corinth. They find analogies in East

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[1] See below, pp. 63 ff.

[2] See further, p. 65, below.

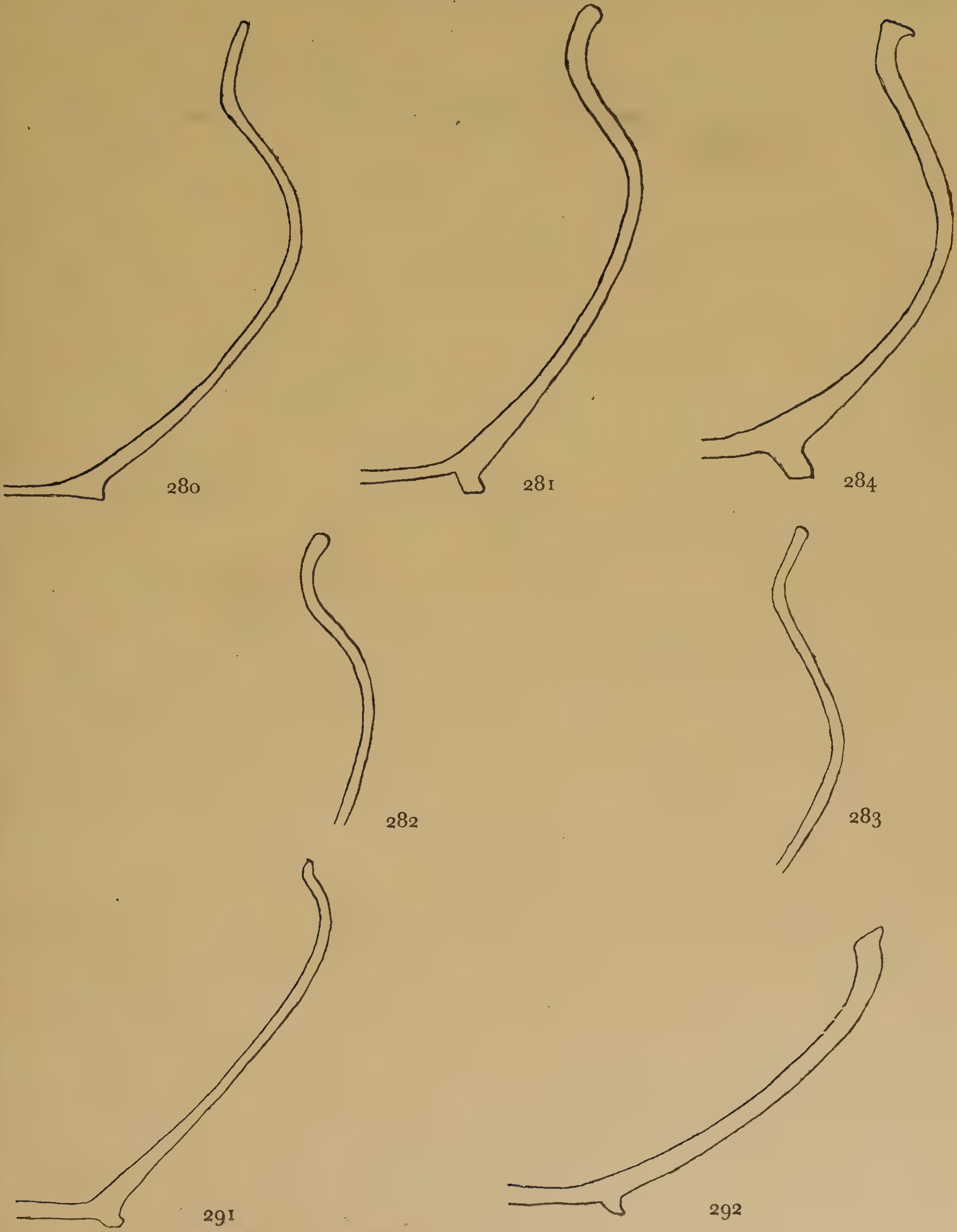
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Fig. 37.—Ithacan Cups. Scale 2 : 3.

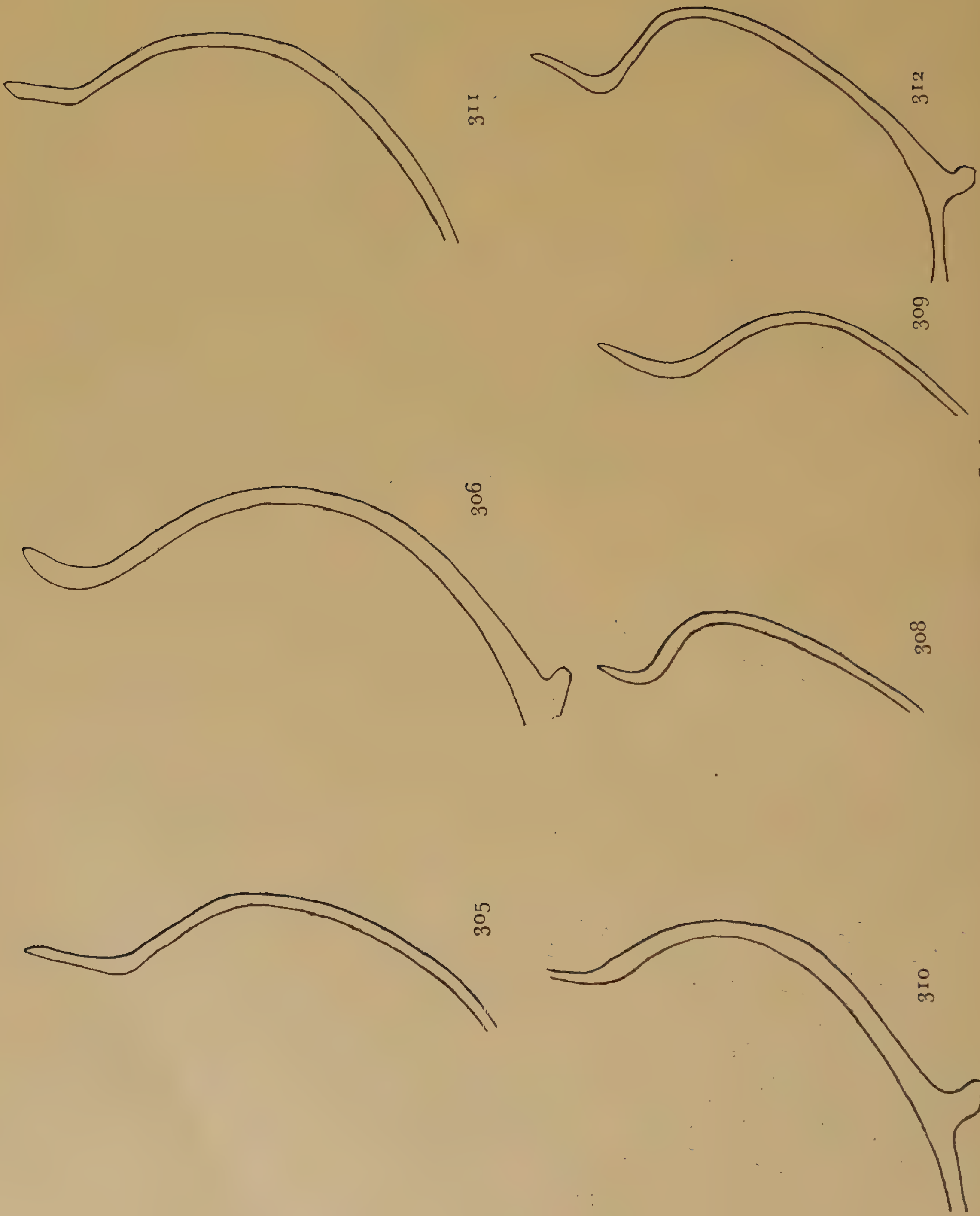
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Fig. 38.—Ithacan Kantharoi. Scale 2 : 3.

Greek and sub-Mycenaean; their decoration is consonant with a pre-Geometric ancestry.[1]

The kotylai 297–304 are in shape straightforward imitations of Corinthian models; on their decoration see below.[2] There are fragments of further examples.

Kantharoi

(sections Figs. 38 and 39)

305. LD. Fr., h. 0·12. Pl. 18; Fig. 38.
306. H. 0·12. Pl. 18; Fig. 38.
307. Fr., h. 0·05. Pl. 19.
308. LD. Fr., h. 0·08. Pl. 18; Fig. 38.
309. LD. Fr., h. 0·09. Pl. 18; Fig. 38.
310. LD. H. 0·10. Lip missing; stripes. Pl. 19; Fig. 38.
311. LD. H. 0·11. Foot missing. Pl. 19; Fig. 38.
312. LD. H. 0·10. Pl. 18; Fig. 38.
313. LD. Diam. 0·28. Pl. 20; Fig. 39.
314. LD. Diam. 0·18. Pl. 20; Fig. 39.
315. LD. Fr., h. 0·13. Pl. 20.
316. LD. H. 0·13. Sausage on shoulder; wavy lines on rim. Fig. 39.
317. LD. H. 0·12. Coarsely decorated with hatched rectangles dependant from rim. Fig. 39.
318. UD. H. 0·11. Concentric arcs.
319. LD. H. 0·25. Pl. 21; Fig. 39.
320. LD. Fr. illustrated, l. 0·07. Pl. 19.
321. UD. H. 0·14. As next, but elementary maeander on shoulder.
322. H. 0·17. Pl. 21. Cf. *VS* pl. XIII, 1, but ours are earlier, though already late Geometric.
323. UD. H. 0·11. Fine; varnish fired red. Decoration as on 333 but varnished round the handles, making a concave ended panel, as on the krater 364. Fig. 39.
324. UD. Fr., h. 0·17. Pl. 19; Fig. 39.
325. H. 0·21. Pl. 19; Fig. 39.
326. UD. H. 0·25. Pl. 18.
327. UD. Frr., h. 0·08. Pl. 20; Fig. 39.
328. UD. Fr., l. 0·15. Pl. 19.
329. Fr., l. 0·13. Pl. 20. There are fragments of a number of related pieces.
330. Frr., longer 0·14. Pl. 20.
331. LD. H. 0·18. Pl. 21; Fig. 39.
332. UD. H. 0·20. Pl. 21.
333. UD. H. 0·13. Pl. 21; Fig. 39.
334. UD. H. 0·11. As last, but more angular shape; no zig-zags on body.
335. H. 0·12. As last.
336. H. 0·18. As last.
337. UD. H. as restored 0·18. Pl. 21; Fig. 39.

I use the word ‘ kantharos ’ to cover most vases with two vertical handles. The level-handled series influences and is influenced by the development of the two-handled mugs, and it is often impossible to say to which class a given vase belongs. As a rule I have placed the larger vases and those with more pronounced feet among the kantharoi, but the distinction is often arbitrary.

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[1] Cf. *BSA* xxv, pl. XI *k*; also a Cretan Geometric piece from Arkades, *Ann.* x–xii, 137, fig. 125.

[2] Pp. 108, 110.

These vases, like the cups, derive in form and decoration directly from a

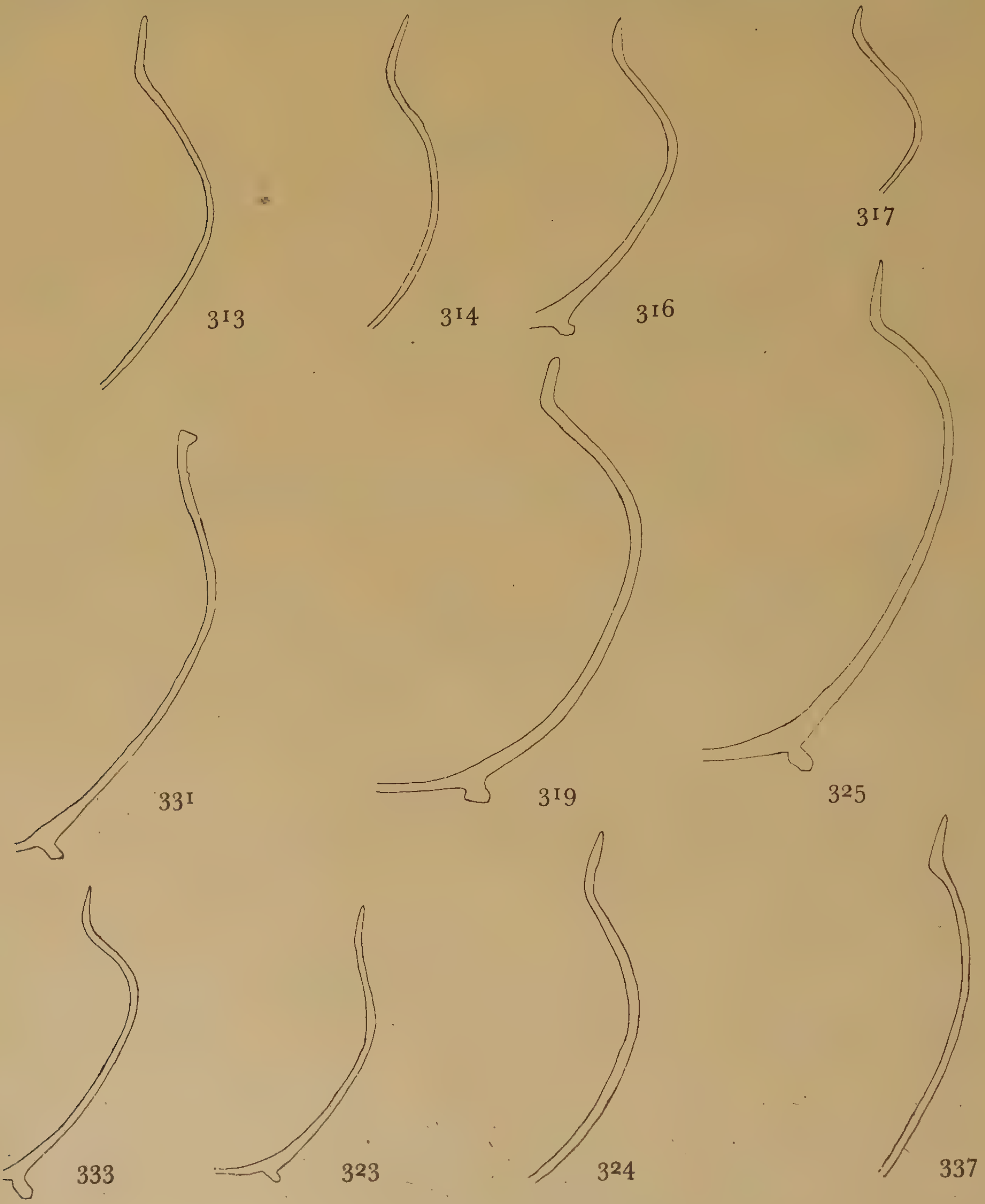
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Fig. 39.—Ithacan Kantharoi.
Scale 1 : 3.

local pre-Geometric type.[1] The pre-Geometric vases have handles level with the rim or slightly drooping, and these are found in some of the earlier of our vases—*e.g.*, 308, 331. The tradition moreover continues in 332–7, all of which come from the upper deposit and are evidently late Geometric. The decoration of the latter shows no trace of pre-Geometric origin, with the possible exception of the curious motive at the base of 337.[2] Meanwhile from an early period we find vases with the handles high-swung, the earliest slightly—*e.g.*, 305, 310—but soon strongly—*e.g.*, 313–15—the latter are all from the lower deposit, and evidently not later than the middle of the eighth century. The high-swung handle may be an internal development, but is perhaps more likely to be due to foreign influence. The kantharos with high-swung handles is rare in Corinthian, but common in Cycladic; the Cyclades had trade with the West from an early period,[3] and there are fragments of two Naxian vases, perhaps kantharoi, from our lower deposit. Further, a favourite scheme of decoration for Cycladic kantharoi is a division into three panels, in the central one an ornament, in each of the others a bird.[4] This recurs on 313 with the regular central ornament, but with a pair of birds in each side panel. The loose dot-rosettes on the Cycladic vases are evidently the origin of the filling of dots on ours, though in the bird scenes on the latter they are perhaps thought of as flying feathers, for the birds seem to be fighting. Birds with their young on their backs are found in Cretan Geometric, on a fine unpublished pithos from Knossos. There is a greater formal resemblance to ours on a fragment of a Cycladic kantharos from Eretria, *EA* 1903, 2, fig. 1, where, however, the birds are nearly the same size. The rim pattern recurs on the ring-vase 545. The handles once had plastic attachments, probably birds or animals as on bronze tripods and clay imitations of them.[5] I know no other example on a vase of ordinary ceramic type.[6] 314, 315 perhaps also show Cycladic or East Greek influence.[7] The design on the fragment 327 is borrowed from Corinthian, where it is common on kraters and kotylai.

The shape seems to die out before the end of the eighth century.

Mugs

(sections Fig. 40)

338. LD. Fr., h. 0·08. Fig. 40.
339. H. 0·08. Fig. 40.
340. LD. H. 0·08. Two handles. Fig. 40.
341. H. 0·08. Pl. 22; Fig. 40.

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[1] See p. 104, below.

[2] See below, p. 107.

[3] Cf. Blakeway, *BSA* xxxiii, 202 ff. *et passim*.

[4] *E.g.*, *Délos* xv Ae 87, pl. XXXII; *Clara Rhodos* iii, 98 fig. 91.

[5] Cf. *BSA* xxix, 244 no. 60, fig. 12*b* and pl. XIV.

[6] J. M. Cook points out to me that it is found in Protoattic, *e.g.* *AA* 1934, 211, fig. 9.

[7] Cf., *e.g.*, the Samian kantharos *AM* lviii, Beil. XXIX, 2.

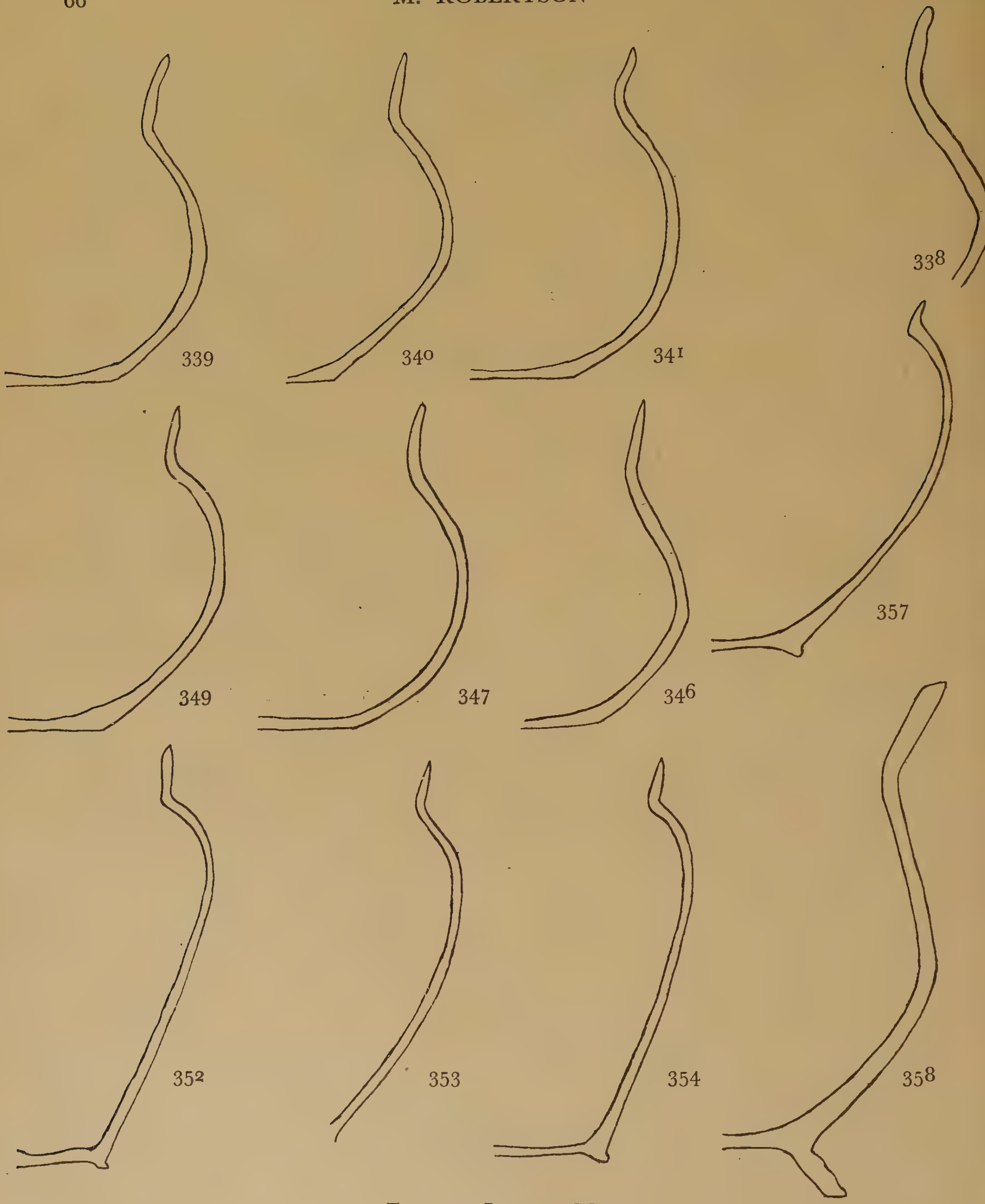
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Fig. 40.—Ithacan Mugs.
Scale 2 : 3.

342. LD. H. 0·06. Pl. 22.
343. LD. H. 0·07. Pl. 23.
344. LD. H. 0·08. Zig-zag on rim.
345. H. 0·07. Zig-zag on shoulder, lines on rim.
346. H. 0·07. Pl. 22; Fig. 40.
347. LD. H. 0·08. Pl. 22; Fig. 40.
348. LD. H. 0·08. Pl. 22.
349. LD. H. 0·07. Pl. 22; Fig. 40.
350. H. 0·05. Decorated with crossed circles.
351. Fr., l. 0·06. Black; reserved rim decorated with groups of verticals.
352. H. 0·11. Pl. 22; Fig. 40.
353. H. 0·10. Fig. 40.
354. UD. H. 0·10. Pl. 22; Fig. 40.
355. LD. Fr., h. 0·06. Almost a kyathos; very slight rim like that of cups transitional to kotylai; decoration perished. Two handles.
356. H. 0·11. Pl. 22.
357. H. 0·07. Pl. 23; Fig. 40.
358. UD. H. 0·13. Pl. 23; Fig. 40.

Kyathoi

359. H. 0·05. Pl. 22.
360. H. 0·11. Pl. 22.
361. Fr., h. 0·04. As last.

On my use of the words 'mug' and 'kyathos' see the Corinthian catalogue.[1] The mug is a shape of pre-Geometric origin. It is common elsewhere, particularly in Crete; ours, however, except 338, are smaller than the normal. Decoration like that of 346–9 is also rare—other examples are mostly plain black, some in Crete having elaborate decoration in red and white applied over black.[2] Our 342 offers a modest parallel, but may rather be connected with Protocorinthian kotylai with applied white decoration. The incised picture on 343 must be amateur work. The zig-zag band on 344, 345 is a survival from Protogeometric. The concentric arcs on 347, 349 of course connect with the kantharoi,[3] but I know no close parallel to the hatched butterfly and crossed circle of 348, 350. 352–4 form a special group, fine and clearly late. The shape is derived from the normal type, but refined into something quite new. A similar smartening is found in the latest Cretan examples—*e.g.*, the vase mentioned above—but the change there is less drastic, and I know no close parallel to our pieces. 354 in particular has exceptionally fine walls and good glaze. All three have two handles. 356 is in shape an enlarged and smartened version of the earlier type of black mug, but it is geometrically decorated. There are Corinthian parallels from Corinth and Perachora.[4] The shape of 357 shows yet another refinement of that of the black mugs; its decoration is mixed. The hatched and cross-

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[1] Above, p. 21.

[2] *BSA* xxix, 259 no. 140, pl. 10, 8.

[3] See p. 105, below.

[4] *Corinth* VII, i, pl. 16. 106; *Perachora* i, 60, pl. 12. 4. Cf. also the oinochoe 489.

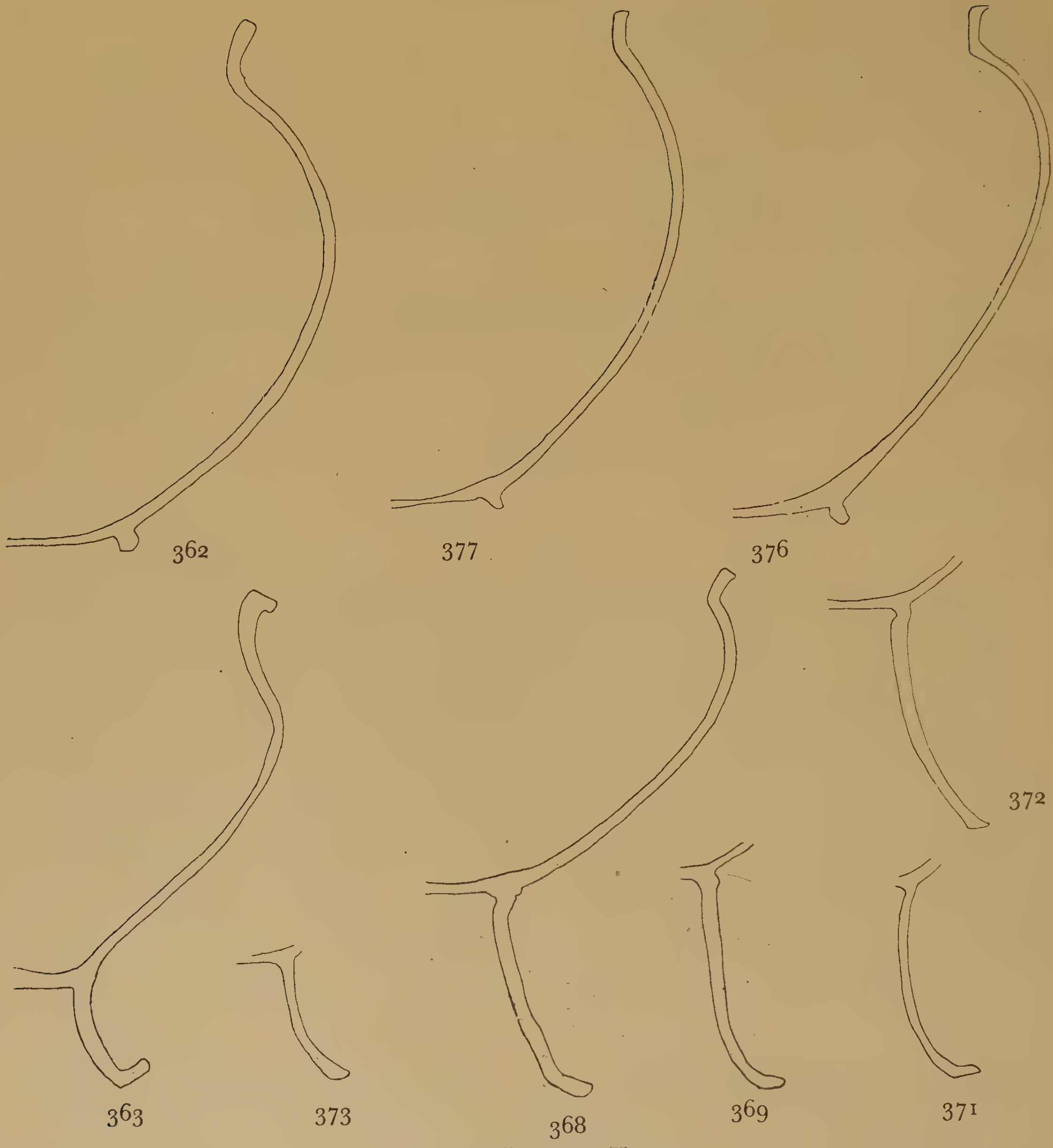
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Fig. 41.—Ithacan Kraters.
Scale 1 : 3.

hatched verticals are probably of Cycladic origin,[1] while the fine lines covering the lower part are rather typical of Corinthian. The foot is cross-hatched underneath, perhaps a potter's mark. The three-handled piece 358 is discussed below.[2]

Of the kyathoi, 360, 361 are Corinthianising. The very small 359 is footless, and its wretched decoration runs over the base; I know nothing like it.

Kraters

(sections Figs. 41 and 42)

362. LD. H. 0·22. Pl. 24; Fig. 41.
363. H. 0·20. Pl. 24; Fig. 41.
364. Fr., l. 0·14. Black; reserved panel on shoulder. Fig. 42.
365. Fr., h. 0·06. As last. Fig. 42.
366. Fr., h. 0·04. Fig. 42.

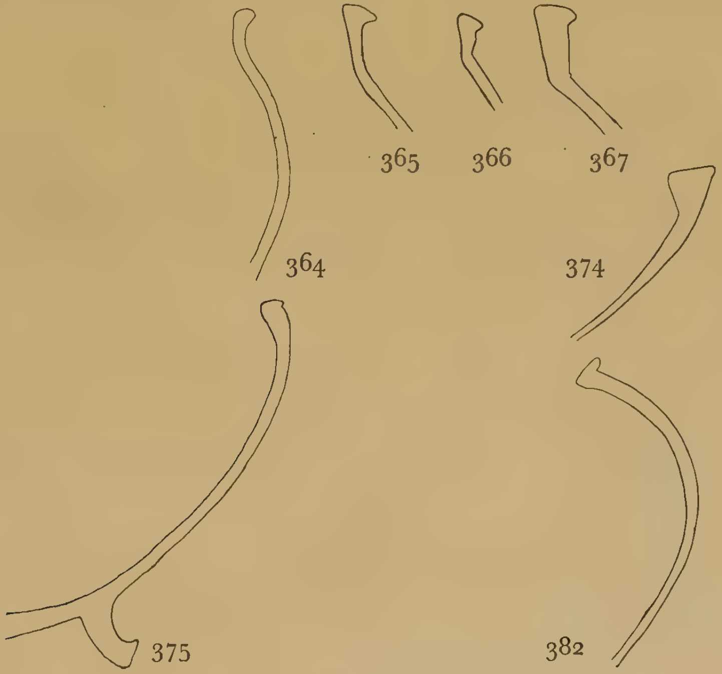

FIG. 42.—ITHACAN KRATERS.
Scale 1 : 3.

367. UD. Fr., l. 0·17. Fig. 42.
368. LD. H. 0·22. Pl. 25; Fig. 41.
369. Tall foot, h. 0·10. Stripes. Fig. 41.
370. LD. Tall foot, h. 0·05. Ajouré; broad bands.
371. UD. Tall foot, h. 0·09. Black; reserved bands with stripes at top and bottom. Fig. 41.

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[1] Cf. 571. J. M. Cook compares sherds from Melos in the British School at Athens.

[2] P. 105.

372. UD. Tall foot, h. 0·11. Similar decoration to last. Fig. 41.
373. UD. Tall foot, h. 0·05. Fine lines and band with group of verticals. Fig. 41.
374. Fr., l. 0·20. Similar to next. Fig. 42.
375. UD. H. 0·15. Pl. 25; Fig. 42.
376. H. 0·21. Pl. 25; Fig. 41.
377. UD. H. 0·20. Similar to next. Fig. 41.
378. UD. H. 0·26. Pl. 24.
379. Fr., l. 0·12. Pl. 23. See p. 107.
380. Fr., h. 0·08. Pl. 23. See p. 107.
381. Frr., higher 0·08. Pl. 23. See p. 111.
382. UD. Fr., h. 0·17. Pl. 25; Fig. 42.
383. H. 0·15. Pl. 24.

The local kraters do not form a homogeneous group. 362–7 stand close to the early cups, deriving, like them, from a pre-Geometric style. Cf. 362 with the cup 281, and the lip and handles of 363 with those of 284. 367 is from the upper deposit—possibly by accident, but it is quite conceivable that this rough, ill-decorated ware continued long with little change. The stemmed krater is common in many Geometric fabrics, but the form of the foot of 363 is markedly ungeometric. For general appearance cf. the Cretan Protogeometric krater, *BSA* xxix, pl. VI, 8. Rather more Geometric in detail is 368—contrast lip, handles and foot—but the decoration is peculiar. The closely related 369 is more regular, but it had the same broad stripes on the bowl. 370, close in fabric and with the same broad bands, had cut-out decoration, a common Geometric technique. 371–3 are perfectly Geometric. I know nothing like 374, 375; they look early, but 375 comes from the upper deposit, and may really be late. It seems a metallising shape. 376 is a pleasant crude piece, evidently not very early. The forms of lip and handle recall the local tradition, but the general shape has clearly been influenced by that of the Corinthian Geometric cup, which sometimes reaches almost this scale.[1] More strictly Corinthianising, and certainly late—they come from the upper deposit—are 377, 378. The shape is not a Corinthian one, but is related to the globular pyxis, to which are proper the band handle and sharply offset rim.[2] Our vases, however, are not pyxides; they have wide mouths, are varnished inside, and were not meant to be lidded. 382, 383 are dinoi. The handles and foot of 383 show it to be directly copied from a metal original, like the Cretan or imitation Cretan piece 599. Like it, too, it has a running dog pattern on the rim, and perhaps dates from the same time (first quarter of the seventh century). On 382 see below.[3] Its handles also probably derive from metal originals. The running loop motive is rare in Corinthian, and the row of butterflies does not occur, though pairs of them are common; both features are common in Cycladic, and it is possible that the vase shows Cycladic influence.

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[1] *E.g.*, Cat. no. 4; and cf. the later krater in kotyle form, *NC* pl. 2.

[2] Cf. 64 ff.

[3] P. 108.

Pyxides and Lids

(sections Fig. 43)

384. Diam. 0·21. Pl. 24.
385. H. 0·19. Pl. 24.
386. LD. H. 0·19. Globular, as 70. Pink clay, buff slip; decoration perished.
387. Diam. 0·23. See below, p. 109. Pl. 26.
388. UD. H. 0·12. Pl. 26; Fig. 43.
389. Fr., diam. of mouth 0·08. Fig. 43.
390. Fr., dimensions unrecorded. Fig. 43.
391. Fr., dimensions unrecorded. Fig. 43.
392. UD. H. as restored to knob of lid 0·38. Pl. 26; Fig. 43.
393. Diam. 0·08. Pl. 26; Fig. 43.
394. Diam. 0·15. Pl. 26; Fig. 43.
395. H. 0·08. Pl. 26; Fig. 43.
396. Diam. 0·09. Fig. 43.
397. Overfitting lid, probably from globular pyxis. Diam. 0·17. Decoration perished. Riveted in antiquity.
398. As last. Diam. 0·19.
399. Frr., longest 0·03. Pl. 23.
400. Fr., diam. 0·06. Pl. 23.

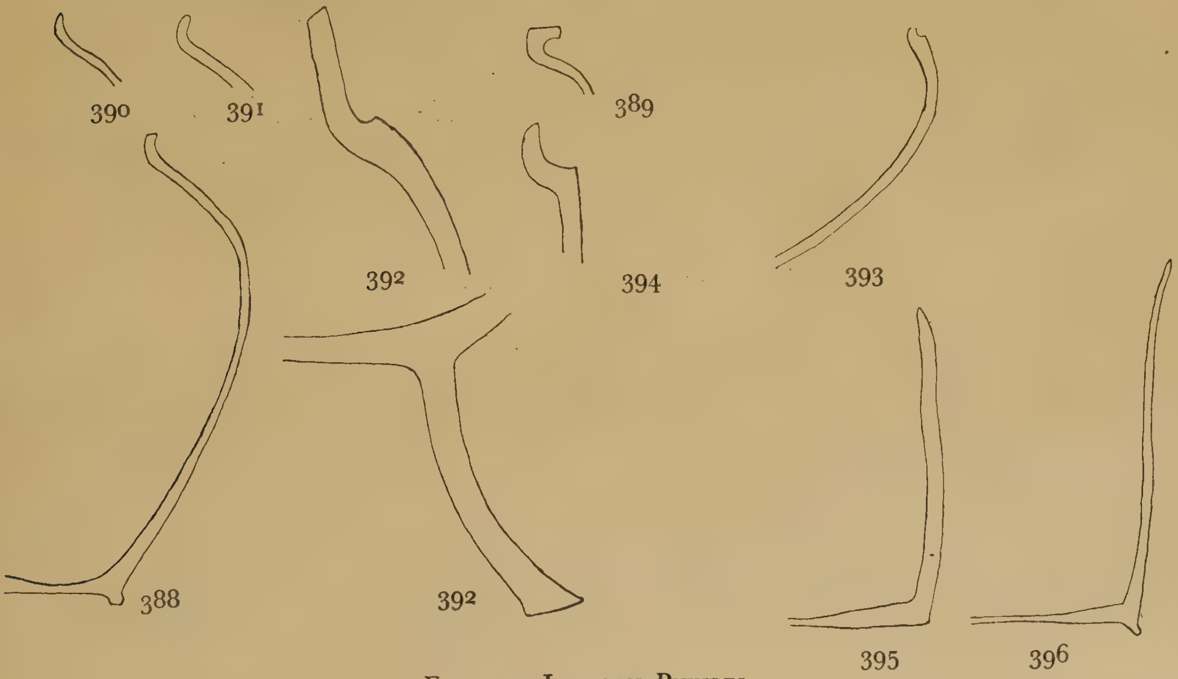

FIG. 43.—ITHACAN PYXIDES.
Scale 1 : 2.

The local pyxides, like the kraters, are rather a mixed bag. 384, 385 are of a form which I do not know elsewhere. They are not very Geometric in manner, and are probably early. The shape bears some resemblance to that of the Corinthian globular pyxis of which 386 is a direct imitation. This developed into a taller and finer type with band handles, and 388–91 are a local refinement of this shape. They are of fine technique, and must be late or Subgeometric. On 392 see below.[1] The motive next the handles is strange. The lozenge with hatched triangles attached is common in Attic and other Geometric styles, but the treatment of the lozenge ends is peculiar. Something like it in a rectangular form is regular in East Greek Geometric.[2]

393 is an imitation of the Corinthian kotyle-pyxis, but in fabric and style it is closely connected with the local kantharoi.[3] Like some of its prototypes, it is varnished inside and on the rim, and probably never carried a lid. 394 has been restored without evidence for its height, and may have been indefinitely taller. In any case, the cylindrical handle-less shape is peculiar, and it is uncommonly large. Lid and body are pierced for strings. The lid must have been painted in position, for the bottom of the chequer squares appears on the rim of the body. 395 is an imitation of the common Corinthian straight-sided low pyxis, but the fabric is coarse, and the style, such as it is, distinctively local. 396 is a tall version of the same thing, of fine fabric and decent style, probably Subgeometric.

399 is a small rimless lid, perhaps from a straight-sided pyxis; late eighth or early seventh century. I know nothing like the brick-wall style of 400. The circles are reserved, the verticals incised. Other fragments show that it was domed. It can hardly be earlier than the late eighth century.

Pithoi

401. H. 0·39. Pl. 27; Fig. 44.
402. Fr., l. 0·15. Pl. 40.
403. Fr., l. 0·16.

The pithos is a shape more common in Cretan than in other Geometric fabrics, though it does occur elsewhere.[4] 401 resembles the early Cretan type,[5] but is slenderer and has the low neck which in Crete hardly appears after the Geometric period. Nearer is an Argive example from Tiryns.[6] The shape is also related to the Corinthian globular and tall pyxides, but is probably an indigenous parallel development. The form of the lip looks back to pre-Geometric. For the group to which this vase belongs see below.[7]

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[1] P. 112.
[2] Cf. also the oinochoe 491.
[3] See p. 109.
[4] Cf. *BSA* xxix, 234 note 1.
[5] *L.c.* pl. VII, 1 and 3.
[6] *Tiryns* i, pl. XX, 4.
[7] P. 109.

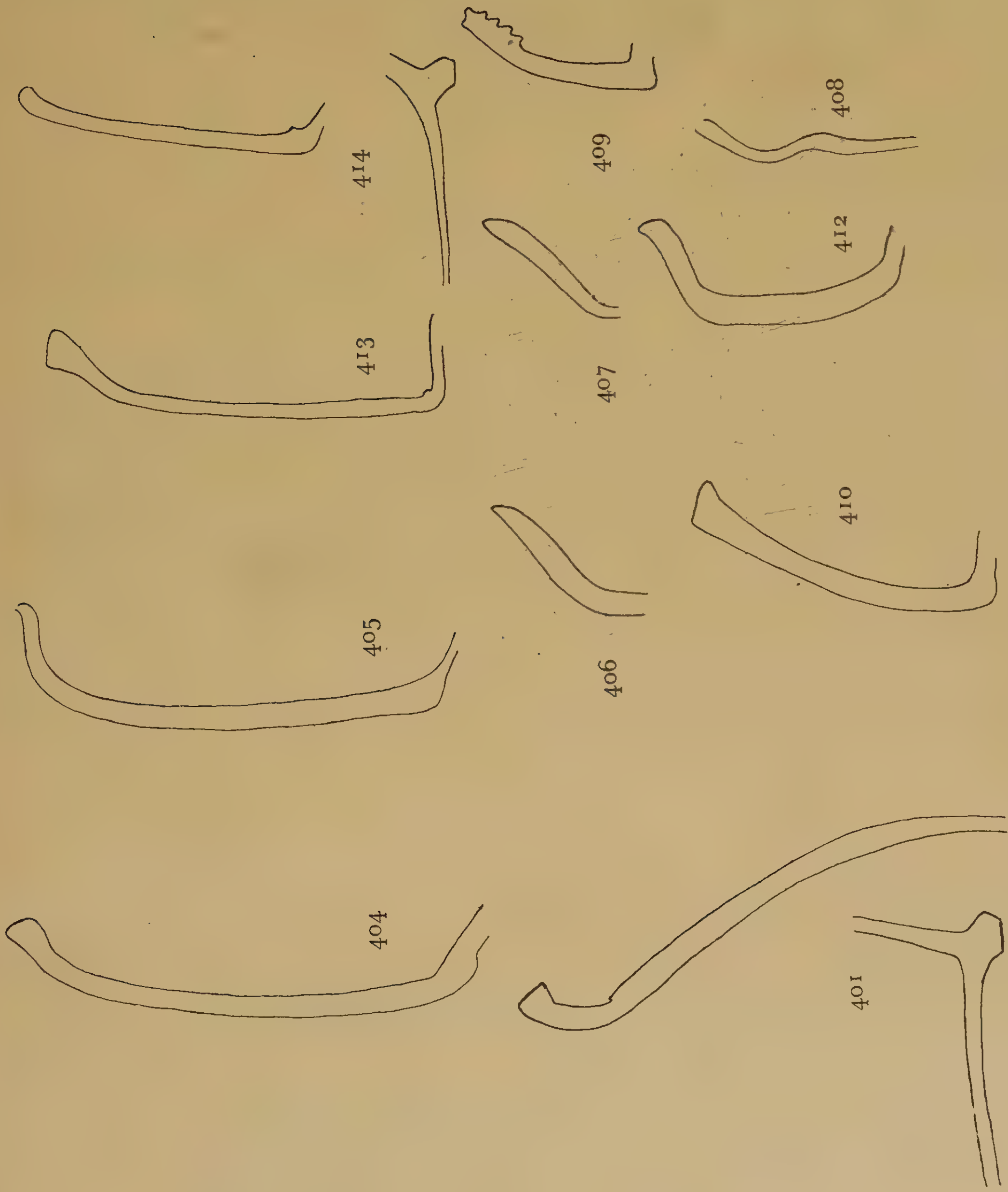
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FIG. 44.—ITHACAN PITHOS, AMPHORAE, HYDRIAI AND OINOCHOAI.
Scale 1 : 2.

402, 403 are double handles from large vases varnished inside, probably pithoi. 402 at least had decoration in a panel on the shoulder, and they resemble Cretan examples.[1] The Ithacan and Cretan clays are often very much alike, and it is not impossible that these are imports.

Amphorae

(sections Fig. 44)

404. H. 0·33. Pl. 28; Fig. 44.
405. Neck, h. 0·11. Pl. 28; Fig. 44.
406. Fr., diam. of mouth 0·16. Similar to last. Fig. 44.
407. Fr., diam. of mouth 0·14. Similar to last. Fig. 44.
408. Fr., h. 0·06. Similar to last. Fig. 44.
409. Frr., h. of taller 0·13. Metallic groovings at lip; neck: crosses; shoulder: dotted rays, running dog; body: fine lines; base: crosses between rays. Fig. 44.

The amphora is, of course, a shape found in all Geometric fabrics. 404 is large, ungainly and of coarse make. The sagging shoulders and low belly and the zig-zag on the neck are early signs, and the vase shows no evidence of the influence of more civilised styles. The handles of 405 are missing, but the lowest band of paint is broken at two points opposite each other; the rest of the design is unbroken, which suggests that the handles were loop handles standing on the shoulder and did not rise to the lip, which, unfortunately, is missing at both points. This form is common in several fabrics, but not in Corinthian, and our piece, which is fully Geometric and outside the local tradition, is perhaps further evidence for Cycladic influence. The handles of 409 are missing, and it might possibly be a hydria. The style bears some resemblance to that of the squat oinochoe 469 and the tall-necked oinochoe 519.

Hydriai

(sections Fig. 44)

410. LD. Fr., h. 0·11. Pl. 27; Fig. 44.
411. LD. Dimensions not recorded. Ovoid body; neck missing; black.
412. UD. Fr., h. 0·19. Pl. 28; Fig. 44.

The very low, broad shape of 410 connects it with a group of colossal hydriai of Mycenaean date from Polis,[2] but most of these have cut-away necks, and the resemblance may be fortuitous. The vase is useful rather than decorative, but is well made, and the fabric is fine, and might conceivably be Corinthian. 411 is of rather more delicate make and different shape. The fabric of neither looks very early, but I am at a loss to date them. 412 belongs to the fine Corinthianising group.[3] The hydria is an uncommon form at Corinth, but in Ithaca Corinthianising decoration is often found on un-

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[1] *BSA* xxix, pl. VIII, 5 and 8.

[2] *BSA* xxxix, 9 and pl. 4.

[3] See below, p. 112.

Corinthian shapes. The profile and decorative scheme of the neck bear some resemblance to those of the amphora neck 405, but the hydria comes from the upper deposit and is clearly from the end of the Geometric period. It stands particularly close to the kantharos 330.

Oinochoai

A. Round-mouthed

413. LD. Fr., h. 0·14. Pl. 27; Fig. 44.
414. H. 0·31. Pl. 27; Fig. 44.
415. LD. H. 0·29. Pl. 27.
416–24. Nine small vases, h. 0·10–0·12.
425. H. 0·08. Pl. 30.
426. H. 0·11. Pl. 29.

The round-mouthed oinochoai fall into two groups, 413–15, a close series of large metallising vases, deriving from the pre-Geometric tradition and ceasing early,[1] and 416–26, an independent series of small vases belonging to the latter part of the Geometric period. The type is found at Corinth and in East Greece, examples from both centres being found at Aetos.[2] 425 is a close copy of a Corinthian type, while 426 is distinctively local.

B. Cut-away mouth

427. Neck, h. 0·08. Pink clay, thin white slip. See below, p. 108. Pl. 27.

C. Trefoil-mouthed

428–30. UD. Three hand-made vases, h. *c.* 0·11. Pale buff clay; pot-bellied shape like next. No decoration.
431. H. 0·16. Pl. 29.
432. LD. H. 0·18. Pl. 29.
433. H. 0·14. Pl. 29.
434. H. 0·12. Pl. 29.
435. H. 0·13. As last.
436. H. 0·11. Pl. 29.
437. H. 0·20. Pl. 29.
438. LD. H. 0·13. Lower part missing. Mouth black; neck striped with band of lozenges; shoulder black; body striped.
439. UD. H. 0·16. Lower part missing. Mouth, neck and shoulder black; broad stripes below.
440. UD. Fr., h. 0·12. Pl. 30.
441. UD. Fr., h. 0·08. Pl. 30.
442. H. 0·28. Mouth and most of neck missing; lower part of neck striped; shoulder: horizontal zig-zags in panels divided by verticals; body striped, black below.
443. UD. Fr., h. 0·16. Neck and foot missing. Shoulder and body covered with stripes interrupted by three broad bands, one black on the shoulder, two on the body of alternate black and reserved panels; broad black bands at base.

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[1] See pp. 105, 109, below.

[2] See Cat., nos. 218, 219 and 588, 589.

444. H. 0·51. Mastoi. Pl. 30.
445. LD. H. 0·32. Pl. 30.
446. LD. Fr., h. 0·14. Pl. 28.
447. LD. Fr., h. 0·11. Pl. 28.
448. Fr., h. 0·13. Mouth black; neck and shoulder striped; round neck groups of vertical zig-zags in panels divided by verticals; on shoulder band with groups of vertical zig-zags.
449. Fr., h. 0·16. Mouth black; neck striped, with groups of vertical zig-zags in band; shoulder: large tongues in panel bounded by verticals; stripes.
450. Fr., h. 0·16. Mouth black; neck striped, with three panels separated by verticals: horizontal zig-zags, cross-hatched lozenge, horizontal zig-zags; shoulder striped, with groups of vertical zig-zags in band.
451. H. 0·30. Mouth (mostly missing) black; neck striped, with horizontal zig-zags in panels separated by verticals; shoulder: the same, and narrow band of horizontal zig-zags alternating with groups of vertical zig-zags; body striped, with broad bands at base.
452. Neck, h. 0·11. Pl. 28.
453. Neck-fr., h. 0·07. Pl. 32.
454. Neck-fr., h. 0·08. Pl. 30.
455. Fr., h. 0·24. Upper part missing; shoulder, band with groups of vertical zig-zags; body, stripes; base, swastikas between rays.
456. Fr., h. 0·34. Pls. 30 and 31.
457. Fr., h. 0·16. Lower part only: stripes; double spirals between outlined rays.
458. Fr., l. 0·18. From lower part: wave-line with solid filling; stripes.
459. Fr., l. 0·15. Pl. 32.
460. Frr., longest 0·11. Pl. 32; Fig. 45.
461. UD. Fr., h. 0·08. Mouth, black; neck, tall zig-zag with dots; flat fillet at top of shoulder, double row of dots; shoulder, rays; stripes. For the tall zig-zag cf. the three-handled mug 358.
462. Fr., h. 0·06. Mouth, black; neck, large dotted circles; shoulder, simple orientalising leaf-motives separated by dotted circles and lozenges; three fine lines; wide reserved space; band; broad band.
463. Fr., l. 0·17. Pl. 32. Shoulder, crude orientalising pattern based on lotus and bud.
464. Fr., l. 0·16. Pl. 32.
465. Fr., l. 0·11. Big loops with rough incision—crude imitation of Cumae group.
466. Frr., longer l. 0·11. Pl. 32.
467. Fr., h. 0·17. Pl. 31; Fig. 46.
468. Frr., h. of neck 0·12.

I have separated off squat oinochoai (D), tall-necked (E), and those with angular shoulder (F).[1] Of what remains the majority are more or less closely influenced by the Corinthian shape, whose development was fairly regular. There remain, however, a number of curious pieces. 428–30 are hand-made and unpainted. They come from the upper deposit, but the type is probably earlier. For the dowdy, sagging shape cf. the amphora 404. For other hand-made vases at this time cf. the 'Argive Monochrome' class. 431 is a wheel-made copy of this form, probably also late. For the wide, bare spaces and groups of fine lines cf. the oinochoe 462 and the aryballos 551, both of the late eighth century. 432 is from the lower deposit and certainly early;

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[1] See below, pp. 78 ff. and 87.

its connections are discussed below.[1] The metallic thread at the base of the neck also connects it with the group discussed on pp. 105, 109. The shape of 433–5 bears some resemblance to that of 428–30. They are decorated with simple bands of white paint—a common Cretan feature, but also found in Corinthian. At Corinth it does not appear till late in the Geometric period, and these vases are evidently late also. 436 perhaps goes with them; it is close in shape to an oinochoe from Knossos decorated with white paint.[2]

Of the remaining pieces many are discussed below; I will mention only a few points here. 438 from the lower deposit is unusually small; the shape may be connected with the egg-shaped 442–4. 439 also seems to form a link between these and the more regular shape. 442 is straightforward imitation of Corinthian Geometric; 443 the same in type, but with a unique design. 448 is Corinthianising in decoration, but shape and fabric connect it with 439–41.[3] 450 is a fine imitation of good Corinthian Geometric; 449 is less good—the shoulder motive places it in the orientalising period, and the sharp angle of the shoulder fits with this date. 452 perhaps derives from an original related to the earliest tall pyxides. 453 and 454 are already orientalising, 454 with crude but quite effective incision. 456 is discussed below, but the bird to the left of the handle deserves a mention. It is, I suppose, thought of as flying, seen from above or below. The motive of 458 is not found in Corinthian till the third quarter of the sixth century, but

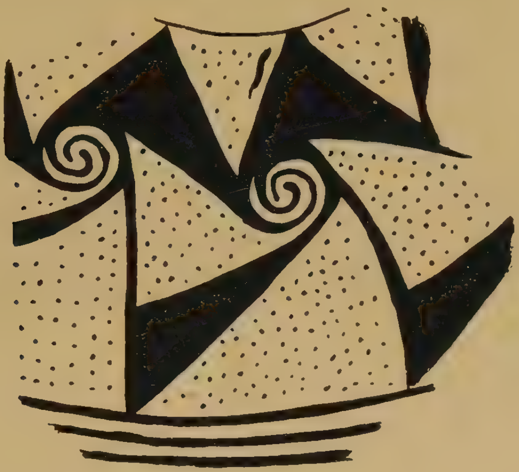

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FIG. 45.—RECONSTRUCTED DESIGN FROM SHOULDER OF ITHACAN OINOCHOE.

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[1] See p. 106.

[2] *BSA* xxix, 250 fig. 16 *bis*.

[3] See p. 106.

occurs in 'Rhodian' Subgeometric of the later seventh; our piece is certainly still eighth. The linked lozenges on 459 are a weak motive to which I know no parallel. 460 finds a close parallel on certain jars from Lemnos.[1] The motive is, of course, Mycenaean, and Della Seta believes the 'Tyrrhenian' style of Lemnos to be directly derived from Mycenaean. Whether our rather weakly constructed version is directly connected with either I do not know. The dotted background is typically Ithacan. It may be later eighth or earlier seventh century. 461 and 462 are very alike in fabric and shape—low and broad with a sharp angle at the neck. The distant spacing and wide unpainted areas of 462 recall the oinochoe 431 and the aryballos 551. 468 is unique. It is a broad, low shape; the handle is twisted of three strands which separate before joining the mouth; at the base of the neck is a relief band from which descend three pairs of vertical relief bands; the lower part is missing; the whole is painted black. This design cannot be of ceramic origin, and it would look almost as queer in metal. It rather suggests wicker—a kind of Chianti bottle casing translated into clay.[2]

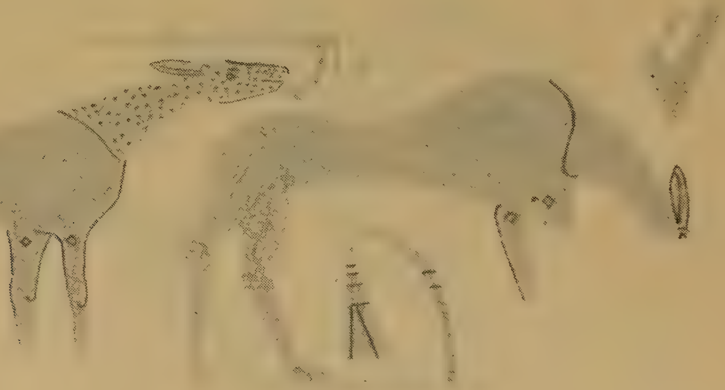

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Fig. 46.—Design from Ithacan Oinochoe.

D. Squat

469. Frr., highest 0·10. Pl. 33.

This vase is copied from a regular Corinthian type.[3] It belongs to the second half of the eighth century. The running dog on the neck and fine lines on the body are regular, but the shoulder motive is not Corinthian.[1] The proportion of the striped area to the rayed area at the base is between the normal type with short rays and such a piece as 161, where the fine lines have been reduced to three.

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[1] Della Seta in *EA* 1937, 629 ff., pl. 1 and fig. 1. He dates the whole group to the eighth century, but some must and all may be seventh.

[2] More of this vase has been found in Miss Benton's excavations, and it will be illustrated and discussed in her publication.

[3] Cat. 157–62.

E. Long-necked

470. Fr., l. 0·17. Neck and lower part missing; body black; on shoulder panel with four groups of concentric semicircles.
471. LD. H. 0·24. Pl. 33.
472. H. 0·21. Pl. 33.
473. LD. Neck missing, h. 0·16. Pl. 33.
474. UD. Fr., h. 0·08. Pl. 33.
475. Fr., h. 0·13. Neck and body striped; broad black band at junction; on shoulder band with pot-hooks and plastic mastoi.
476. Neck, h. 0·09. Striped; two bands of pot-hooks; double groove round centre.
477. H. 0·16. Shape between 473 and conical; neck and shoulder black; body striped.
478. H. 0·11. As last.
479. UD. H. 0·16. Shape as 473 but with narrower foot. Body striped, black below; shoulder, cross-hatched triangles and horizontal zig-zags; neck, stripes below, long cross-hatched triangles above; mouth black; handle saltires. Styleless, crude technique.
480. H. 0·13. As last.
481. H. 0·13. Small conical oinochoe, as 176 ff.
482. H. 0·08. As last.
483. H. 0·08. Lower part missing; unique shape. Pl. 33.
484. LD. H. 0·13. Pl. 33.
485. H. 0·13. Ovoid body; neck and body striped.
486. H. 0·14. As last.
487. H. 0·11. Globular body, not very long neck; like an aryballos with a trefoil mouth. Black.
488. H. 0·14. As last, but neck and shoulder striped with herring-bone at junction.
489. H. 0·08. Pl. 29.
490. Frr., longest 0·11. Pl. 34.
491. Frr., base l. 0·10. Pl. 34.
492. Frr., longest 0·05. Pl. 34.
493. Neck, h. 0·15. Pl. 33.
494. Handle fr., h. 0·05. Pl. 34.
495. Fr., l. 0·10. Shoulder, fish; body, fine lines, interrupted by two bands with groups of vertical zig-zags.
496. Fr., l. 0·07. Fine lines, groups of vertical zig-zags. Very fine technique; cf. the angular oinochoe 524 and the pomegranate 555.
497. Mouth, l. 0·04. Pl. 33.
498. Handle fr., h. 0·05. Pl. 33.
499. H. 0·13. Pl. 35.
500. Fr., h. 0·13. Pl. 35.
501. H. 0·18. Pl. 37.
502. Fr., h. 0·15. Pl. 36.
503. H. 0·19. Pl. 36.
504. Fr., h. 0·12. Pl. 35.
505. H. 0·19. Pl. 35.
506. Fr., h. 0·08. Pl. 35.
507. H. 0·20. Pl. 36.

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[1] Cf. the aryballos 551.

508. Fr., h. 0·14. Pl. 35.
509. Frr., h. 0·10. Pl. 37; Fig. 47.
510. Frr., longest 0·14. Pl. 37.
511. Fr., h. 0·08. Pl. 35.
512–17. Frr. of six other vases of the same class.
518. Frr., longest 0·08. Fig. 48.
519. H. 0·17. Pl. 35.
520. Fr., h. 0·06. Pl. 35.
521. Fr., h. 0·18. Pl. 38.

The long-necked oinochoai fall into three main groups: 470–8, a local development apparently of pre-Geometric origin; 479–84 and 490–8, vases of a related shape but modified under Corinthian influence; 499–520, a close group of orientalising vases of a shape not found elsewhere.

On 470–8 see below.[1] The tall body of 471 is peculiar. It recalls sixth-century lekythoi, but the nearest parallels I know in Geometric are Cretan.[2] The handle of 472 joining the neck half-way up with a ring is a Cypriot and Cretan feature, but not in combination with an upper section joining the lip. 479–80 are copied from a parallel Corinthian shape,[3] but their decoration is obstinately local. 479 is from the upper deposit, so is probably late Geometric in spite of the backward decoration. 481, 482 are straightforward copies of the common small conical oinochoai of Corinth. I know no parallel to the shape of 483; the decoration of the mouth connects it with 432, 440 ff.[4] 484, from a conical oinochoe or one of these related shapes, is in an unusual style. The passion for close-packed zig-zags is rather Argive, and in Argos the Geometric style undergoes just such a dissolution, but the resemblance is probably fortuitous. 485, 486 are copies of a rare Corinthian type, of which there are two examples from the site.[5] The aryballoid 487–9 have no Corinthian prototypes. The angular shape of 489 recalls the 'Argive Monochrome' aryballos 279. For the decoration of 488 cf. the mug 356.

490–5 are discussed below.[6] 490, 491 are an 'off-conical' shape like the Corinthian 172. The shape is rare at Corinth for major pieces, and its popularity here perhaps shows the influence of the local shape of 477 f. 492–5 may have been the same shape or conical. 490–2 all have pictures on the underside of the base. This practice is found sometimes in Corinthian of this period,[7] and occasionally in other wares, but seldom with the elaboration of the Ithacan examples. There is no question of their being potters' marks; they are pictures. They would only be seen when the jug was actually being poured from, but the surface is a tempting one to paint on.

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[1] Pp. 105 f.

[2] *E.g.*, *MA* xxii, pl. XL, 7, from Cumae; also certain unpublished vases from Knossos. Cf. also the vase from Cumae, *l.c.* pl. XXXV, 2, doubtfully classed by Blakeway as Cycladic (*BSA* xxxiii, 202; both this and the Cretan vase reproduced there, pl. 34. nos. 89, 90). Cf. also a Rhodian Subgeometric piece from Ialysos (*Clara Rhodos* iii, 95 fig. 86 right; see below, p. 100).

[3] See Cat. nos. 166–75.

[4] See below, p. 106.

[5] Cat. 174, 175.

[6] Pp. 106, 112.

[7] *E.g.*, 171 (slightly earlier); this piece may have brought the idea to Ithaca.

The picture on the base of 490 represents a conical oinochoe with Geometric decoration on the body and a wavy line down the neck.[1] Our vase is itself almost a conical oinochoe, and the picture, in spite of the difference in decoration, may perhaps be taken as a 'self-portrait'.[2] The picture comes right at the edge of the field, and was presumably part of a larger composition. The body of the vase was covered with an inscription running round the vase from left to right, probably in a downward spiral.[3] In *b* the left-hand part of the upper line is filled with pattern, but this stops and the inscription in the second line runs up into the first. This is probably towards the back of the vase, and *c* and *d*, with letters in the top line, will follow on shortly. The elaborate patterns of *a* probably indicate the front of the vase. The inscriptions read:

a μαλισταhoν̣ (or μ̣ or σ̣)
π̣ (or ḥ)
b ενϜοστεφιλοσκα̣ι̣π̣ (or ḥ)
ιλαενπ̣
c εταιρ̣οσ
οιτενατ̣
d τ̣ο̣ [4]
e χ̣ορ̣ (or ψορ̣)
οτ

a evidently says: μάλιστα ὄν (or ὢν or ὡς or ὁ ν. . or ὁ σ. . or ὁ μ. . or the like). The μ at the beginning is virtually certain. Only the top halves of σκαιπ are preserved in *b*, but the forms seem certain. The letters εταιροσ in *c* are all certain except ρ which is probable. They can hardly form part of anything but ἑταῖρος, but the ε is preceded by the end of a vertical stroke, which cannot properly belong to a h. The explanation can be either the omission of the h by mistake or a careless extension of its second vertical. We have seen that

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[1] Cf. the late Protocorinthian vase 213.

[2] Cf. the kantharos on a Samian kantharos (*AM* lviii Beil. XXIX, 1. An amphora from Thera, on the other hand, shows a picture of an oinochoe or aryballos (*AM* xxviii Beil. V, 2), as does a Lakonian stand (*BSA* xxxiv, 118, pl. 25*f*); an oinochoe from the Agora at Athens one of a storage amphora (*Hesperia* vii, 417 fig. 5, with remarks by R. S. Young); and a pyxis-lid from Perachora a row of conical oinochoai (*Perachora* i, pl. 26. 1).

[3] Miss L. H. Jeffrey's suggestion. Miss Jeffrey has examined the Ithaca material from an epigraphic standpoint, but I was only able to discuss it with her when my article was in page proof. The remarks on the alphabet are mainly hers.

[4] Miss Jeffrey reads the first letter as π̣ or ḥ.

c and *d* must come fairly soon after *b*; *b* ends with what is probably a π, though it could be a h. I would read:

ξ]ενFος τε φιλο̣ς κ̣α̣ι̣ π̣[ισ]τ̣ο̣[ς h]εταιρος

the το of πιστος being doubtfully supplied by *d*. πιστὸν ἑταῖρον occurs in Homer,[1] and φίλος καὶ πιστὸς ἑταῖρος in Theognis,[2] while an early memorial inscription from Corcyra speaks of προξενFος δαμου φιλος.[3] There is little to be made of the lower line. If the association of *b*, *d* and *c* is correct, we have ιλαενπ̣ (about 14 letters missing) οιτενατ̣.

ιλαεν could be part of ἵλαεν from ἱλάεις a by-form of ἵλαος, but it may be an infinitive; people who wrote ποιασε for ἐποίησε might perhaps have written φιλαεν for φιλεῖν.[4] The end might be: . . . οι τ' ἐν ἀτ . . . or ω̣ τ' ἐν ἀτ . . .[5] *e* does not help, nor do the traces of the ends of strokes on the base fragment. The inscription was evidently in hexameter or elegiac verse, probably hexameter, but it is not possible to make out its nature. It does not seem to be dedicatory. The picture on the base suggests that the potter was personally concerned. The alphabet is interesting. Miss Jeffery believes it to be, like other early Ithacan and Cephallenian inscriptions, mainly Achaean, Ithacan peculiarities being the five- (in φιλος six-) stroke iota (a parallel development to the five-stroke Laconian sigma) and the Chalcidian ʟ = λ. The latter in combination with M = σ is very rare, occurring in early Etruscan (the stele of Aules Felusces), in some abecedaria from North Italy which are mainly Chalcidian and use Ϻ and ʃ = σ as well as M, and in some early Cretan inscriptions from Dreros and Knossos which otherwise use normal Cretan forms. ʟ of course occurs in several alphabets, but the Chalcidians alone of those who used it were early in the West, and its presence here suggests the possibility of Chalcidian influence.

The patterns are just such as we find on Corinthian vases of the later eighth century, and our vase cannot be much, if at all, later than 700 B.C. The little hooks which replace the volutes at the ends of the supports of the palmette are a favourite Cretan motive which I have not found elsewhere.[6]

491, 492 are discussed below.[7] The motive flanking the main panel on 491 is unusual, and is related to that on the pyxis 392; cf. also that on 520. 492 gives perhaps the earliest example of eagle and snake. The neck 493 is very close in fabric to 490, and perhaps belongs to it;[1] the handle 494 probably belongs to 491. 497 is unusual—the wheel-made mouth of a tall-necked oinochoe with the head of an animal modelled and painted on above, leaving an opening at the mouth to pour out by and one on top for filling—a poor relation of such pieces as the griffin jug from Aegina. The curious handle 498 seems also to be from a tall-necked oinochoe. The circles are stamped, and the cores were originally painted.

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[1] *Il.* xv, 331.

[2] I. 209, 332.

[3] Roehl, *IGA* 342.

[4] See below, p. 89; and cf. Theocritus 3, 3: πεφιλαμένε. Miss Jeffrey suggests φ]ίλα ἐν π̣ . .

[5] For the omission of an elided letter Miss Jeffrey compares μ' ἀνέθηκε in early dedications.

[6] Cf. *BSA* xxix, pls. XVIII, XIX.

[7] Pp. 112 f.

499–520 form a special and most interesting group on which see further below.[2] The shape is unique, as is the decoration of most of them. They are all small, and the shape bears some resemblance to that of certain Cretan vases,[3] but it more nearly resembles the ordinary full-size Corinthian oinochoe of the period, and the decoration is closely related to that of certain of these oinochoai, the 'Cumae group'.[4] The tall, narrow necks are not, of course, proper to this form of Corinthian oinochoe. The Ithacan potter evidently felt that in reducing the size he must change the proportions, and so substituted a neck like that of conical oinochoai. As in the Cumae group, the decoration of the neck is purely Geometric, that of the body orientalising. In the Corinthian vases the design regularly occupies the whole field up to the neck, but the narrower neck in our group leaves a wider shoulder, and this is occupied by rays, separated by fine lines and sometimes a band of pattern from the main design. On the Cumae oinochoai the principle of the design is: in front, a large ornament; at the back, under the handle, a similar one but smaller; between them tall, upright rays and loose, curvilinear ornaments, or in one case birds.[5] Those of our vases which come nearest to this scheme are 507, 509, 508 and 503. The handles spring from the rayed zone, leaving the main field quite free, so there is no distinction in size between the front and back ornaments, which are also always identical in design on the same vase—a rule not observed in the Cumae group. On 507 they take a tree-like form, being provided with 'fruits' and hanging tendrils, and between them on each side is a bird. But the tree is strangely stylised, and the bird even more so, having one head above and one below and a pair of feet on each side.[6] The three rather haphazard-looking lengths of cable, of unusual form, surrounding the bird, are repeated symmetrically on each side. This strict symmetry is a feature of the whole group, and to a lesser extent of the Cumae group, in contrast to much orientalising work. In 509 there are four trees, even more definitely marked as vegetable by the addition to each of two bell-like flowers on long stalks. In each gap are two birds, one on the ground moving right, one in the air facing left. The latter are represented as sitting, not flying, and have each a diagonal line under their feet, as have the double birds in 507. They must be thought of as sitting on a branch of the tree, but the tree is so strictly ornamental and symmetrical that it was impossible to fit a bird into it.[1] On 508 and 503 the ornament is less tree-like, being of the same form as that on the rest of the group,[2] where it is combined into a continuous motive. On 508 the space between is filled by a colossal and mis-shapen bird, and the ground is strewn with flower-like rosettes and twig-like groups of zig-zags. On 503 the ornaments are not on back and front, but on either side; the rays between recall some Cumae group vases, while their hooked ends and running-dog tendrils connect it with 507, as does the shape, which is unusually squat. The rest of the group have the same basic motive as the last two repeated four times and forming a continuous pattern round the vase. 503 shows it most clearly as a separate motive, 499 and 502 as a continuous one. The flower-like rosettes of 502–4 and the twig-like zig-zags of 502–6 perhaps show that it is always vaguely thought of as of vegetable character, and the motive itself, though derived from those on the Cumae group, gives far more impression of growth. This is chiefly because the lines almost all spring from one point. The motive is primarily composed only of two lines, which spring parallel from the bottom,

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[1] See also below, p. 107.

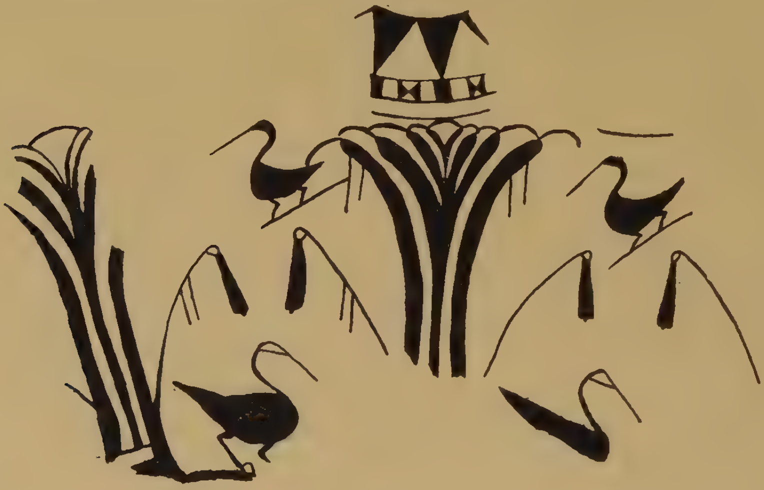
[2] Pp. 106, 112 f.

[3] *E.g.*, *BSA* xxix, pl. VIII, 11.

[4] See Cat. 138 ff.

[5] Cat. 139.

[6] See further below, p. 85.



509

Fig. 47.—Design from Ithacan Oinochoe.

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[1] Cf. a Rhodian Subgeometric pithos in the British Museum (*BCH* 1912, 503, fig. 10), and a Corinthian pyxis in Nauplia, where no doubt the bird is thought of as sitting on a tree which has been omitted altogether.

[2] See below.

curve outwards towards the top, turn over and come in diagonally towards the bottom, where they curve out again and rise almost vertically to the top, each joining on the way up with the end of the next, so that the four ornaments form a continuous pattern round the vase. From the ground between the two main lines spring a number more, which spread out in a fan in the wider space at the top formed by the curving out of the two main lines; this is echoed by a smaller fan where the joined ends of the two patterns spread a little at the top. This is the motive, but it is subtly modified to the shape of the vase. The vase curve is sharper at the shoulder, more gradual at the base, so the upper curve of the main lines of the pattern is made sharper and more definite than the lower. This emphasises the vertical curve of the vase; the horizontal is cared for by the long, unbroken lines which carry one's eye round the vase, and this principle appears again in the rays on the shoulder, which in almost all cases are given a twist all in one direction. 507 and 511 mark this as deliberate by outlining the side towards which they turn. The rosettes which sometimes occupy the upper curve help again to emphasise the shoulder.

This is, I suppose, the most elaborate attempt in Greek vase-painting to devise a scheme of decoration perfectly suited to the double curve of a vase surface. Geometric, with its graded zones, provided a satisfactory solution, but this is a bolder attempt to use a single pattern over the whole surface, shaping it to the changing curve. A few show variations, all a pity. 504 interrupts the pattern at the back with a curious design recalling plaiting or lacing. 511 seems to break the rule of symmetry: it had a ' tree ' on front and back and another on one side, of unusual form and not joined up with the others; on the other side was a bird. The ' fruit ', the form of the bird's head, and the outlining of the rays connect it particularly with 507. 510 seems to have had the ordinary scheme interrupted by a huge hatched circle with whirligig centre; in one of the upper curves is a pretty floral on volutes, and in another what seems to be part of an animal.

The double bird on 507 calls for special comment, though I know nothing very like it. Birds with two or more heads are found in Cretan Geometric,[1] but they are entirely different. Closer are the whirligigs of protomes which sometimes occur in later Greek vase-painting,[2] but these are always on circular fields, where such a treatment is natural. In contemporary Crete one finds animal heads growing out of floral forms,[3] and this is perhaps only a similar manifestation of natural motives becoming purely decorative. It is perhaps a stylisation of a pair of birds. It may be worth noting that in shape, ignoring the representational content, it is very like the motive which occupies the same position on the Cumae group oinochoe 138. The stylisation of the base of the tree on 507 recalls a Cretan motive;[1] that on 509 is more baffling.

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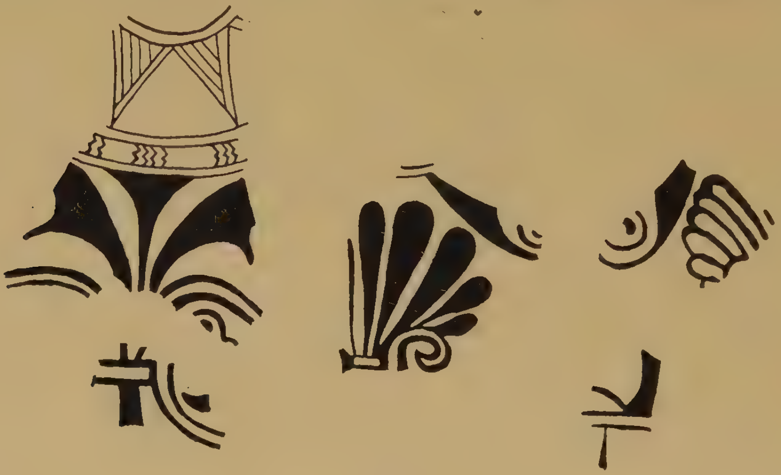
[1] *BSA* xxix, 288.

[2] *E.g.*, Acropolis 606 (Graef i, pl. 32), bottom of dinos: lions and horses; and a Little Master cup in Marseilles with Athena heads (Beazley in *JHS* 1932, 175).

[3] *E.g.*, *Ann.* x–xii, 88, 89 fig. 63 and 135 fig. 122.

An interesting question is whether the first use of the shape was with the separate 'trees' or the continuous motive. I treated the former first because it connected most easily with the Cumae group, but I think the other is the true order. The motive as it appears on 503, 504, 508 and 510 seems to presuppose the continuous form, while 509 shows a wonderful translation into representational terms of a principle far more easily conceived in abstract design. Besides I feel it more likely that the unique shape and unique decoration so perfectly adapted to it were invented together. The series must be dated with the Cumae group—the early part of the seventh century, perhaps going back into the eighth.



518

Fig. 48.—Design from Ithacan Oinochoe.

There are fragments of at least six more (512–17), one with a design like that on 504. 518 seems to have been of this shape, but carries ordinary orientalising motives; the hatched rays on the shoulder are twisted one way and outlined on one side like those of 507 and 511. 519 is the only certain Subgeometric example of this shape; it stands to the rest much as the Corinthian 136 to the Cumae group, and in neither case need one suppose that the Subgeometric is the earlier. 520 is probably of the same shape and also Subgeometric; the disposition of the decoration is peculiar, the snake being commoner as a shoulder motive. For the filling ornament cf. 491.

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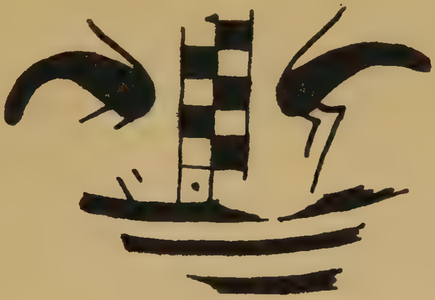
[1] *E.g., JHS* 1933, 293 fig. 17.

521 is much larger, but evidently of the same shape. The decoration consists of a huge whirligig on each side, the triangular space between them at the top being filled with a panel of fine wavy verticals, that below being empty. Between the rays on the shoulder are fish. The whole is as gross in execution as conception; it must be an imitation of our group by a painter of such vases as 464–6.

F. Angular

522. UD. H. 0·12. Pl. 33.
523. Omitted.
524. Fr., h. 0·07. Fine lines; on shoulder row of hatched triangles. Very fine technique; cf. especially 496 and the pomegranate 555.

The oinochoe with angular shoulder is a shape particularly common in Crete.[1] 522 was found in the upper deposit, and 524 is Subgeometric. The mouth of 522 is restored without evidence; it was probably round, as in the Cretan examples and that in Leiden.



526

Fig. 49.—Design from Shoulder of Ithacan Vase.

Fragments of closed vases, probably oinochoai

525. Frr., longest 0·08. Fine lines interrupted by bands of check and the pattern Johansen, *VS* fig. 19 upper band. Late Geometric.
526. Fr. of shoulder, l. 0·07. Fig. 49.
527. Frr., longest 0·10. Fine lines; band of rays alternating with corrupt double lotus. Early orientalising.
528. Frr., longest 0·10. Pl. 32.
529. Fr. of base, l. 0·09. Pl. 32.

For the elegant birds of 526, cf. 509. They perhaps derive from those on Corinthian globular pyxides.[2] A Cretan piece also offers a good parallel.[3] The central motive is abnormal.

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[1] Cf. *AM* 1903, Beil. XX, 5; *Ann.* x–xii, 157, 211, 351; *BSA* xxix, pl. IX, 1. Cf., however, Brants *Leiden* II, pl. XII, VII 3, which may be Corinthian.

[2] Cat. 66 ff.

[3] *BSA* xxxi, pl. XVII, 3.

The inscription on 529 is upside down. I read:

⁝ ταυ̣ . αḥοιχ̣ . θυ̣ονλ̣α̣

The three dots perhaps mark a break. Miss Jeffery reads:

⁝ ταυτ̣α σ̣ (or μ̣) οιχ (or ξ) υθ. ονπ̣ρι̣

pointing out that at this time M (= σ or μ) is more likely than H (= h). It might begin ταῦτα σοὶ (or μοὶ) but we can make nothing of it.

Candlesticks

530. H. 0·27. Pl. 38.
531. H. 0·26. Pl. 38.
532. UD. H. 0·09. Pl. 38.
533. Fr., h. 0·06. Pl. 38.
534. H. 0·26. Pls. 38, 39.
535. UD. Fr., l. 0·21. Pl. 38.
536. UD. Fr., diam. 0·08. Pl. 38.

These vases are unique in shape. 530–2, 534 and 535 conform to a pattern: floorless funnels rising from a wide base to a narrow neck, spreading at the top into a cup; one handle on the stem or joining stem and cup. The cup is preserved only in 530, but 532 and 534 certainly had them, and they are likely for the others. They are not vessels, and their dedication in a temple makes it unlikely that they were meant to have offerings poured through them to the dead, like the object published by Zahn in Kinch's *Vroulia*.[1] The narrow neck is suitable for sticking a torch or candle into, and the cup would catch hot droppings. I call them candlesticks rather than torch-holders, to distinguish them from objects like those found at Palaikastro.[2] The latter have no base or handle, but a wider cup and a long, narrow stem easy to grip. They were clearly meant to be carried in processions or races, and very similar pieces appear on Attic fifth-century vases in pictures of torch-races.[3] Ours with their broad bases and inconvenient handles were obviously meant to stand and not primarily to be carried.[4] Both types are clearly imitated from metal—note particularly the handles of ours—but I know of no metal examples. 536 is different—not pierced through, but with a small socket set in the cup; it is broken off below.[5] This type, too, is candlestick rather than torch-holder. 533 is a base almost certainly from a candlestick; I know no high-footed vase on so small a scale. In fabric and appearance it is close to 532 and 534. The inscription on 534 reads:

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[1] 26 ff., fig. 13.

[2] *BSA* xi, 307, fig. 23.

[3] *E.g.*, Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, fig. 65.

[4] On torch-holders see Benton in *BSA* xxxix, 20, no. 18 and n. 1; Miss Benton kindly drew my attention to the Palaikastro examples.

[5] Cf. the pricket candlesticks from Palaikastro, *BSA* ix, 326; also the cup-and-saucer type, represented both in clay (Myres, *JHS* xvii, 159; *Cyprus Mus. Cat.* 66 nos. 963 f.; all Cypriot) and bronze (Richter, *Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum*, 205 f., nos. 564 f.). Myres in the *Cyprus Mus. Cat.* cites a bronze example from Moeringen, and there is a clay piece from Athens in the British Museum, which when found was apparently in use as the lid of a large Geometric oinochoe.

καλικλεας ποιασε. Lejeune[1] has shown that alphabet (ꞓ = ε is non-Corinthian) and dialect are both probably the Ithacan variation of Achaean.[2] He explains the long α in καλικλεας (= Καλλικλῆς) and ποιασε as formed from εϝης by dropping the digamma and opening the second vowel. This vowel-change is found in Elean. The omission of the augment Lejeune explains as either a slip or a poeticism. For the name he compares the version of Herakles on an early fifth-century bronze.[3] This is one of the earliest potter's inscriptions, though Aristonothos and Pyrrhos[4] beat it.

Stands

(sections Fig. 50)

537. H. 0·07. Pl. 41; Fig. 50.
538. H. 0·07. Pl. 41; Fig. 50.
539. H. 0·05. Pl. 41; Fig. 50.

These objects are all of the same form—a low ring without floor or roof. 537 and 538 extend for a full half-circle, and are broken off at each end, so it is likely that they were complete circles. Cf., however, an object from Perachora,[5] which was probably horse-shoe shaped. Presumably they were stands. There is an example from Perachora.[6] The animals on 537 repay study. 537 is varnished inside; the other two have groups of zig-zags. The decoration of 538 was divided into sections by plastic appliances now missing; in the divisions ran snake motives, partly plastic, partly painted, smothered in painted zig-zags with an occasional bird. Three of the plastic attachments sprang from the upper part and were connected with the rim; the fourth is represented by a circular depression in the middle of the field. On 539 see below.[7]

Ring-vases

A. Horizontal

540. Diam., 0·14. Pl. 40.
541. LD. H. 0·13. Pl. 40.
542. LD. H. 0·06. Neck. Pale clay; tall hatched triangles.
543. H. 0·10. As last.

B. Vertical

544. Fr., h. 0·08. Pl. 40. Double neck, like that of 541 but certainly from a vertical vase like 545.
545. LD. Fr., h. 0·15. Pl. 40.
546. H. 0·20. Pl. 40.
547. UD. H. 0·25. Pl. 40.

541, 544 and 545, in dark clay, go together.[8] The pattern on the front of 545 recurs on the kantharos 313. Note the acrobatic bird on the neck.

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[1] *REA* xlvii, 1945, 103 ff. Miss Jeffery drew my attention to this article.

[2] P. 82, above.

[3] *JHS* 1934, 167 ff.

[4] *VS* 171, fig. 113.

[5] *Perachora* i, 240, no. 222, pl. 89.

[6] *Perachora* i, 65, pl. 14. 4.

[7] P. 111.

[8] See below, p. 106.

Ring-vases with feet are found in Cyprus, but also in Cephallenian Protogeometric.[1] The Cephallenian vase has three feet, ours four; ours are divided as if into toes, but so is the tail. The decoration of the Cephallenian vase is like that of 540, in pale clay, whose shape I cannot restore.[2] For the decoration of 542, 543 cf. the oinochoe necks 479, 480. There is no evidence that 546 stopped at this point; it may have gone on indefinitely downwards, and I have sometimes wondered if 540 were its base. On the front of each of the two upper stories are a pair of small birds in a style debased from that of Protocorinthian kotylai. The pretty flower pattern finds its nearest parallels in Crete.[3] It must belong to the second half of the eighth century. The body of 547 is perfectly Protocorinthian in style, but the neck is in local taste. It is probably the same date as the last.

Aryballoi

548. Fr., h. 0·04. Copy of earliest Protocorinthian globular type: fine lines; shoulder, rays; handle, herring-bone.
549–50. Frr. of similar pieces.
551. Fr., h. 0·10. Pl. 40.
552. Fr., h. 0·08. Large, rather squarely made; black. Cf. the Corinthian piece 234.
553. Mouth, h. 0·03. Wide mouth, tall neck; may be seventh century.

These vases are all imitated from Corinthian, and the shape evidently did not catch on in Ithaca. 551 alone has any individuality. In shape it is close to early orientalising Corinthian pieces.[4] The decoration suggests the same date, but it is not Corinthian; cf. rather the oinochoai 431, 462.

‘*Alabastron*’

554. Fr., h. 0·06. Pl. 40.

This vase must be eighth century, and so is far earlier than any Corinthian example of the shape. It bears little resemblance to the Corinthian type, less to the Cretan, and is rather nearer certain Asiatic stone pieces.[5] It is perhaps closest to some Geometric lidded amphoriskoi in Nauplia; these, however, have two lugs set on the rim and pierced vertically, their mouths are wider, their shoulders flatter, and they begin to come in sooner—their widest point is about half-way down, which can scarcely have been the case in our vase; they have small feet. The style of the birds on ours is unusually sketchy—they are hardly more than hieroglyphs.

Pomegranate

555. Fr., h. 0·08. Pl. 41.

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[1] *Rev. Arch.* 1900, 143 fig. 28.

[2] Cf. a Lakonian vase, *BSA* xxxiv, 105, 120 fig. 10*a* (Lane).

[3] *E.g.*, *BSA* xxix, pl. VIII, 9.

[4] *E.g.*, *PV* pl. 5. 5.

[5] *E.g.*, *NC* 270 fig. 113 *bis*.

The pomegranate appears in Corinthian in the late eighth century,[1] to which period 555 belongs. It is perfectly Protocorinthian in style. On the group to which it belongs, see below[2]; it stands particularly close to the oinochoai 496, 524.

Plastic Vases

556. Bird. L. 0·16. Pl. 41.
557. Figurine of man, attached to neck apparently of plastic bird. H. of figurine, as preserved, 0·09. Pl. 41.
558. Lion. L. 0·15. Pl. 41.

Plastic vases do not appear at Corinth before the end of the first quarter of the seventh century. The earliest show Cretan influence, and in Crete the practice goes back into the Geometric period. The lion vase 558 does not at all resemble any Protocorinthian examples—they are all protomes—but its form—a couchant lion holding a bowl between its forepaws—is reproduced exactly in a fine Cretan example from Arkades.[3] In both cases the only orifice is in the chest. The Cretan piece cannot be much earlier than the middle of the seventh century. The style of ours is so crude that it is hard to judge its date, but it can scarcely be so late. It appears to have a connection with Kalikleas's vase,[4] which belongs to the first quarter, perhaps late in it, and there is no evidence for Ithacan vase-painting after this date, so it is unlikely to be later than the beginning of the second quarter. The Arkades lion, however, probably had predecessors, and we know that Ithaca was in contact with Crete at this time.[5] It is most probable that the lion is copied from a Cretan original. The paint has mostly disappeared, but there was a broad black area down the back and diagonal strokes for the ribs. For the stylisation of the face see below; [6] the line of diagonal strokes down the nose recalls the motive of some early oinochoe and ring-vase necks.[7]

The bird 556 is harder to place. It looks earlier than any Protocorinthian examples; indeed, the stylisation is remarkably close to that of the birds on the Protocorinthian stand 225, which belongs to the turn of the eighth and seventh centuries. It is possible that the bird belongs to this time, and the idea may again have come from Crete. There is a little evidence for a Cretan connection in Ithaca so early,[8] and though I know no Cretan vase of analogous form, the dots on the face are a feature of Cretan as well as Corinthian plastics, and the handle bears a slight formal resemblance to the snake coiled round a plastic pear in Oxford.[9]

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[1] See *VS*, 28.
[2] P. 112.
[3] *Ann.* x–xii, 240 fig. 281, pl. XIX.
[4] See below, p. 111.
[5] See Cat. 597.
[6] P. 111.
[7] *E.g.*, 440, 441, 541, 544, 545.
[8] See below, p. 124.
[9] *CVA* ii, IIA pl. III, 5 and 6, and p. 56, fig. 1. Cf. also the askoi *Ann.* x–xii, 200 fig. 221, 277 fig. 351, and 353 fig. 461.

557 is even harder. The figure is attached to a cylinder apparently hand-made and decorated in a way consonant with its being the neck of a plastic bird. A few fragments identical in appearance and fabric are wheel-made, and seem to come from a ring-vase. A ring-vase with a plastic bird's neck is, I suppose, a possibility—in Ithaca, at least—but they may not be relevant. In any case, the position of the figure is hard to account for. The dress is also very curious—a tight-fitting two-piece garment, the upper part black, the lower patterned on the thighs and cut so as to show the pudenda; it appears to end half-way down the thighs. The youths on the Rethymno mitra[1] wear a similar garment with the addition of a cod-piece. Miss Lamb suggests that the markings on their thighs are tattooings, pointing out that there is no sign of a garment edge inside the thigh: our piece, however, looks like a garment with flaps covering the outside and front of the thighs only. I would suggest a date in the first quarter of the seventh century, but without conviction.

556 and 558 are large for perfume vases, and were meant to stand, not to hang. The orifice in front would suit a lamp, and it is difficult to see that either this or the Arkades lion could have been anything else.

Plates

(sections Fig. 50)

559. UD. Diam. 0·21. Pl. 42; Fig. 50.
560. Fr., l. 0·15. Decoration as last. Fig. 50.
561. Diam. 0·19. Pl. 42; Fig. 50.
562. Fr., l. 0·11. Decoration as 559, 560 but looser; underside plain (fired red). Fig. 50.
563. Diam. 0·22. Pl. 42; Fig. 50.
564. Diam. 0·18. Plain black (paint perished). Fig. 50.
565. Frr., longer 0·06. Rim with check pattern. Seventh century. Fig. 50.

The shape appears at Corinth in the Geometric period.[2] 559–561 are absolutely Corinthian in manner.[3] 559 has no foot, and is evidently the earliest, but the other two must come very close. On the dating see above.[4] The palmette chain of 561 finds its closest parallels in Crete; the three petals are very typical, and a polychrome pithos from Knossos (unpublished) shows also the outline volutes joining at an angle below and the small pediment joining the volutes above.[5] 563, whose decoration dates it to the turn of the eighth and seventh centuries, belongs to a different tradition of shape. The nearest things I know to it are two from Perachora,[6] from the Geometric deposit, decorated only with stripes. An earlier stage of the form is perhaps to be seen in another from Perachora.[1] I know no parallel to the moulding of 564, and cannot date it.

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[1] W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, 61 fig. 3, after *AM* 1906, pl. XXIII.

[2] See *Perachora* i, 62 f.

[3] See below, p. 112.

[4] P. 52.

[5] Cf. also *BSA* xxix, 279 fig. 34, nos. 37, 42; and the design on the base of an ivory animal seal from Sparta, *AO* pl. 157. 4.

[6] *Perachora* i, 63, pl. 123. 16.

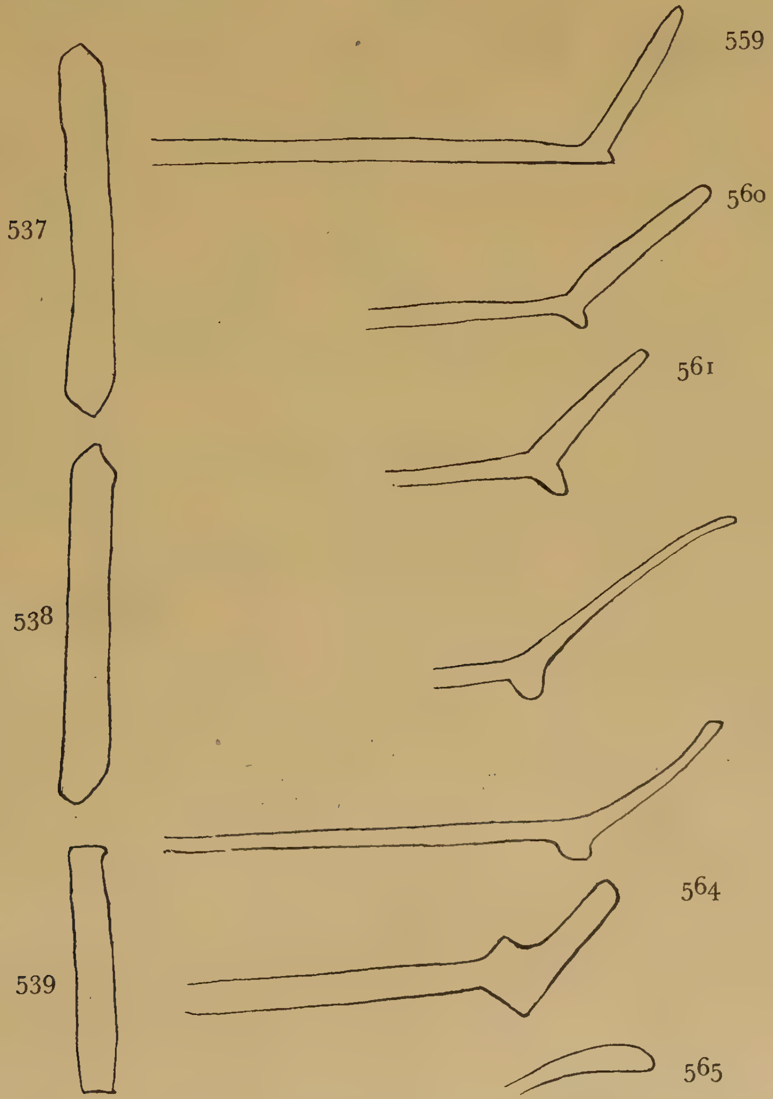

FIG. 50.—ITHACAN STANDS AND PLATES.
Scale 2 : 3.

Uncertain shape

566. LD. Frr., longer 0·09. Pl. 32.

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[1] *Perachora* i, 63, pl. 14. 7.

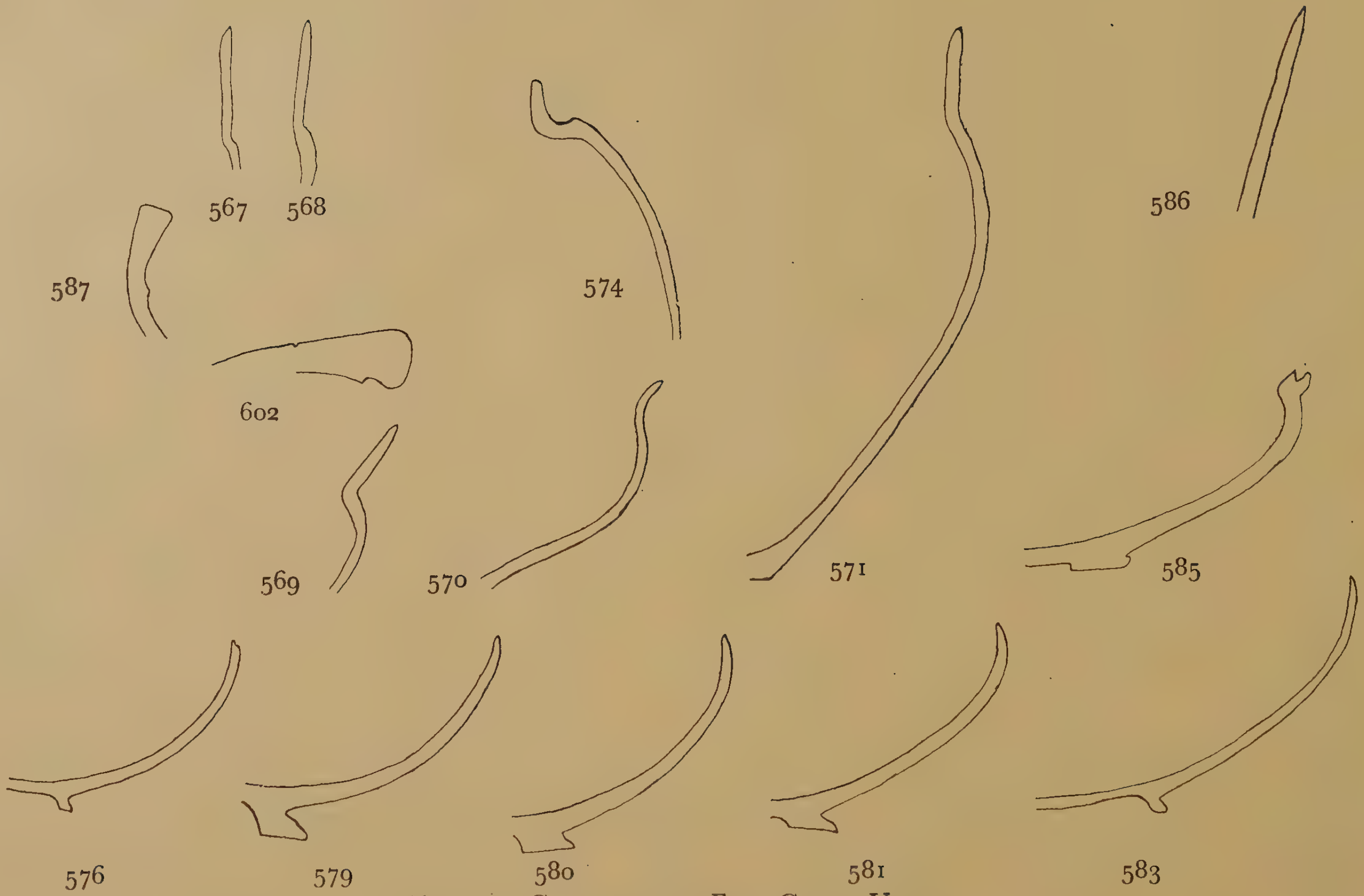
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Fig. 51.—Cycladic and East Greek Vases.
Scale 1 : 2.

These fragments belong to a hand-made vase with imitation metal handles. Analogous metal handles are found on Geometric tripods.[1] Our vase was not a tripod but it is not clear what it was.

CATALOGUE III

NON-CORINTHIAN IMPORTS

I. Cycladic

Open vases

567. LD. Frr., tallest 0·04. Reddish buff clay; white slip. Rim: concentric circles. Pl. 43; Fig. 51.
568. Frr., longest 0·08. Buff clay, not so red as last; white slip. Rim: decoration lost; central panel: net pattern; side panels: rosettes. Pl. 43; Fig. 51.
569. Fr., l. 0·05. Bricky red clay, some mica; white slip. Black; rim reserved and striped. Small. Fig. 51.
570. Fr., h. 0·07. Coarse greyish clay; white slip? Pl. 43; Fig. 51.
571. H. 0·15. Buff clay; white slip. Pl. 43; Fig. 51.
572. Fr. of cup, h. 0·11. Buff clay; white slip. Pl. 43; Fig. 52.
573. Fr. of kotyle, h. 0·14. Putty-coloured clay, little mica; white slip. Pl. 43; Figs. 52, 53.
574. Fr., l. 0·19. Deep red bricky clay; white slip. Pl. 43; Fig. 51.

Closed vase

575. Frr. of large vase, longest 0·14. Clay pinkish buff; white slip.

The earth of Aetos is bad for the surface of any vase, and is generally ruinous to white slips. All the above are in bad condition, and there are many more of which one can only say that the clay would pass for Cycladic or East Greek and that they seem to have had white slips.

567 and 568 are from kotylai or kantharoi, and seem to belong to the same fabric. 567 is of Buschor's Naxian class.[2] The pattern of 568 is unusual, but no doubt it belongs to the same class. 567 comes from the lower deposit and is perhaps early; 568 looks rather Subgeometric.

With 569 cf. Cycladic pieces from Delos.[3]

The fabric of 570 is in dreadful condition, but it seems to have had a white slip, and the style is Cycladic.[4]

The decoration of 571 occurs both in Attic and Cycladic, but the fabric is unattic and the shape in Cycladic taste; cf. the section with that of 567, 568. Early?

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[1] *E.g.*, *Olympia* iv, 79, nos. 570–2, pls. XXIX, XXX.

[2] Cf. *AM* liv, 157, fig. 10; *Délos* xv, Bb 51, 59, pls. 39, 41.

[3] *Délos* xv, pls. 37 ff.

[4] Cf. *Délos* xv, Ae 71, pl. XXXI, Bb 38, pl. XXXIX.

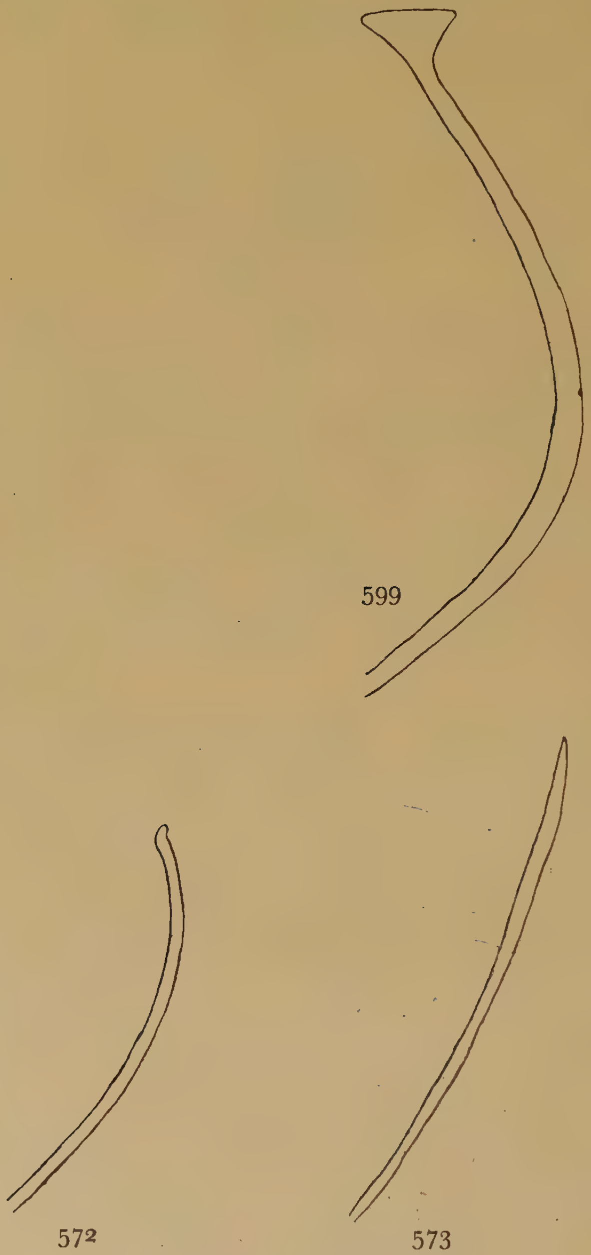

Fig. 52.—Cycladic and Cretan Vases.
Scale 1 : 2.

572 and 573 are copies of Protocorinthian shapes, 572 of the form transitional between cup and kotyle, and therefore probably not much later than 800 B.C.[1] On 573 the decoration is also copied from Protocorinthian, from the early black-figure style of the first quarter of the seventh century, and the vase seems to belong to a group isolated by Payne.[2] For the creature with incised circles, cf. a Protocorinthian aryballos in Athens [3]; for the lion biting the stag's antlers a conical oinochoe from Perachora,[4] and for a hare-hunt on the rim of a kotyle, a fragment in Athens.[5] The sphinxes on Kalikleas's candle-stick look as though they might have been copied from this vase.

574 is a kind of pyxis. The inside and rim are unslipped, but the latter has bands of paint laid on the clay. I know no close parallel to the shape in Cycladic, but the decoration is found on a large series of vases from Delos.[6] This decoration is early seventh-century in type, though it may last later. The shape seems imitated from the Corinthian globular pyxis,[7] and it is possible that it is connected with the same group as 573.

575 was a large vase decorated with a coarse figure-of-eight pattern. This occurs commonly on the backs of large early orientalising vases in the Cyclades and Attica; the fabric points to the Cyclades.

II. East Greek

Bowls

576. Diam. 0·11. Pale yellow-buff clay; no slip. Pl. 44; Fig. 51.
577. Fr. Reddish-buff clay; white slip.
578. Fr. Yellow-buff clay; no slip.
579. Diam. 0·12. Pale yellow-buff clay; no slip. Fig. 51.
580. Diam. 0·17. Greyish-brown clay; no slip. Pl. 44; Fig. 51.
581. Diam. 0·16. Greyish-brown clay; no slip. Pl. 44; Fig. 51.
582. Fr., l. 0·04. Yellow-buff clay.
583. Fr., l. 0·14. Pale yellow-buff clay; white slip. Fig. 51.
584. Frr., longest 0·04. Pale yellow-buff clay; white slip. Pl. 44.

Pyxis

585. Diam. 0·16. Yellow-buff clay; white slip. Pl. 44; Fig. 51.

Kyathos

586. Fr., h. 0·06. Bricky, micaceous clay; white slip. Fig. 51.

Krater

587. Fr., l. 0·05. Dull pinkish clay; white slip. Fig. 51.

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[1] See above, pp. 54 f.

[2] *JHS* 1926, 211; see also my remarks, *JHS* 1940, 6.

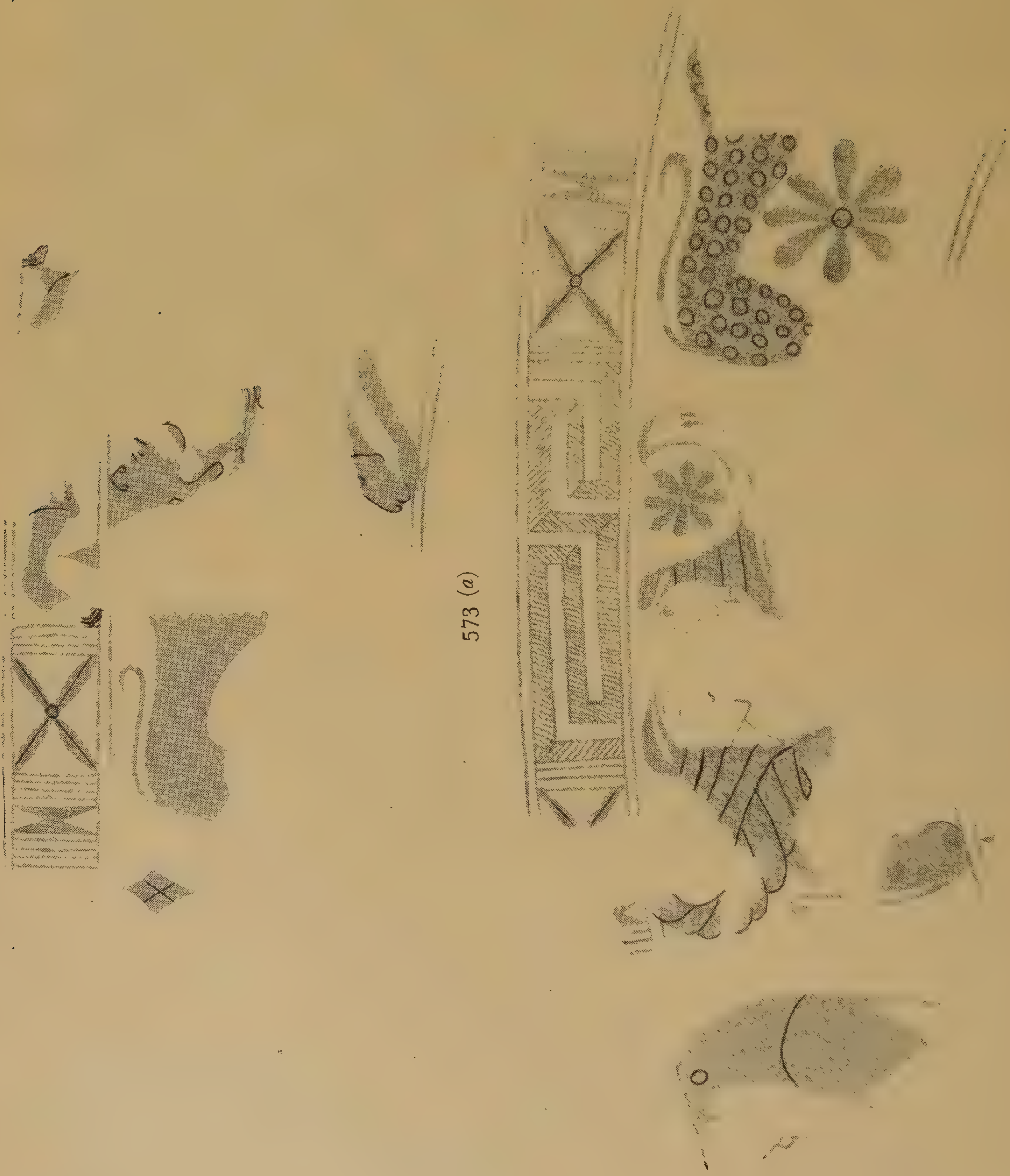
[3] *VS* pl. XX, 3; *PV* pl. 9. 1–2.

[4] *JHS* 1930, pl. X, 4.

[5] *NC* pl. 4. 8.

[6] Cf. especially *Délos* xvii, D 30, pl. XXXII.

[7] Cat. 73 ff. The globular pyxis is primarily an eighth-century shape, but lasts into the seventh.



573 (*a*)

573 (*b*)

Fig. 53.—Design from Cycladic Kotyle.

Oinochoai

588. H. 0·12. Yellow-buff clay; white slip. Pl. 44.
589. H. 0·11. As last. Pl. 44.
590. Fr., h. 0·11. Dark red clay; white slip. Pl. 44.
591. Frr., longest 0·15. Dark pinkish-buff clay; white slip. Pl. 44.
592. Fr., l. 0·08. As last. Pl. 44.
593. Frr., longest 0·04. Bricky, rather pale clay, very loose and micaceous; white slip. Pl. 44.
594. Fr., h. 0·14. Pinkish-buff clay; white slip. Pl. 44.
595. Frr., longest 0·13. Bricky red clay; white slip. Pl. 44.
596. Fr., h. 0·09. Bricky red clay, micaceous; white slip.

Ring-vase

597. Fr., l. 0·11. Dull pink clay; white slip.

'*Bottle*'

598. H. 0·12. Pale yellow-buff clay; white slip. Pl. 44.

576–81 are bird-bowls. I have discussed the development of the bird-bowl elsewhere.[1] There are none of the 'proto-bird-bowl' type [2] from Aetos, but 576, 577 are of the transitional kind with ring foot, traces of an inset lip, black at base instead of the voided rays of the regular bird-bowl, and at handles, and a row of dots under the picture; 578–81 also have black at the base—578 at the handles, too—but no dots, straight rim and disc foot (missing in 578). The small 582, with disc foot and voided rays, is the lower part probably of a bird- but possibly of a rosette-bowl. 583 and 584 are rosette-bowls, and are larger than the bird-bowls. 583 has rosettes on the rim, then three narrow bands; reserved below except for a narrow band at the base; inside a reserved and a red band. 584 has large rosettes at the rim, broad and narrow bands, then solid rays; foot missing; inside reserved at centre within three sets of white, red, white bands. All these bowls are no doubt within the seventh century, but cannot be accurately dated: pieces of early type are not always earlier in date.[3]

The curious coarse piece 585 is white-slipped outside only and grooved for a lid, and I have therefore classed it as a pyxis, but the shape is very close to a bird-bowl, and it has a disc foot.

For the kyathos 586 cf. examples in Oxford [4] and Delos.[5] Dugas classes them as 'Naucratite' (Chiot), but Miss Price says they cannot be, as the black inside is applied directly on the clay and not over a white slip.[6] The Oxford and Delos examples are plain except for a band or two of black; our piece had a heavy vertical running dog at the handle, and there are traces of something else. Two vases of the same shape and fabric, but with Geometric decoration, are published by Dugas as Cycladic.[1] There are fragments of about twelve 'Naucratite' examples from Aigina,[2] and it is perhaps possible that the whole class is 'Naucratite' in spite of the omitted slip.

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[1] *JHS* 1940, 14 ff.
[2] *Délos* xv, Skyphoi géometriques rhodiens 6–15, pls. 46–47.
[3] See *JHS* 1940, *l.c.*
[4] *CVA* ii, IID, pl. 1. 18.
[5] *Délos* x, pl. XX, 119, 120.
[6] *CVA l.c.*; see also *EGP* p. 5, IIB.

The krater-fragment 587 looks East Greek in fabric and technique. The decoration is non-committal, but for the profile cf. *AM* lvii, 73, fig. 23 f. Inside it is unslipped and unpainted.

The small round-mouthed jugs 588, 589 are a regular East Greek type.[3] The Vroulia examples are probably well in the seventh century, but the type may go back earlier. There are Corinthian and Ithacan Subgeometric examples which look like imitations.[4] For the decoration cf. a tall-necked oinochoe from Ialysos.[5]

590, 591 are from larger round-mouthed oinochoai. I have discussed the development of the type elsewhere.[6] The shape persists with Subgeometric decoration into the sixth century,[7] but ours are of the early form, and are probably to be dated in the first half of the seventh.

594, 595 have the decoration proper to trefoil-mouthed olpai,[8] but they seem to spread too sharply to be actually from olpai. They were perhaps broad jugs with picture on the shoulder only, like one from Kamiros[9] of similar style and date with our fragments and the earliest of the olpai. They are among the earlier works of 'Rhodian B', and probably date a little before 600 B.C.[10] The voided ray is an East Greek feature, regular only at the bases of bird-bowls and the handles of trefoil-mouthed olpai. Also typical of trefoil-mouthed olpai are the sections of tongue-pattern and the large rosette as central ornament.

593 is from a Subgeometric oinochoe, perhaps a low, round-mouthed one, the continuation of the shape of 590, 591, very common in the latter part of the seventh century.[11] This form of net-pattern occurs on a number of vases of this period.[12]

592 is a peculiar piece. The fabric and the technique look East Greek, and the style might be so. The central ornament is clearly related to a regular East Greek motive, the lozenge with rectangular extensions at the angles.[13] It is perhaps some sort of provincial East Greek ware. It is Subgeometric.

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[1] *Délos* xv, pl. XXXII, Ae 90, 91.

[2] *Aegina* 455, no. 240, pls. CXX, 103, and CXXVII, 22.

[3] Kinch *Vroulia*, 154, IX, pl. 26.

[4] Catalogue 218 f., 416 ff.

[5] See above, p. 80, n. 2.

[6] *JHS* 1940, 13 f.

[7] See *Clara Rhodos* iv, 54 ff.

[8] *E.g.*, *JHS* 1926, pl. IX, 2, p. 209, fig. 2; 1940, pl. 2. *a–c*, *f*, *g*.

[9] *Clara Rhodos* iv, 352 f.

[10] See *JHS* 1940, 16, 21.

[11] See *JHS* 1940, 13 ff.

[12] Krater from Samos, *AM* lviii, 86, fig. 32; cup from Cyprus in the British Museum, Kinch, *Vroulia*, 214, fig. 102.

[13] *E.g.*, Blinkenberg, *Lindos* i, *Les petits Objets*, pl. 35. 83–4; cf. also the earlier Ithacan pyxis 392.

596, from the base of an oinochoe, is decorated with fine voided rays.

The ring-vase is a common East Greek shape, and the fabric and technique of 597 place it here; of the form and decoration nothing significant survives.

The curious bottle or alabastron 598 is intimately linked by fabric, technique and shape to the jugs 588, 589, and is doubtless of the same date. Bottles of a rather different form are found in later East Greek wares,[1] and this is perhaps their ancestor.

III. Cretan

Dinos

599. Fr., h. 0·19. Pl. 45; Fig. 52.

It is not certain that this vase is a Cretan import, but its resemblance to certain vases from Arkades,[2] is so great that it must be either an import or a copy. Our vase and the Arkades specimens are large bowls of metallic shape with definitely metallising handles; they are decorated with a huge tongue-pattern at the base, above that a band of step-pattern, and in a panel on the shoulder a black-figure picture. They are to be dated in the first quarter of the seventh century.[3] Differences are in the form of the metallising handles,[4] the form of the step-pattern—single in the Arkades examples, multiple in ours—and the form of the tongues, which are plain and bare in our piece, but decoratively treated with outline and filling in the Cretan. The Cretan and Ithacan clays are unfortunately very much alike, and the Ithacan black-figure style at this time shows the influence of Cretan. On the whole, the evidence perhaps points to its being an Ithacan copy, but the point is not very material; in any case it implies a Cretan import. So does the lion 558, but that is certainly local work.[5]

The style is crude, but the picture is not ill-conceived, and the very large scale makes it rather impressive. It is an early example of the subject, though the exquisite rendering on the Protocorinthian mug 52 may not be much later.

IV. Argive

Temple-model

600. Frr., l. of gable-fr. 0·10; h. of conversation fr. 0·05. Pl. 45.

It is not certain that this piece is Argive, but the temple-models from the Argive Heraion and Perachora are thought to be so; further, Argive

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[1] *E.g.*, Boehlau, *Aus Ionischen und Italischen Nekropolen*, pl. VII, 3–7.

[2] *Ann.* x–xii, 164 f. fig. 176 and p. 172 fig. 192; analogous shapes pp. 141, 142 and 192.

[3] The shape recurs in East Greek, *e.g.*, Kinch, *Vroulia*, 215, fig. 103, but with rays at the base, no step-pattern and no incision.

[4] The piece *Ann.* x–xii, 164 has three handles; that p. 172 and ours two.

[5] For the significance of this connection see p. 124.

Geometric vases often have rows of figures with joined hands, and in these cases we find fantastically short arms in the scheme of those on the fragment *g*. The style is not otherwise like that of Argive Geometric vase-painting, but neither has it any other close analogues, and since the object is the model of a building, we may perhaps suppose that the pictures are copies of wall-paintings. The clay is buff, and less coarse than most Ithacan.

This piece differs from other known temple-models in several respects. Firstly, it is much more delicately made, and so was probably smaller, though we have no fixed points to give us the dimensions. Secondly, the roof is painted in check-pattern, obviously indicating tiles. The Perachora examples have a series of slanting incisions along the ridge which seem to indicate a twisted rope, perhaps implying thatch. Our piece has slanting strokes of paint in that position, which no doubt derive from the other—probably when they took to tiling they painted the ridge-tile in imitation of the earlier technique. Thirdly, our piece had a dado of figure decoration round the base. There are fragments of the roof with a strong curve, showing that it was apsidal, and we have the gable (fr. *a* on the plate) and the bottoms of the two front corners (frr. *d* and *f*), but nothing to show the proportions. We cannot tell which corner was which.

Fragment *e* gives a man on a horse whose hoofs appear on fragment *f* and show this picture to have come at the corner. Of the first picture round the corner nothing comprehensible is preserved; the next shows the lower part of a woman in a skirt with a dangle at the waist, as on the Corinthian handle 164. This motive recurs in Argive Geometric, but not exclusively. Of the scenes next the other corner (fr. *d*), one is incomprehensible; the other shows a figure naked at least from the knees down advancing towards a second whose feet only are preserved. The scenes are divided by grooves, and there was such a groove behind the second figure, showing that it was a narrow two-man scene like fr. *g*, which gives two companionable figures, with beards (?). By far the best figure is the horse, which looks forward to early archaic horses like the Prinias frieze, but is obviously a good deal earlier. The thing below its belly must be a stylised representation of the man's feet, but the angular lines springing from the horse's back each side of the man defeat me; they might represent some kind of saddle. The pictures are clearly very Late Geometric, but can hardly be after the end of the eighth century.

V. Etruscan Bucchero

601. Four fragments from a kantharos (dimensions not recorded). Pl. 45. Etruscan bucchero kantharoi have been found on other sites in Greece, *e.g.*, Ialysos, Perachora and Athens (Kerameikos).[1]

VI. Uncertain Fabrics

Plate

602. Fr., l. 0·07. Dark clay with a touch of red. Fig. 51.

Closed Vases

603. Frr., longest 0·10. Clay pinkish-buff; white slip. Pl. 43.
604. LD. Fr., l. 0·06. Clay buff. Figures of eight.

602 is a curious piece, certainly neither local nor Corinthian. The nearest parallel I know is an Attic fragment from Perachora, probably of the later seventh century.[2] The fabric of ours might possibly be Attic. There is also a faint resemblance to an odd piece in Delos.[3]

603 is curious and interesting. There is a snake round the body of the vase; the pieces illustrated come from the shoulder. Payne pointed out to me that the right-hand piece represents a man standing on the back of a horse moving to the left; to the left is part of the horse's mane, to the right part of its thigh. Another fragment (not illustrated) shows a seated rider moving to the right.

The long, ill-articulated horses and the beautiful volute-ornaments are suggestive of Cycladic, but I know no close parallel and the fabric—a rather fine pinkish-buff clay—is at least not typical. It certainly has nothing to do with Corinth or Ithaca.

604 is a fragment of a very large closed vase. The wall is thick, and it seems to come from the lower part of the vase. The pattern occurs in Attic, Cycladic and Cretan. The clay would with difficulty pass for Attic or Cretan, and we shall be safer to fall back on the comprehensive and happily ill-defined Cycladic.

THE ITHACAN POTTERY

Under this name I group almost all the vases which are evidently not imports from Corinth nor from any other known centre of manufacture. They fall into several groups, but I think it can be shown that the majority of these are the products of one centre, and that probably Ithaca.

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[1] Cf. H. R. W. Smith, *The Origin of Chalcidian Ware*, 101, n. 35; Karo, *EA* 1937, 316 ff.; Jacobsthal, *GGA* 1933, 4; K. M. T. Atkinson, *BSR* xiv, 117; *JHS* 1944, 80.

[2] This was pointed out to me by Dunbabin.

[3] *Délos* xv, pl. 51. 13.

We start with the kantharoi 305 ff. (Pls. 18 and 19). These form a homogeneous group in brownish-buff clay. The shape is discussed above.[1] They are decorated with stripes, and a reserved band at the level of the handle-root containing various motives, this occasionally repeated on the lip. The most unusual of these motives are the group of concentric arcs on 305 etc., and the pot-hooks on 308 etc., both of which reappear on other shapes from this site. The first occurs elsewhere only, as far as I know, on Protogeometric vases found in Ithaca of a shape which might well be the ancestor of our kantharoi.[2] The motive is probably derived from the Mycenaean shell-pattern.[3] The pot-hooks do not occur elsewhere in quite this form, but they resemble some Protogeometric motives—*e.g.*, concentric semicircles with one end extended.[4] They are possibly derived from simple concentric semicircles hung from a line, which of course occur in Ithacan Protogeometric.[5] A short-hand version of these—only two semicircles drawn hastily without lifting the brush—would easily degenerate into the pot-hook form.[6] Hatched and concentric triangles occur on other examples, and wavy lines, less committal motives, but also of Protogeometric origin. A second group of kantharoi, 319 ff. (Pls. 21 and 19), some of which are in paler clay, show an ugly sausage motive on the shoulder, sometimes one, sometimes two confronted, which also finds its parent on Ithacan Protogeometric vases of the same shape. It is evidently connected with the decoration of certain early kraters—*e.g.*, 364, where, however, it is hardly more than a black patch at the handle, and with the white hour-glass on certain Subgeometric Protocorinthian kotylai.[7]

These facts seem to show beyond dispute that the kantharoi are directly derived from the Protogeometric vases, and therefore probably made in the same place. Now, practically no Geometric pottery has been found in the Ionian Islands outside Ithaca, so that we cannot say that our vases are specifically Ithacan; the sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric periods, however, are represented in Cephallenia, and these vases differ in detail from the Protogeometric found in Ithaca. This gives us a probability that the latter are of local manufacture, and these, as we have seen, carry with them our kantharoi. That these are not themselves actually Protogeometric is shown by a marked difference of fabric and shape. The Protogeometric vases are based on a double curve, concave above, convex below; the Geometric are convex vases with a more or less sharply offset rim.

Other series of vases can be grouped with these kantharoi. The concentric arcs recur on a couple of mugs, 347 and 349 (Pl. 22), of slightly paler clay than most of the kantharoi. These in size, shape and fabric go closely with the large number of plain black mugs, and the majority of these are no doubt also local work. 338 (Fig. 40) is larger, and stands rather apart, being evidently closely connected with the cups 280–4 (Pl. 16 and Fig. 37). These again, of rather pale clay, are directly derived from Protogeometric types. 280 goes back to LH III types of the Granary class,[1] and Protogeometric vases of closely related shape were found in Ithaca.[2] Very close in fabric and character to these are the kraters 362 ff., 363 (Pl. 24) in particular being practically Protogeometric in form.[3] 362 (Pl. 24) has a metallic thread at the junction of lip and body, and this, together with the form of the foot, connects it with a better group, the kantharos 331 (Pl. 21), the pithos 401 (Pl. 27) and the round-mouthed oinochoai 414, 415 (Pl. 27). The round-mouthed oinochoe 413 (Pl. 27), whose foot is not preserved, has the thread at the base of the neck, and its lip is barred like that of the kantharos 331. This barring is also found on Ithacan Protogeometric,[4] as are the hatched triangles on the neck.[5] These similarities indicate an Ithacan origin for these vases, too, and the general probabilities point the same way: kantharoi and cups, mugs, kraters and oinochoai are normally found side by side in the same fabric, not produced one in one place, another in another. One may mention here the three-handled mug 358 (Pl. 23). It is from the upper deposit and obviously Late or Subgeometric, but the shape, which is unique in painted pottery, is almost exactly that of certain rough unpainted vases from the Granary at Mycenae.[6] There must be a connection, no doubt through unpainted ware whose development is much less known than that of painted. A similar shape is found among certain miniature vases from the Amyklaion at Sparta[7]; these probably derive from the same ancestors.

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[1] P. 58 f.

[2] *BSA* xxxiii, 42–3, figs. 13–15; pl. 4. 40–3.

[3] Late example *JHS* li, 172.

[4] Cf. an Italian jug from Pantalica, *MA* ix, pl. X, 5.

[5] *E.g.*, *BSA* xxxiii, 42, figs. 13–14.

[6] Cf., however, also the motive on a piece from Cephallenia, *Rev. Arch.* xxxvii, 1900, 138, fig. 12.

[7] *E.g.*, *VS*, pl. IX, 1–2.

Another group of vases is connected with the original kantharoi by the recurrence of pot-hooks. These are the small, tall-necked oinochoai 473 ff. (Pl. 33). They are in darkish clay, having striped bodies with one or two bands of pot-hooks; the shoulders are black, the necks sometimes black, sometimes striped with pot-hook bands. Of the same shape and decorative scheme but without pot-hooks are 476, 477, while 471 and 472 (Pl. 33) are very closely related. On the shape see the catalogue. The curious oinochoe 470 is of related shape, and carries in a panel on the shoulder the related motive of concentric semicircles on a line. Its Protogeometric character is obvious, and the fabric connects it with the earliest kotylai and kraters. The black shoulder of 473 ff. is abnormal [1]; it recurs, in conjunction with striped body and neck, on a number of trefoil-mouthed oinochoai, 437 (Pl. 29), 438 and others, in darkish clay, which are otherwise of ordinary Geometric appearance. A trace of it survives on the huge and imposing 444 (Pl. 30), of the same clay, but here it is broken by a central panel, and the vase is perfectly Geometric. Close to 437 in clay and general appearance are the oinochoai 440 ff. (Pl. 30), whose principal distinction is their reserved neck, bearing in front a vertical row of short diagonal strokes and at the sides tall 'eyes' consisting of loosely drawn groups of concentric *mandorle* on a vertical axis. This scheme recurs on the oinochoe 432 (Pl. 29) and the double-necked ring-vases 541 and 544 (Pl. 40). The oinochoe and at least one of the ring-vases emphasise the nakedness of the neck by a plain black body. The closely related single-necked ring-vase 545 (Pl. 40) has the same central motive on the neck, but substitutes birds for the eyes, and has a geometrically decorated body. The vertical band of short diagonals may be of Protogeometric origin—it is certainly sufficiently ungeometric. The ring-vase on feet is also ungeometric, but is found, with three instead of four feet, in Cephallenian Protogeometric.[2]

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[1] *BSA* xxv, pls. V, VIII *c* and *d*, X *b*.
[2] *BSA* xxxiii, 40–41, figs. 10–12.
[3] Cf. *BSA* xxix, pl. VI, 8.
[4] *BSA* xxxiii, 51, fig. 29.
[5] *Ibid*., 50, fig. 27.
[6] *BSA* xxv, pl. XI *a–e*.
[7] *AM* lii, pl. XV, 30–33.

Further connections can be made with the kantharoi. Fragments from the upper deposit, *e.g.*, 318, 324 (Pl. 19), show that the old types with concentric arcs, concentric triangles, etc., continued down to the end of the Geometric period. Alongside these in both deposits are found purely Geometric vases in the same clay and of the same shape. Among the earlier ones are 314 and 315 (Pl. 20) with rows of tall birds, and the large 313 (Pl. 20) with groups of birds fighting. These find successors in the Late and Subgeometric periods, often large, some slipshod like 326 (Pl. 18), others quite good like 321, 322 (Pl. 21) and 325 (Pl. 19), others like 329 and 330 (Pl. 20) exceptionally fine in technique and style. These last carry with them an outstanding group of vases, all in similar darkish clay, of which the most important are the pyxis 392 (Pl. 26), the hydria 412 (Pl. 28), the tall-necked oinochoai 490–4 (Pl. 34), and the plates 559–61 (Pl. 42). These, though with many local features, show an intimate connection with contemporary Corinthian. The alphabet of the inscription on 490, like alphabet and dialect of that on the candlestick 534, has been shown to be consistent with an Ithacan origin.[3]

In just the same relation to Corinthian stand the small oinochoai 499 ff. (Pls. 35–7). These are an interesting example of how clay can vary in a group of vases evidently from the same workshop. 502 and 507 (Pl. 36) have a dark clay perfectly paralleled in the kantharoi; most of the rest are paler, while 503 (Pl. 36) and 504 (Pl. 35), are a pale green evidently imitated from Corinthian. The fabric is, however, considerably coarser than is found in Corinthian, and this texture is homogeneous throughout the group, and is found also in the fine Subgeometric group.[1] Supplementary proof that pale 'Corinthianising' clay could be produced in Ithaca is furnished by the oinochoe 447 (Pl. 28). This is a trefoil-mouthed oinochoe of normal Corinthian Geometric type, but the clay is rather coarse, and it bears on neck and shoulder a band of concentric arcs—the only appearance of these off kantharoi and mugs, unless the motive on the fine Subgeometric tall neck 493 (Pl. 33) is, as seems likely, their last bow. 447 (Pl. 28) takes with it 446 (Pl. 28) with wavy lines on the neck—a less committal motive, but also found on the kantharoi—and others of similar clay and entirely Corinthian manner. Another greenish piece is the kantharos 337 (Pl. 21) with fighting birds, a pleasant Subgeometric successor to 313 (Pl. 20). The curious motive at the base is evidently connected with the concentric arcs. In this context may be mentioned the krater-fragments 379 and 380 (Pl. 23). Their general appearance is close to Corinthian, but the clay will hardly pass, and the motives between which the bird stands on the latter are un-Corinthian and evidently connected with the local sausage style.

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[1] J. M. Cook points out to me that it is normal in Attic eighth-century Geometric for jugs of the type, *AJA* 1940, pl. 26, 1.

[2] *Rev. Arch.* xxxvii, 1900, 143 fig. 28.

[3] See above, pp. 81 f. and 89.

The Corinthianising oinochoai 444, 445 (Pl. 30), 450, 451 etc. are succeeded by Subgeometric and orientalising examples 453 ff. and 462 ff. (Pl. 32). They are in the same palish clay, and the Subgeometric pieces stand in much the same relation to Corinthian, often very like—*e.g.*, 456 (Pl. 30), sometimes introducing curious motives of their own, *e.g.*, 459–460 (Pl. 32). Their level is rather high, while the orientalising pieces, some of which are in darker clay, are extraordinarily bad. Most of these have figures of eight, but one a motive closely connected with that of the fine small orientalising oinochoai 499 ff. (Pls. 35–7). With these goes the candlestick 535 (Pl. 38), which is certainly a product of the same workshop as 534, signed by Kalikleas in an alphabet and dialect suitable to Ithaca, and the oinochoe 460 (Pl. 32) with grazing deer; the latter in fabric and general appearance is closely connected with the Subgeometric oinochoai 456 (Pl. 30) and ff. and stands naturally at the end of that series. This form of candlestick is, I think, unique, and it is likely that they are all products of the same centre if not of the same workshop. Their clay varies: 530 and 535 (Pl. 38) are pale Corinthianising, 532 (Pl. 38) the regular local dark, while the others stand between. The style of the figures on 531 (Pl. 38) is related to that of the inferior stand 537 (Pl. 41), of the regular brown local clay, which takes with it 538 (Pl. 41) and 539 (Pl. 41) of the same shape and clay, the style of the last being related to that of the Kalikleas group.

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[1] On both these groups see further below, pp. 112 f., and in the catalogue, pp. 83 ff.

Besides the more or less Corinthianising vases there is a series, beginning well in the Geometric period, of direct copies of Corinthian vases, chiefly small oinochoai—*e.g.*, 481, 482, 485, 486 and cups and kotylai, *e.g.*, 285–9, 293, 294 (see Pl. 16). The clay varies from brownish to pale; the style is poor (285 (Pl. 16) is an exception), and they are often hard to distinguish from poor imports. It is, however, certain that there are a number of imitations whose clay would pass among the vases we have classed as Ithacan, and which in all probability belong to that class. These kotylai are succeeded in the Subgeometric period by a series 296 ff. (Pl. 17) more freely related to Corinthian and parallel to the Subgeometric oinochoe 456 (Pl. 30) etc. Some of these are very large, and 302 (Pl. 17), in rather golden clay, is one of the finest vases of the period. 303 (Pl. 17) in paler clay is cruder and connects with the dinos 382 (Pl. 25) and with the orientalising oinochoai.

To sum up: we find in Ithaca an indigenous style which might almost be called ' sub-Protogeometric ', since its relation to Protogeometric is very much that of Subgeometric to Geometric. This style continues to the end of the Geometric period, but beside it from a quite early stage we find a series of imitations of Corinthian Geometric, and running between the two a big series of more or less Corinthianising works, which continues through the Subgeometric and orientalising period into the early seventh century, when it adopts the black-figure style and abruptly ceases.[1] Apart from this tradition stands a succinct group of late Geometric, Subgeometric and orientalising vases of exceptionally fine style, with many local features, but very closely connected with Corinth.[2] All these vases I have called Ithacan. They fall admittedly into several groups, but I think I have shown that the groups are so intimately bound together that they can hardly be the products of more than one centre, and that it is at least likely that that centre was Ithaca.

One piece does not fit easily into this scheme—the oinochoe with cut-away mouth 427 (Pl. 27), of coarse pink clay with a thin white slip. The cut-away mouth is found in Ithacan Protogeometric (hydriai from Polis) which suggests that this vase is of local manufacture. The fabric, however, is so distinctively different that one is inclined to attribute it to some neighbouring centre.

The Ithacan class, as isolated above, can be divided into three series. The subsistence of pre-Geometric motives throughout the Geometric period is not found to anything like the same degree in any other fabric—a fact which lends interest, if not merit, to the series of vases which maintains this tradition. The parallel series of direct imitations of imported Corinthian models has little of either, but there exists an intermediate series, containing pieces of considerable worth, which shows the Ithacan potters' attempt to form a Geometric style of their own. This series begins with the metallising group mentioned above.[1]

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[1] For influences other than local and Corinthian on this series see below.

[2] All these groups are discussed in greater detail below.

The earliest pieces of this group—the krater 362 (Pl. 24) and the oinochoe 413 (Pl. 27)—are almost Protogeometric and of poor quality, but the kantharos 331 (Pl. 21), the oinochoai 414 and 415 (Pl. 27) and the pithos 401 (Pl. 27) have in a quiet way considerable dignity of build and design. The decorative system of the oinochoai and the pithos is already truly Geometric, but there is little distinguishably foreign about them, and they seem to be a local development.

One of the earliest pieces of developed Geometric style is the fine and very large oinochoe 444 (Pl. 30). Other good pieces are the slightly later 445 (Pl. 30) and 451, later still, both perfectly Geometric. Corinthian influence is clear in the good, rather early kantharos fragments 327, 328 (Pl. 19) and the krater fragments 379, 380 (Pl. 23). These pieces are distinguished from Corinthian by their clay, and by a certain crudity of style, which sometimes blossoms into an engaging flashiness. The fine kantharos 313 (Pl. 20), on the other hand, probably shows the influence of Cycladic originals.[2] Related are the pleasant pieces 314 and 315 (Pl. 20). One may mention here the only other pieces which seem to show non-Corinthian foreign influence before the seventh century.[3] These are the small round-mouthed oinochoai 416–24, which seem to be copied from the East Greek imports 588, 589 (Pl. 44). Both imports and imitations are from the upper deposit, and must belong to the second half of the eighth century.

The bulk of the Geometric pottery, however, is of poorish quality, but at the end of the period there is an improvement in general level which is maintained in the Subgeometric, quite apart from the special very fine group which will be discussed separately. The tendency to flashiness in the big vases grows, and many of the pieces are larger than would be normal in Corinthian. There are a number of large oinochoai, of which the best is 456 (Pl. 30), but some of the others are not bad. Many of the motives are unique.[4] Parallel are a number of smaller vases, pyxides and kotylai. The earlier examples of these shapes were either in the pre-Geometric local tradition (pyxis 393 (Pl. 26), close in fabric to kantharoi 305 ff., Pl. 18) or servile and poor imitations of Corinthian. Now they develop, like the larger vases, a mixed style of their own. The pyxis 387 (Pl. 26) is a unique shape related to the globular pyxis, but the decoration is well and closely copied from the Corinthian tall pyxis style.[1] The Protocorinthian bird-and-worm kotylai inspire some amusing variations. Close to Protocorinthian, but unusually large and bold, are the fragments 299 (Pl. 17). The large and fine 298 (Pl. 17), with its series of birds in panels all facing one way, is not a Corinthian composition, while the giraffe-like deer on 290 (Pl. 17), more supple of neck than of leg, is the only quadruped I know on a vase of this kind. The regular wavy lines between the birds no doubt originally represented water, and the Corinthian artist, if he sometimes forgot this, never gives the fact away. Not so the Ithacan, who in 296 and 297 (Pl. 17) puts the birds and the wavy lines into separate panels, splitting up the landscape into a mere series of decorative motives. The sacrifice of representation to simple decoration goes still farther in 300 (Pl. 17), for I fear we cannot take this as a moral emblem showing the final triumph of the worm.

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[1] See p. 105.

[2] See above, p. 65.

[3] See below.

[4] See catalogue and illustrations.

Related to the large kotyle 297 (Pl. 17) and to the contemporary oinochoai is a series of very fine large kotylai 301 ff. 302 (Pl. 17) is perhaps the best Subgeometric vase produced in Ithaca outside the special group. 303 (Pl. 17) is cruder, and the heavy figure-of-eight band connects it with the grotesque dinos 382 (Pl. 25) and the contemporary large orientalising oinochoai. The Ithacans had with difficulty adopted the Geometric style; the orientalising was too much for them altogether, and such pieces as 464 ff. (Pl. 32) and 535 (Pl. 38) are awful almost beyond parallel in archaic art.

At the end of the series of large Subgeometric and early orientalising oinochoai comes the vase 467 (Pl. 31) with grazing deer. The front knees of the animals are represented by a feeble button-hook—a stylisation I do not know elsewhere except on the sphinxes of Kalikleas's candlestick 534 (Pls. 38, 39). The idea that they come from the same workshop is confirmed by the general character, or lack of character, of the drawing. The repulsive technical device of emphasising a thin line of paint by incising a line down the middle of it is found, as far as I know, only on the face of the plastic lion,[2] the sacred tree of the Kalikleas vase and an ornament on the candlestick 535 (Pl. 38). This vase shows other ornaments which are close to that sniffed by the deer on 467, and may therefore be taken as a third work of the same establishment. Its style is precisely that of the big orientalising oinochoai, and it can hardly be dated after the end of the eighth century. The style of the Kalikleas vase is related to Protocorinthian of the first quarter of the seventh century, and it cannot date later than the beginning of the second quarter. The deer oinochoe will come between.

Figure-drawing in Ithaca, apart from birds, begins earlier. Leaving aside the horse scratched on the mug 343 (Pl. 22), which is amateur work, the earliest is probably the stand 537 (Pl. 41). The spotted bird connects it with the kantharos 313 (Pl. 20), but it comes from the upper deposit, and is certainly later. Better, and perhaps a little later still, is the candlestick 531 (Pl. 38). The drawing of the man in complete outline shows that it is in the Subgeometric period, while the proportions and figure of the animal give a hint of the archaic impinging on the Geometric. Both these vases must be near the middle of the eighth century. Between them and the Kalikleas group belongs the plate 563 (Pl. 42). On the shape, which is peculiar, see the catalogue. The drawing, especially of the lion, resembles Protocorinthian work such as an aryballos from the Argive Heraion,[1] which I should be inclined to place in the eighth century. Our vase seems even more primitive, and can certainly not be later. To the first quarter of the seventh century belong the stand 539 (Pl. 41) and the krater fragments 381 (Pl. 23), both of which might well be from Kalikleas's workshop. The stand is close to Protocorinthian models.[2] For the subject of the krater fragments—a lion with curling tail on the back of another animal—cf. a Protocorinthian aryballos from Corneto.[3]

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[1] See p. 28.

[2] See below, p. 111.

Ithacan figure-work is not strong, but some of it is quite pleasant. The stand 537 (Pl. 41) is thoroughly poor, but the candlestick 531 (Pl. 38) with man and stag has charm, and the lion on the plate 563 (Pl. 42) is quite good. Of the seventh-century vases, the nicest is the deer oinochoe 467—the deer raising its head to sniff an unaccustomed ornament (Fig. 46) is a pretty motive. Kalikleas's sphinxes (534, Pls. 38, 39) are bad and dull, the monkey bad, but amusing. Monkeys in much this position recur on a contemporary vase in Aigina of uncertain origin,[4] on the Macmillan aryballos, and on a sixth-century Laconian cup. This does not, I think, imply a united artistic tradition, but merely the conservative habits of monkeys. To make the monkey female was individual, and the drawing of the face shows spirit.

I have mentioned that incision to emphasise that a thin line of paint recurs on the face of the lion 558 (Pl. 41) and indeed the pattern demarcating its face is remarkably like Kalikleas's ' sacred tree '. I therefore take it to be from the same workshop. Now, the lion is almost certainly based on a Cretan model,[5] Kalikleas's sacred tree finds its nearest parallel in Crete, and the dinos 599, if not actually a Cretan import, is copied from one. The influences that formed the style of the deer oinochoe 467 are harder to find. The frieze of big animals recalls relief-pithoi, and the spots emphasise this, but spots are common in Ithaca, and the resemblance is probably fortuitous. There is little evidence for a Protocorinthian black-figure style on this scale at this period—the boar 145 (Pl. 13) is a little later, and the outline style (cf. 225, Figs. 32, 33) is a different tradition—and the curious effect of these figures might easily be due to copying a miniature style on a large scale.

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[1] *PV* pl. 9. 1–2.

[2] *E.g.*, *Perachora* i, pl. 26. 2 and 3.

[3] *PV* pl. 9. 7.

[4] *AM* 1897, 309. Cf. also the Protoattic example *CVA Berlin* i, pl. 19 (*AJA* 1939, 715, R. S. Young).

[5] See p. 71.

The lion 558 (Pl. 41) is exceedingly bad and consequently hard to date. I should be inclined to place it with the Kalikleas vase—perhaps a little later—the last flicker of the Ithacan style.[1] The bird 556 (Pl. 41), which is better, stands close in stylistic detail to the birds of the Protocorinthian stand 225 (Figs. 32, 33). This belongs near the turn of the century, and no doubt the bird belongs there too, or a little later.[2]

There remains the special fine series of Subgeometric and orientalising vases. The earliest-looking is the pyxis 392 (Pl. 26). The general scheme of decoration is derived from ripe Geometric Corinthian vases, such as a krater from Corinth,[3] but the form of lip and handles shows the influence of the later tall pyxides,[4] while the high foot and the size are concessions to local taste. Close to this vase are the hydria 412 (Pl. 28), the kantharos 330 (Pl. 20) with 329 etc., and the plates 559 (Pl. 42) and 560. The beautiful plate 561 (Pl. 42) has orientalising motives, cable and palmette chain, but it must be nearly contemporary with the others. Then come the tall-necked oinochoai 490 ff. (Pl. 34). Two have figures with incision, the third orientalising motives and a picture in outline with traces of incision, but they must all be dated within the eighth century, and not far from one another.[5]

Contemporary and, I think, very closely related to these is the series of small orientalising oinochoai 499 ff. (Pls. 35–37) discussed in detail above.[6] The Corinthian 'Cumae group' oinochoai from which they derive, and the contemporary black-figure—*e.g.*, 164 (Pl. 13) have a boisterous quality sometimes almost reaching incoherence, which is in marked contrast with the sobriety and balance of Corinthian Geometric and of developed Protocorinthian black-figure.[7] This wild phase is found at this period in almost all fabrics, but the best of these small Ithacan oinochoai, both black-figure and curvilinear, escape it. The eagle on 492 (Pl. 34), though immature in style and in a hesitant technique, part outline part silhouette with primitive incision, has yet a certain nobility. The decorative scheme of the curvilinear oinochoai binds the freedom of the Cumae group with a Geometric strictness, producing in its best examples—*e.g.*, 502 and 503 (Pl. 36)—a satisfying system of vase decoration. Of course, neither group lives up to this standard; the creature on 491 (Pl. 34) is charming but no more, and the worst of the curvilinear oinochoai are not at all good. Nevertheless, the combination of freedom and restraint marks these two groups out from contemporary work and makes it at least likely that they are the works of one artist or group of artists. Further, this combination is exactly that found in Corinth in the succeeding period, and to some extent in the preceding, while it is notably absent from other Ithacan work of all dates. These vases in fact are far more Corinthian in spirit than Ithacan, and I think it likely that they are, in fact, the works of a Corinthian artist or artists settled in Ithaca. With the possible exception of the pyxis 392, they must all belong to the last half of the eighth century, perhaps just reaching into the seventh, and so are probably the work of two generations. It is true that the inscription on 490 (Pl. 34) is in a mixed alphabet unlikely at Corinth,[1] but that only shows that the artist learnt his letters in Ithaca. The vase belongs late in the century, and can be a work of the younger generation. They may have been reared in Ithaca, but they are of Corinthian stock

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[1] See catalogue, p. 91.

[2] On the fragments of another plastic vase see above, p. 92.

[3] *PV* pl. 1. 2.

[4] Cat. 78 ff.

[5] On the question of dating this earliest 'Subgeometric black-figure', and its relation to linear Subgeometric and early orientalising, see above, pp. 55 ff.

[6] Pp. 83 ff.

[7] See above, pp. 51 ff.

καὶ οὔπω σφιν ἐξίτηλον αἷμα δαιμόνων.

II. OBJECTS OTHER THAN POTTERY

A. Terracotta (1–19 moulded; 20–3 handmade)

1. Female head. H. 0·05. Pl. 46. Grey clay; no trace of slip or paint. Hair modelled separately and mostly now missing. Argive, Class C.[2] Early sixth century, B.C.

2. Fr., h. 0·05. Pl. 46. Female torso broken at shoulders and waist. Corinthian clay; no trace of paint. Remains of attachment behind, so probably handle of a convex-sided pyxis. Handles of this type are found at Corinth from the late seventh into the fifth century B.C.

3. Standing female figure. H. 0·12. Yellowish clay; no trace of slip or paint. The back shows the depression made by the wedge-shaped tool used to press the clay into the mould. The figure wears a peplos, and carries a dove in each hand pressed to her breast. Corinthian, LC IV type.[3] Late sixth or early fifth century, B.C.

4. Fr., h. 0·06. Lower part of standing female figure in peplos. As last.

5. Similar fr. to last.

6. Fr., h. 0·035. Pl. 46. Female head in polos. Same type as no. 3.

7–8. Similar heads to last.

9. Fr. of relief. H. 0·05. Lower part of frontal draped figure. Archaic?

10. Fr., h. 0·04. Pl. 46. Female face. Powdery pink clay; bad state. Fifth century.

11–16. Ruined heads apparently also of fifth century type.

17. Fr., h. 0·02. Female head with arm lifting drapery. Bad state. Classical.

18. Fr., h. 0·05. Upper part of flute-player. Bad state. Classical.

19. Fr., h. 0·055. Naked boy, waist to knee, against drapery of seated figure. Bad state. Classical.

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[1] See p. 82 above.

[2] See Jenkins in *BSA* xxxii, 28 ff., and cf. his pl. 13; for the tripe-like appliqué hair, cf. the later head, *l.c.*, pl. 14. 4.

[3] See Jenkins in *Perachora* i, 217 ff.

20. Fr., h. 0·09. Pl. 46. Upper part of female figure. Yellow clay. Hand-made; breasts modelled; eyes and wreath made separately; three bands of paint round neck and one round waist. For the necklaces (?) cf. the female figure on the stone tripod-bowl from this site, B. 1, below.
21. Dog. L. 0·05. Pl. 46. Yellow clay; traces of paint. Hind legs and left foreleg missing. Subgeometric.
22. Bird's head. L. 0·02. Pl. 46. Yellow clay; no trace of paint. Subgeometric.
23. Pendant(?). H. 0·025. Pl. 46. Yellow clay; no trace of paint. Cone with stalk pierced for suspension. Double row of impressed dots round cone.

The terracottas are a jejune series, of interest chiefly as showing that the site was not entirely abandoned at any rate before the fifth century.

B. Stone

1. Fr. of tripod-bowl in limestone; one foot and part of rim and body preserved. H. 0·08. Pl. 46. Decoration incised: on rim, row of triangles.[1] On foot, love-scene. The figures appear to be holding hands. The man, who wears nothing but a beard, is naked and ithyphallic. His free hand is raised behind him, holding what might be a thunderbolt; if so, Zeus, with Hera or another.[2] Three incisions across the woman's neck suggest a necklace. Her legs are not shown, so presumably she is thought of as wearing a chiton or peplos, though the semicircular incisions immediately below the breast seem to represent her pudenda, misplaced to correspond with the position of the phallus.

The picture looks like amateur work, and is hard to date. The shape of the vessel somewhat resembles the tripod pyxis, introduced into Corinthian pottery in the late seventh century and only common in the sixth. The types of profile, however, seem to preclude so late a dating, suggesting rather such things as the heads on an Early Protocorinthian pyxis-lid from Ephesos,[3] which dates from the beginning of the seventh century, and a lid from Knossos [4] with another possible thundering Zeus, which must still belong in the eighth. The rim-pattern, moreover, occurs on a late Geometric kantharos from Samos,[5] and I doubt if our piece can be much later than the first quarter of the seventh century. Erotic scenes are curiously rare in Greek art before the sixth century; I know examples on the base of a Geometric bronze bird in Nauplia and on a Boeotian fibula.[6]

2–12. Beads

2. Opaque red stone scaraboid, l. 0·016. LD. Pl. 46. Egyptianising design: at top, winged disc; below, debased ostrich feathers (the sign of 'Truth'); the bird and hatched triangle between them do not appear to have any definite Egyptian origin.[7]

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[1] This appears better in the illustration in *JHS* 1932, 247, fig. 11.

[2] An ithyphallic Zeus would be unusual, but cf. a fresco by Giulio Romano in the Palazzo del T at Bologna, with Jupiter approaching a woman (Professor Beazley's reference).

[3] Hogarth, *Ephesus* 230, fig. 57.

[4] *JHS* 1933, 295, fig. 18.

[5] *AM* lviii, 98 f., figs. 40 f., Beil. XXVIII 8, XXIX 1.

[6] Hampe, *Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder*, pl. 6.

[7] Mr. I. E. S. Edwards of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum kindly examined a photograph of the object for me.

3. Opaque red stone scaraboid, l. 0·016. Pl. 46. Orientalising design. The design somewhat resembles that on a paste scarab from Sparta.[1]
4. Opaque grey-brown stone scaraboid, l. 0·013. Pl. 46. Obscure design (Two birds ?).
5–7. Opaque black stone truncated cones, pierced vertically, h. 0·018.
8. Agate flat lozenge, pierced lengthwise, l. 0·015. Pl. 46.
9. Agate flat disc, pierced diametrically, d. 0·009.
10. Soft white stone flat oval, pierced lengthwise, l. 0·004.
11. Soft white stone flat disc, pierced diametrically, d. 0·006.
12. Crystal oval, pierced lengthwise, l. 0·032.

C. Bone and Ivory

1–6. Figurines without seals on base

1. Monkey mother and child, on oval base. H. 0·025. Pl. 48. An ivory monkey was found at Sparta,[2] but it is a conventional piece of far less interest and charm than ours. Types of monkey mother are found in terracotta [3] but none resemble ours formally, any more than they attain its curious pathos.
2. Frog, on oval base, l. 0·02. Mouth open; base pierced lengthwise. Pl. 48. Ivory frogs were found at Sparta.[4]
3. Couchant animal, l. 0·04. Very low relief. Pl. 48. The low relief of this and the next two figures (also 9) is paralleled in some examples from Sparta.[5]
4. Couchant animal, l. 0·026. Very low relief. Pl. 48.
5. Couchant animal, l. 0·025. Similar to last two. On base, relief of winged lion sejant regardant. Pl. 48.
6. Ram, on rectangular base, l. 0·035. Pl. 48. This and the next two figures are very closely paralleled in Sparta.[6]

7–9. Figurines with seals on base

7. Ram, l. 0·03. Seal: panther half sitting half walking; tendril in field. Pl. 48.
8. Ram (?), l. 0·03. As last, but lying to right; head missing. Seal: squatting monkey within frame. Pl. 48. Monkeys occur on two seals from Sparta.[7]
9. Dog (?) curled up asleep, l. 0·021. Pl. 48. Very low relief, as 2–5. Seal: incised triple saltire cross in frame.

10–15. Seals

10. Four-sided seal, pierced vertically, h. 0·02. Pl. 47. On top and bottom, concentric circles; on sides, which are cut in ovals, (i) bearded head with long hair, (ii) S-pattern, (iii) seated sphinx, (iv) cross. Several seals of this shape and closely similar style were found at Sparta.[8]
11. Scarab, l. 0·016. Incised saltire. Pl. 48.
12. Circular scarab, d. 0·015. Pl. 48. Bird flying. This is a common theme on Spartan seals.[9]
13. Pierced disc, d. 0·02. Pls. 47, 48. Griffin-bird; on back incised flower-pattern, very worn. Circular seals with this type of pattern on the back were found at Sparta.[10] The griffin-bird first appears in the early seventh century.[11]

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[1] *Artemis Orthia* pl. CCV, 10.

[2] *Artemis Orthia* pl. CLXIX, 3.

[3] Winter, *Typen* III i 222, 2, 224, 1 and 225, 3; *Clara Rhodos* iv, 263 fig. 287, and 265 fig. 289; also Italian plastic vases, Maximova, no. 154, pl. XLI.

[4] *AO* pl. CXV.

[5] *AO* pl. CXLVIII, 12 and 13, CXLIX, 1 and 2.

[6] *AO* pls. CXLVIII and CXLIX.

[7] *AO* pl. CLV, 2 and 4.

[8] *AO* pl. CXL.

[9] *AO* pls. CXXXIX f., CXLIII ff.

[10] *AO* pls. CXL ff.

[11] Payne, *PV* pl. 9. 4 and p. 21; R. S. Young, *AJA* 1942, 26, fig. 4, no. 19. 11 and text thereto.

14. Pierced disc, d. 0·02. Pl. 48. Seated lion with paw raised. Very worn. For the posture there are parallels on the seals from Sparta.[1]
15. Seal of irregular shape, flat behind, unpierced, l. 0·03. Crouching lion.

16–31. Adornments.

16–21. Brooches

16. Spectacle-fibula, l. 0·07. Pl. 47. Centres of 'eyes' hollowed for inlay now missing, within three incised circles; on each joining member, dot and circle. Iron stain on back. The use of an iron pin instead of the more usual bronze, found also in 18 and 19 below, is paralleled in an example from Sparta [2] and another from the Athenaion of Syracuse.[3]
17. One 'eye' of spectacle-fibula, d. 0·054. Pl. 47. Centre hollowed for inlay now missing; guilloche round edge. A piece very like this and the next was found in the Athenaion of Syracuse.[4]
18. One 'eye' of spectacle-fibula, d. 0·058. Pl. 47. In centre compass-drawn flower-pattern within four circles; guilloche round edge. Iron stain.
19. 'Double spectacle-fibula' with iron pin along one diagonal of the square, l. 0·045. Pl. 47. Dot and circle in centre; on each member two dot and circles within six circles. There are small fragments of other fibulae.
20. Plaque, pierced twice from back to front, l. 0·033. Pl. 47. Guilloche in two panels on front. This and the following seem to be fibula plaques of a type found at Sparta.[5]
21. Plaque of curved section, l. 0·026. Pl. 47. Pierced three times parallel to the shorter sides; two piercings from one end to the first of the transverse piercings. Irregular decoration of dot and circle on front. It is not certain that this is a fibula plaque. Almost identical objects were found at Sparta [6] as well as undoubted curved fibula plaques.[7]

22–9. Pendant beads

22–26. Flat pendant beads, with rectangular lower section, and narrow upper section pierced lengthwise. H. 0·015–0·024. All but 26 have a hole in one of the narrow edges of the lower section. 25 has a rough square incised on the lower section. Pl. 47.
27–29. Similar, but with piriform lower section. H. 0·015–0·020. 27 seems transitional between this type and the last, being flattened and the lower member a plain oval; it has four incised verticals on the upper member, and two horizontals and dotting on the lower. The lower members of 28 and 29 are circular in section, and there is a central rib on the upper. Pl. 47.

30 and 31. Pin-heads in the form of pomegranates, h. 0·024 and 0·01. Pierced vertically for the shaft. 31 (Pl. 47) has a cross cut on the upper surface.[8]

32–44. Miscellanea

32–33. Double axe-heads, l. 0·023 and 0·031. Pierced as though for haft. 32 is decorated with roughly incised verticals. Pl. 47.
34. Tube of square section, l. 0·06. Decorated with dot and circle. Pl. 47.[9]
35. Tube, l. 0·08. Undecorated. Pl. 47.
36. Tube, l. 0·033. As last.
37. Tube, l. 0·029. As last.
38. Flat disc, pierced diametrically, d. 0·055. Undecorated. Pl. 47.
39. Flat oval, pierced lengthwise, l. 0·025. Undecorated.
40. Object shaped like squat cotton-reel, pierced diametrically, h. 0·007, d. 0·015.

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[1] Cf. *AO* pl. CXLII.
[2] *AO* pl. CXLI.
[3] *MA* xxv, 499, fig. 90.
[4] *MA* xxv, 591, fig. 181.
[5] *AO* pls. XCI ff.
[6] *AO* pl. CLXX, 12 and 13.
[7] *AO* pl. XCII, 1.
[8] Cf. *AO* pl. CXXXVI, 4.
[9] Cf. *AO* pl. CLXX, 14.

41. Frr., longest 0·020, of rectangular object with bronze studs.
42. Fr., l. 0·04, h. 0·01, w. 0·022. Curved on long axis; along each curved narrow edge, guilloche.
43. Toy hydria, solid and unpierced, h. 0·032. Most of three handles and part of mouth broken away. Pl. 47. For the shape cf. the broad trumpet-mouthed Ithacan hydria, Catalogue no. 410, p. 74 above.
44. Unworked bone, l. 0·17. Pl. 46. Incised design of two ships. Very little style. Subject and technique recall certain Late and Subgeometric Boeotian fibulae.[1]

The largest body of Subgeometric and orientalising Greek ivories comes from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, and the Ithaca ivories find their closest parallels there. Similar pieces, however, have been found at Perachora and elsewhere, and it seems more likely that our pieces reached Ithaca through the medium of Corinth than that there is any direct connection with Sparta. Dating is difficult, but none of the figured pieces can be earlier than the seventh century.

D. Amber

1. Low relief, l. 0·07. Animal lying to left, right forepaw outstretched. Not pierced. Pl. 48.
2. High relief, l. 0·03. Couchant animal, as on ivory seals. Pierced from back to front under animal's body. Pl. 48.
3. Bead, l. 0·045. Flat, ribbed on both sides, pierced lengthwise. Pl. 48.
4. Bead, l. 0·055. Triangular section, ribbed on all sides, pierced lengthwise. Pl. 48.
5. Bead, l. 0·05. Flat, undecorated, pierced lengthwise.
6. Bead, l. 0·025. As last.
7. Bead, l. 0·025. Rectangular, ribbed.
8–24. Beads, l. 0·007–0·022. Flat, rectangular, circular and oval; undecorated. A few of these come from the lower deposit.
25. Bead, l. 0·012. Conical, pierced vertically, undecorated.
26. Cone, h. 0·009. Unpierced, undecorated.
27. Pin-head (?), l. 0·015. Flat below, slightly domed.

Amber was used in Greece for beads and the like, but no figure-work in this material of Greek origin has hitherto been known.[1a] In Italy, however, figures were commonly carved in it, and it is possible that nos. 1 and 2 may be Italian imports. On the other hand 2 closely resembles a type of ivory seal common to Sparta, Perachora, Ephesos and this site, while 1 is close to low reliefs in ivory found here and at Sparta.

E. Bronze

1–13. Figurines

1–5. Free-standing.

1. Horse, h. 0·042. Flat limbs, open base; tail broken. Pl. 49. Geometric.
2. Horse, h. 0·04. Round limbs, eyes in relief; base broken away; off hind leg broken and bent. Pl. 49. Subgeometric.

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[1] Hampe, *Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder*, pls. 4, 5, 11 and 14.

[1a] Dunbabin tells me that amber animals like those on ivory seals were also found at Perachora.

3. Bird, l. 0·03. Flat legs; remains of crest and large tail. Broken off base. Pl. 49. Geometric.
4. Bird, l. 0·04. Round legs, eyes in relief. Pl. 49. Close to horse, no. 2. Subgeometric.
5. Sphinx, h. 0·063. Foot-plates cast in one piece with figure and pierced for attachment to vase-shoulder. Pl. 49. Orientalising, late eighth or early seventh century.

6–13. Flat cut-outs. These are evidently intended to be attached to a ground of the same or another material—*e.g.*, as shield devices or decorations for furniture.[1]

6. Quadruped, l. 0·10. LD. Eye pierced; two nails for attachment in back. Pl. 49.
7. Horse, l. 0·07. LD. Eye in relief; tail, one hind leg and other fragments missing. Pl. 49.
8. Fr., l. 0·044. Body and parts of legs of quadruped.
9. Fr., l. 0·03. Bird's head. Eye pierced; beak attached.
10. Blade-shaped fr., l. 0·128. Repoussé line down middle; two nails for attachment at broad end and one at narrow.

11–13. Three more frr., two containing nails.

14–171. Personal articles

14–23. Fibulae

14. Bow, l. 0·075. LD. Spiral thread. Pl. 50. This and the two following resemble examples in Blinkenberg's Type II (Submycenaean; subdivisions 7–9: Crete, Thera, Delphi), III (Intermediate; subdivisions 1–3: Peloponnese) and XII (Asia Minor; subdivision 1: earlier examples).
15. Fr. bent into oval, l. 0·012. As last. Pl. 50.
16. Fr. bent into ring, d. 0·025. As last. Pl. 50.
17. Bow, l. 0·025. Circular section with swelling in centre and knobs at each end. Pl. 50. This somewhat resembles examples in Blinkenberg's Type III (Intermediate) subdivision 12 (Crete, Chios, Peloponnese, Thebes, Thessaly), but similar forms occur in other of his Types (IV, pp. 90 ff.; XII, pp. 218 ff.).
18. Fr. of bow, l. 0·01. Circular section, swelling to point at centre. Pl. 50. This again most nearly resembles Blinkenberg Type III, 12.
19. Bow, l. 0·027. Swollen form tapering to ends; point at centre; two knobs inside, knob at catch-plate end. Pl. 50. The swollen form is found in Blinkenberg Types III (Intermediate) subdivisions 12–14, IV (Island) subdivisions 3–8, VI (Thessalian) subdivisions 7–8, and VII (Helladic) subdivision 14. I can find no parallel for the knobs inside.
20. Bow, l. 0·046. Pin and catch-plate broken; bow of rather flattened section ending in rectangular panels. Pl. 50. Resembles Blinkenberg's Type XII (Asia Minor), especially some in subdivisions 5–7 (*l.c.* 212 ff., figs. 235–238).
21. Catch-plate, l. 0·037, w. 0·02. The return to hold the pin is along the short edge. This type of catch-plate is typical of Blinkenberg's Type IV (Island).
22. Fr. of bow, l. 0·03. A thin bronze bow on which is threaded a truncated cone of bone, exactly as in Blinkenberg Type XI (Italian) subdivision 9, no. *a* (201, fig. 222), found in Thessaly. An import from Italy.
23. Horse, l. 0·06. Pl. 49. The body of the animal forms the bow of the fibula, the single hind leg turning into the spiral spring of the pin, and the single foreleg into the catch-plate, which is broken away. Animal fibulae are extremely rare in Greece, but frequent in Italy. There is one from Crete,[2] but ours less resembles that than some of those from Italy, *e.g.*, examples from Este [3] and Bologna,[4] and is probably an Italian import.[5]

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[1] Cf. the example from Selinus, *NSc* 1894, 218 fig. 18 and *MA* xxxii, 349 fig. 146, attached to a bronze disc 13 cm. in diameter, perhaps the centre of a shield.

[2] Blinkenberg 57, fig. 29, Type I, 14 (a)

[3] Montelius, *Civilisation primitive en Italie* i, B pl. 54. 4.

[4] *Ibid.* pl. 88. 1.

[5] Cf. also Sundwall, *Älteren Italischen Fibeln*, Class J, 1, pp. 253 ff.

24–7. Pins

24. Fr., l. 0·09. Pl. 50. Similar pieces were found in the archaic deposit of Hera Limenaia at Perachora,[1] but not in the Geometric deposit of Hera Akraia.
25. Fr., l. 0·15. Pl. 50. Related type to the last.
26. Fr., l. 0·14. Pl. 50. Similar pieces were found at the Argive Heraion.[2]
27. Fr., l. 0·12. LD. Pl. 50. Related type to last.

28–34. 'Spits'[3]

28. Fr., l. 0·07. Pl. 50. Complete at upper end; first two sections ribbed, next plain.
29. Two frr., combined length 0·15. LD. Pl. 50. Complete at upper end; first two sections ribbed, rest plain.
30–34. Frr. of five others.

35–7. Bracelets

35. D. 0·057. Pl. 50. Circular section with flattened ends, each stamped with a pair of dot and circles, making rudimentary snakes' heads.
36. D. 0·056. Similar to last.
37. D. 0·065. Similar to last.

38–80. Rings

38–71. Flat section d. 0·015–0·035. Eight of these were from the lower deposit. Two examples illustrated Pl. 50.
72–80. Round section; d. 0·02–0·025. One example illustrated Pl. 50.

81–2. Diadems

81. Fr., l. 0·16. Flat strip with repoussé dots.
82. Fr., l. 0·054. Similar; end pierced.

83–92. Pendants

83. L. 0·075. Club-shaped. Pl. 50.
84. L. 0·04. As last.
85. Fr., l. 0·015. As last.
86. Present length, 0·085; upper end broken across suspension hole. Hammer-shaped. Pl. 50. The suspension hole was at right-angles to the plane of the head.
87. Hammer-head from pendant as last. L. 0·032.
88. L. 0·043. Pomegranate.
89. L. 0·065. Open-work sphere of nine vertical ribs, with cylindrical extensions at top and bottom; on top, triangular member pierced for suspension. Pl. 49. See on next.
90. L. 0·04. Similar but simpler, with plain suspension ring. A similar piece was found at Perachora.[4] Takacs [5] cites these pendants as parallels to similar objects from Thessaly and Hungary, which he illustrates, calling them helmet ornaments.
91. L. 0·035. Sphere with ribs in relief and suspension ring at top.
92. L. 0·065. Open-work sphere composed of three circles of flat section crossing each other at right-angles; knob below; flat rectangular member above, pierced for suspension and ending in figure of bird. Pl. 49. See remarks on 90.

93–168. Beads

93. L. 0·05. Double truncated cone; hollow. Pl. 50.
94. L. 0·01. Similar to last.
95. L. 0·04. Similar to last.

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[1] Cf. *Perachora* i, pl. 74 f.

[2] *AH* ii, pl. LXXVIII.

[3] See *Perachora* i, 71 f.

[4] *Perachora* i, pl. 83. 14, and p. 183, where it is remarked that similar balls are very common not only in Greece, but in the Hallstatt cemeteries of Bosnia.

[5] *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst und Kultur Asiens* ix, 1935, 45 n. 5.

96. L. 0·04. Similar, but with holes rimmed, as next.
97. L. 0·035. Spherical, with holes rimmed. Pl. 50.
98–103. L. 0·02–0·035. As last. Many of these were from the lower deposit.
104. D. 0·03. Spherical, with six rimmed holes in pairs opposite one another.
105. L. 0·03. Spherical, with three rings in relief.
106. L. 0·018. Truncated ovoid; holes not rimmed.
107. L. 0·031. Cylinder; down each side a rib, drawn out into flattened spirals at the ends. Pl. 50.
108–68. 61 small beads of flat section.

169–70. Combs

169. Fr., l. 0·045. Teeth gone; plate stamped with dot and circle eight times repeated; T-shaped extension at back pierced for suspension. Pl. 49. A comb of somewhat similar type to this and the next was found at Montale in South Italy.[1]
170. Fr., l. 0·042. Teeth largely gone; plate pierced with two large circular holes; extension at back pierced for suspension. Pl. 49.

171. Tweezers, l. 0·046. One end broken. Pl. 50.

172–88. Miscellanea

172. Axe. L. 0·11. Pl. 50.

173–82. Double axes

173–4. Practical

173. L. 0·07. Pl. 50.
174. L. 0·068. Pl. 50.

175–82. Ornamental

175. L. 0·05. LD. Dot and double circle stamped on each wing. Pl. 50.
176. L. 0·024. LD. Pl. 50.
177–182. Similar pieces; l. 0·02–0·098.

183–4. Miniature vases

183. Beaked jug with high handle and pointed base, h. 0·065. LD. Pl. 49. A similar miniature was found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.[2] Droop points out that the form recalls early Iron Age vases from Northern Greece. There is another miniature of the same shape in the British Museum, from the Woodhouse collection, which was formed in Corfu and consisted in part of local finds.
184. Dinos with lid; total height, 0·045. Pl. 49. Bowl: two knobs on shoulder corresponding to horizontal loop-handles on rim (one broken). Lid: horizontal loop-handles on rim (one broken), corresponding to those on the bowl; high knob. The correspondence of bowl and lid is so exact that they may be assumed to belong; the lid by itself, however, could be taken for a cup the other way up.

185–6. Wheels

185. D. 0·058. Four spokes; flat except for hub in front and nail or stub of axle behind. Pl. 49.
186. H. with excrescence 0·063. Nine spokes; flat; irregular rim with beak-like excrescence pierced for suspension (?). Pl. 49.

187. H. not recorded. Two ox-heads back to back springing from a stem; broken below. Presumably this ended in a wheel-base, like the examples from Kamiros.[3]
188. Fr. of open-work ornament, l. 0·028. Pl. 49.

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[1] Montelius, *CPI* i, B pl. 19. 10.
[2] *AO* pl. LXXX, Q and p. 199.
[3] Anna Roes, *Greek Geometric Art*, 100, fig. 81.

F. Silver

1. Fr. of a vase (?), l. 0·046.
2. Two hemispheres set lip to lip on a bronze stem broken at both ends; l. 0·035. I can think of no use for this object.

G. Gold

1. Fr. of spiral wire, l. 0·004.
2. Bead, d. 0·007. Thin; convex section; decorated with incised verticals. There are similar specimens in Athens from the Idaean Cave.
3. Bead, l. 0·004. Similar to last.
4. Pendant, l. 0·04. Flat in section; broken at both ends; decoration on one side only, showing that it is a pendant and not an ear-ring. Pl. 46. This piece does not conform to any known type. Elements in its decoration recall on the one hand a bead-pendant from the Tiryns treasure,[1] and on the other a pair of fifth-century ear-rings from Nymphaeum in the Ashmolean.[2] Karo, in publishing the Tiryns piece, remarked that he knew nothing like it in the whole Minoan–Mycenaean field.

H. Paste and glass beads

1–22. Pyramidal beads decorated with white-filled circles

1. L. 0·025. Black.

2–22. L. *c.* 0·02. Brown. Three of these were from the lower deposit.

23–27. Tubular beads in brown paste with five ribs, l. 0·01–0·07.

28. L. 0·015. Similar, but with seven ribs.

29. Flat circular bead in brown paste, decorated with three impressed circles, d. 0·016.

30. Flat circular bead in dark blue paste, d. 0·014.

31. As last, d. 0·016.

32. Flat circular bead in black paste, d. 0·012.

33–42. Various flat circular paste beads, d. 0·009–0·014.

43. Truncated cone in dark blue paste, h. 0·011.

44–89. Spherical and flat circular beads in translucent glass (white, blue, green and yellow), d. 0·008–0·023. Some of these were from the lower deposit.

I. Faience

1. Biconical bead, l. 0·025. Incised flower-pattern.
2. Base of vase, d. 0·02.

CONCLUSION

Miss Lorimer and Mr. Heurtley have shown that the site of Aetos was used in the LH III and Protogeometric periods for burial-cairns.[3] These cairns were just up the slope from our deposit, between that and the foundations of the supposed sanctuary. The LH III pottery from these cairns is dated by Mr. Heurtley [4] to the twelfth century, mostly in the second half, and he points out that the Protogeometric develops directly out of it. We have seen that the local geometric style of Ithaca similarly develops directly out of the Protogeometric, but also that the earliest vases from our deposit are not continuous in time with the Protogeometric from the cairns. That is to say, Ithaca was inhabited and producing pottery in a continuous tradition from LH III or Protogeometric times to Geometric and later, but the Aetos site was not in use for the whole of that period. The cave site at Polis, however, in the north of the island, was perhaps in continuous use, and Miss Benton has published vases which may belong to the period of transition.[1] Mr. Heurtley does not attempt to fix the latest date at which the cairns were used, and I can only suggest a very general date for the foundation of the sanctuary. I have shown[2] that the sanctuary was receiving imports from Corinth from the time of all but the very earliest Corinthian Geometric vases, though not in such quantity at this early period as later. The date of these vases is uncertain, but there is no reason to place it earlier than the first half of the ninth century. The question arises whether the sanctuary was in existence before the contact of the island with Corinth. I am inclined to think it was. A group of local vases, the kantharos 331, the pithos 401 and the oinochoai 414, 415, are in general character and style of decoration evidently influenced by the earliest Corinthian.[3] They are not, however, simple imitations such as we find later, and are intimately linked to some other local vases, obviously earlier and showing no trace of foreign influence, notably the krater 362 and the oinochoe 413. Some of the other early kraters, some of the kotylai and no doubt some of the kantharoi go with these. I should be inclined to suppose that the sanctuary existed in a small way before contact with Corinth, and that the earliest Corinthian imports and the local group mentioned above belong to a transitional period of contact with Corinth without the domination by her that came very soon. Mr. Heurtley has suggested that the earlier burial-cairns were held sacred,[4] and account for the choice of this site for a sanctuary; this is very likely, and more so if it were of local foundation than if it were founded by the Corinthians.

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[1] *AM* lv, 125, fig. 1.

[2] Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, pl. XVI, 2.

[3] *BSA* xxxiii, 22–27, 37–65 (Heurtley), 27–36 (Lorimer). Miss Lorimer places it all in the Protogeometric period, see *BSA* xxxiv, leaf inserted before p. 1.

[4] *Op. cit.*, 64.

Of other foreign contacts at this early stage there is no evidence. At some point a Cycladic influence was felt,[5] but the earliest Cycladic imports and local vases which show Cycladic influence in their decoration are considerably later. This complete absence of non-Corinthian imports is interesting. Blakeway has shown[6] that down to the period *c.* 735–690 B.C. Western trade was free to many Greek states, and that only after that period was it dominated by Corinth. This is manifestly not the case with Ithaca, and the explanation must be, I think, that Ithaca was settled from Corinth. There can be no question of trade between Corinth and a small and barren island like Ithaca, and the presence of Corinthian material in such bulk and so exclusive of all else must indicate possession. Why Corinth should have had a settlement there, I do not know. It cannot have been a trading post, for Corinthian trade with the West at this early period was extremely slight. On the other hand, Corinth had later a string of settlements round this coast, and that system may have gone back earlier than literary tradition tells us.

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[1] *BSA* xxxix, 16 f. Cf. *BSA* xxxv, 52.

[2] Above, pp. 53 f.

[3] See above, p. 109.

[4] *BSA* xxxiii, 27.

[5] See above, p. 109.

[6] *BSA* xxxiii, 170 ff.

We have seen that the alphabet of the inscribed Ithacan oinochoe 490, which dates from the end of the eighth century, shows Chalcidian influence, but the idea of a Chalcidian settlement before the Corinthian, seems disproved by the pottery. It is true that at this time, so far as is known Chalcis had no pottery of her own, but Cycladic vases normally appear in her train,[1] and we certainly should not find this wholesale domination by Corinth. The explanation of the inscription more probably lies in the personal contacts of the artist. This is not unusual; the four inscribed Protocorinthian vases show three alphabets.[2] There were Eretrians in Corcyra, at least till the foundation of the Corinthian colony there in the third quarter of the eighth century, and Chalcis, at this time hand in glove with Corinth, was making advances in the west, so there was plenty of opportunity for a mixed alphabet to arise.

It seems likely then that the sanctuary was founded by the local inhabitants on the tombs of their ancestors and taken over by the Corinthian settlers, who made it much more important. There is little evidence to show to whom it was dedicated. The terracottas are mainly female, which is probably significant. The most individual dedications are the ‘ candlesticks ’ (530 ff.), and these, which must have been intended for lights, suggest Demeter and Persephone. The fact that the sanctuary was associated with earlier tombs perhaps encourages the idea of dedication to Chthonian deities. Temple-models have been found in Heraia at Argos and Perachora but there is no reason to suppose them specially associated with the cult of Hera.

The finds throw some light on the history of the island. They show the pre-Geometric civilisation isolated in a remote spot until well in the Geometric period, and even after contact with the new surviving for a long time by its side. We further find that its first outside contact, probably early in the ninth century, is with Corinth, and that the island is completely dominated by Corinth for the rest of the traceable history of the site. By comparison with the early Greek finds from Italy, we can show that this domination was not for the sake of trade, and the natural conclusion seems to be that Corinth's controlling interest in the region north-west of the gulf of Corinth started earlier than has been supposed. The objects imported from Italy[1] seem to belong to the later eighth century, when Corinth was beginning to take trade seriously, and it is just at this time that we find traces of contact between Ithaca and other Greek states. This is not so paradoxical as it sounds. As long as Ithaca was a Corinthian outpost, closely bound to Corinth and never looking to the West, the Western trade, in which Corinth had little part, passed her by; but when Corinth began opening up her Western trade, Ithaca was naturally one of the points on the route, and, being a recognised port of call for Corinthian traders, she would become known to the other Greek traders who met the Corinthians in the West. There was a little contact with the Cyclades earlier—the import 567 and some Ithacan vases which show Cycladic influence are from the lower deposit, though not earlier than the late ninth century—but the majority of the Cycladic and all the Cretan and East Greek belong after the middle of the eighth century. About the turn of the eighth and seventh centuries Cretan vase-painting makes an impression in Ithaca. The Subgeometric angular oinochoai 522 f. and the palmette-motive of the oinochoe 490 are probably the first to show it, and in the first quarter of the seventh century we have Kalikleas's vase 534, which seems to show Cretan influence, the related lion-vase 558, which is certainly a copy of a Cretan import, and the dinos, 599 which is either a copy or a Cretan original. This Cretan influx, together with the fact that our earliest East Greek dates from about the same period, perhaps reflects the heightened activity leading up to and following on the foundation of Gela—a colony of Rhodians and Cretans traditionally founded in 690. There is plenty of evidence for Cretan contacts earlier in the West, but very little for East Greek. There is also East Greek at Polis from this time.

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[1] Cf. Blakeway, *l.c.* 183, n. 4.

[2] Cf. *NC* 38.

The dwindling of the dedications in the late seventh and early sixth centuries is not, I think, of historical importance. It is true that this is the time at which Corinth was losing her trade to Athens, but the fact that not a scrap of Attic was found, and that the Polis shrine was receiving at this time more Corinthian than before, show that there is no connection. Perhaps the chief town of Ithaca was up till this time in the south, but now began to be superseded by a place in the north, or perhaps the change of popularity to the northern shrine was simply a question of fashion. Ours had had a long run, and the terracottas show that it did not fall into actual disuse for centuries.

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

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[1] See above, pp. 117 f.

THE GREEK THEATRE CAVEA

(PLATES 51–54)

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The Origins of the Cavea

No records or vase-paintings of an early date[1] give any idea of the appearance of the primitive theatre cavea, and few of the remains in Attica can be traced back even as far as the Persian Wars. The earliest form of the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens[1] may belong to the first half of the sixth century B.C., but none of the cavea there is of very early date; and it is questionable whether the theatre at Thorikos is as old as the sixth century.[2] There is mention of a theatre at Eleusis,[3] but none has been brought to light. It has therefore been suggested that the wide flight of steps above the Telesterion represented an auditorium. But the Telesterion was roofed over, and as the steps are immediately above it they would not have afforded a view of anything. In any case the architecture at Eleusis is bound up with the shape of the Telesterion, and has little connection with the architecture of the theatre cavea.[4]

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[1] For vase-paintings, etc., see p. 131 below.

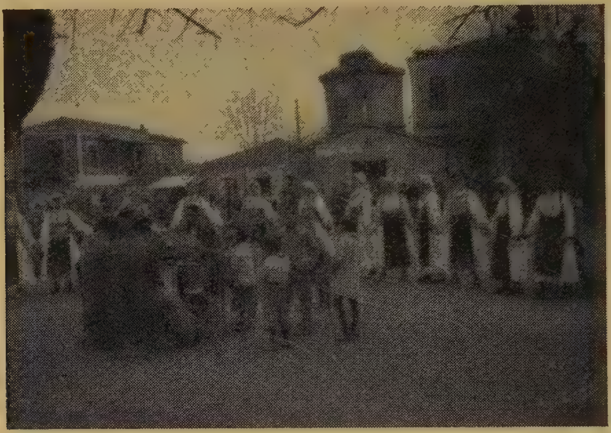

Fig. 1.—Skripou, Boeotia (Ancient Orkhomenos). Peasants Dancing in a Semicircle; Audience Around Them.

Odeum Seating. For description of odeums, see p. 185 below. It is clear that the earlier Greek odeums were always square in their ground-plan, and a consideration of the planning of pillars in the Odeum of Pericles will show that the seating must also have been in straight lines. The same applies to the convergent row of pillars at the Eleusis Telesterion and at the Thersilion in

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[1] *E.g.*, the wall called *SM* 1 in Fiechter A.I. 38, probably a retaining wall of the orchestra.

[2] *Pap. Am. Sch.* iv, 1, 23; Bieber, *Denkmäler*, 20; Flickinger, 227; Bulle 9, 210; Arias, *Historia* 1933, 55; Caputo, *Dioniso* iii, 301, iv, 90; Arias, 24; Bieber, *H.T.*, 116.

[3] *IG* ii^2. 1187, 10: Ἐλευσῖνι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τραγῳδῶν τῷ ἀγῶνι. The phrase in *IG* ii^2. 1682, θέατρον τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταδίου, undoubtedly refers to the seats in the stadium itself, not, as has been taken, to a second theatre.

[4] A. W. Persson, *ARW* xxi (1922), 308 says: "Die Form des Telesterions ist vielleicht eine Entwicklung der minoischen sogenannten Theaters"; but the classical Telesterion is of different form from Mycenaean and archaic buildings on the site, and there is therefore no connection with any Minoan building. See G. E. Mylonas, *Harv. Stud.* Suppl. i, 18, n. 2, and cf. p. 127 below.

Megalopolis; they, too, must have had straight rows of benches, derived like Thorikos from straight wooden ikria.

The Orchestra. The chief difference between a theatre cavea and other forms of auditorium is the existence of an orchestra, or roughly circular flat space reserved for the dancing of the chorus. The literary references to Thespis of Ikaria [1] make it clear that he was the originator of Attic tragedy, and that before his time there were no actors, only the chorus with their exarkhos. Hence it is not surprising that in the designing of theatres the orchestra had to be planned first. Evidently at Thorikos a rectangular area, supported by a terrace wall, was felt to be sufficient as a dancing-place; and the same applies to Ikaria and perhaps Rhamnus. Elsewhere the shape of the orchestra was circular or roughly circular. Where dancing is concerned, the most natural setting for it is a circular space.[2]

The Polygonal Scheme. Thus the auditorium was subsidiary to the orchestra, but more important than the stage buildings, in the early theatre. The orchestra would be placed conveniently near the hollow of a hill, and the spectators would in the first place be content either to sit or stand on the slope.[3] Unconnected wooden planks, which could be removed after the performance, could also be laid down. As these would be straight, we can see in this what may be called a polygonal layout, consisting of a number of planks approximately tangential to the orchestra circle. But the trouble of laying down and taking up these planks would lead to a further stage in which proper wooden stands, connected in front and behind, would be substituted. These, especially owing to their being pierced by stairways, would tend to continue the polygonal outline. But as soon as they themselves were replaced by a stone cavea, the hexagon or heptagon could disappear, and an arc of a circle take its place. The older method has not survived in wood, but there are one or two stone survivals of it, such as Thorikos and Rhamnus, and the Prohedria at Tegea.[4]

Note on Theatral Areas.

A theory has been advanced that the Athens theatre was influenced by Thorikos, Thorikos by the Agora steps at Lato in East Crete, and Lato by the Minoan theatral areas, such as those at Knossos, Phaistos and Gournia.[1] These theatral areas [2] would serve as a grandstand for spectators to watch processions or athletic or other contests. At Lato [3] in East Crete, facing the Agora, is a series of nine or ten steps, high and narrow, divided by two deep and narrow stairways, and flanked by high walls. The stairs are not as high as the tiers, so that twelve of them correspond to nine tiers. Fig. 3 gives measurements [4] of a cross-section taken at the left (S.W.) stairway. It will be seen that there are considerable variations, so that the rise of 35 cm. reported in *BCH loc. cit.* is not at all accurate. The distance between the side walls is about 5 m. 50, their length 4 m. 50. At the summit of the tiers there is a door giving access to a building, doubtfully identified as a Prytaneum.

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[1] Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy,* 97; cf. Bieber, *H.T.*, 28.

[2] Fig. 1 shows modern folk-dancing in the village of Skripoú (near Orkhomenos in Boeotia), in a circle round musicians; and a Roumanian dance portrayed in Bieber, *Denkmäler*, fig. 8, is called 'hora', which may be connected with χορός. This custom has continued throughout the ages. Weege, *Tanz in der Antike*, fig. 35, a Cretan gem, shows men and women clasping arms and dancing in a circle; other illustrations in this work (*op. cit.* figs. 2, 37, 39, 63, 74, 129, 136, 146; dating from very varying periods) show dancing of a similar nature, often with a particular object in the middle (such as maypoles, single trees with double axes on them, altars, etc.); cf. also Bulle 211. On Minoan and Greek dances see Lilian Lawler, *Classical Journal* xxxvii, 351 ff.; *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 1939, 482 ff.; 1943, 60 ff.; 1944, 20 ff., etc.

[3] The Great Dionysia were held in March, when there is often rain in Athens.

[4] See p. 180 below.

It is obvious that these tiers have no other purpose than to provide a grandstand for spectators. What the spectators watched is a point of dispute, but in any case there can be no question of dramatic performances. The date of the tiers has been placed in the seventh or sixth century, but they may well be later. It is conceivable that these are an imitation of the Minoan theatral area,[5] but, except for the west wing of the Knossos area, all the latter have wide, low treads suitable for processions to mount; moreover, they are not divided by stairways, or at least by sunken stairways, whereas this feature of the later Greek cavea is found at Lato.

The theory of a connection between Lato and the theatre at Thorikos is most unlikely. It is true that in Thorikos, too, we find a central section of rectilinear shape, bounded on each side by a narrow stairway. But here the similarity ceases. The tiers at Thorikos are undoubtedly intended for seated spectators, whereas those at Lato were not. Moreover, the Thorikos cavea belongs to a definite theatre, while the tiers at Lato are merely an appendage to the Agora, and could never have expanded to form a permanent auditorium. It is far more reasonable to explain the rectilinear section at Thorikos as an imitation in stone of earlier wooden seats.

[1] Bulle, 209; Arias, 32; Caputo, *Dioniso* iii 1933, 295; Pernier, *id.* 289; Anti, 27–51, 315 f.; pl. I, with full bibliography on p. 51. Bulle, 9, quotes *Hymn. Dem.* 126 for the connection of Thorikos with Crete. But this passage is οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον: during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., as the late J. D. S. Pendlebury emphasised, not the remotest connection in art or architecture exists between Crete and provincial Attica.

[2] Knossos: Evans, *Palace of Minos* ii, 578 ff.; Phaistos: Pernier, *Il Palazzo Minoico di Festos* i, 177; id., *Dioniso* iii, 1933, 289; *MA* xii, 1902, 33, pl. II; Gournia: Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, 15; *RE* s.v. *Kreta*, 1766. Outside Crete also there are tiers of a kind which may have been designed as an auditorium. One such is reported at Poliokhni in Lemnos (*AA* 1935, 234); and it is possible that the second city at Troy also possessed an area available for spectators.

[3] *BCH* 1903, 213. Figs. 2, 3.

[4] These are the writer's measurements, as none have been published.

[5] It has also been thought that the Agora at Dreros derives its form from the Minoan theatral area: see P. Demargne and H. van Effenterre, *BCH* lxi, 1937, 11. The date is that of the archaic temple at Dreros (? seventh century); cf. *BCH* lx, 1936, 229.

GREEK NAMES FOR PARTS OF THE CAVEA

The nomenclature of the Greek theatre has often been set out and discussed; perhaps the best account is that by A. Müller in *Philologus Suppl.* vii.

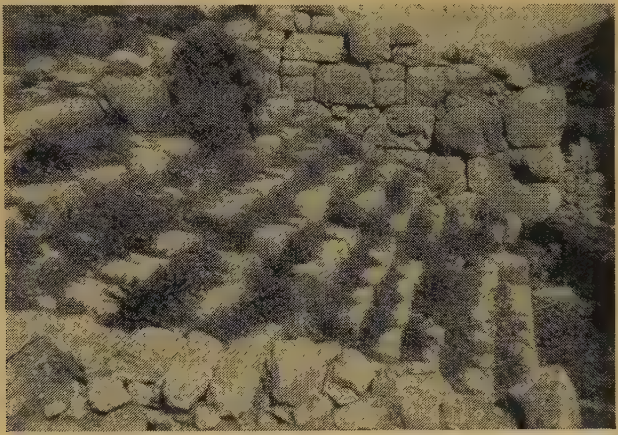

FIG. 2.—LATO, STEPS ABOVE AGORA.

It is therefore only necessary to mention some names which have been disputed or wrongly interpreted.

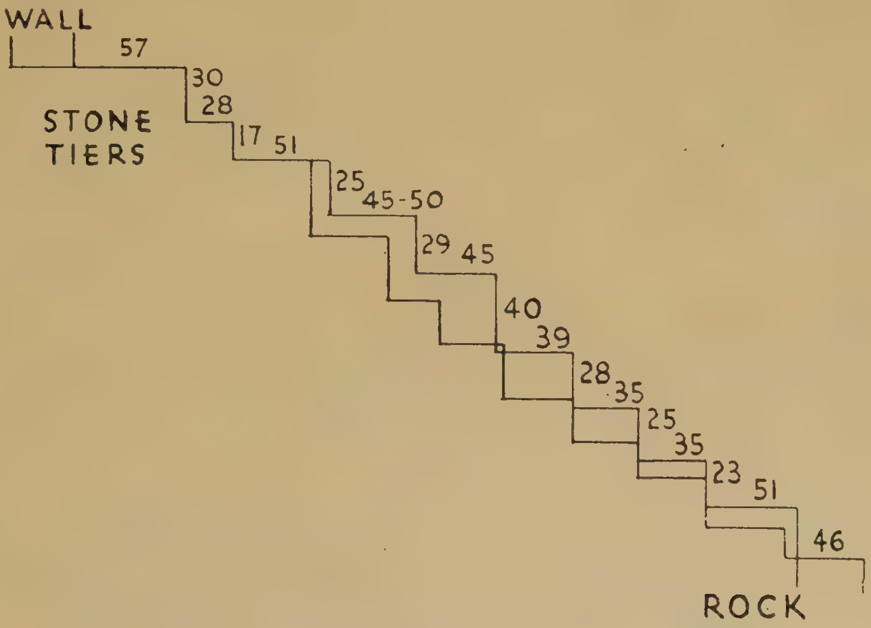
WALL
57
30
28
STONE TIERS
17
51
25
45-50
29
45
40
39
28
35
25
35
23
51
46
ROCK

FIG. 3.—LATO, SECTION OF STEPS ABOVE AGORA.

1. Ἐπιθέατρον. This word is only found (twice) in the Delos inscriptions.[1] There it evidently means ‘ the seats above the diazoma ’, but should not be translated ‘ gallery ’,[2] which signifies a distinct upper floor. *LS*⁹ give a totally different meaning, ‘ building adjoining a theatre ’, which seems less probable.[3] The word has been conjectured by Holland as the reading in Theophr. *Char.* xxx. 7, καὶ ἐπὶ θέαν τηνικαῦτα πορεύεσθαι τοὺς υἱεῖς, ἡνίκα προῖκα ἀφιᾶσιν οἱ θεατρῶναι (so *AB*; ἐπὶ θεάτρων *V*). But (*a*) τὸ would also be needed, (*b*) the corruption is more likely to have occurred from the unfamiliar word θεατρῶναι to θεάτρων than vice versa.

2. Δίοδος.[4] The obvious meaning is that of a diazoma, or horizontal passage across the middle of the cavea. This is unnecessarily disputed by Bulle 187, who wishes the δίοδος to be what is, later in the inscriptions, called ἐπιθέατρον. As διάζωμα [5] was probably not a classical word, there must have been some expression to take its place; and δίοδος shows well the purpose of the horizontal passage.

3. Κερκίς. Commenting on a Delos inscription [6] which mentions repairs to κερκίδας δύο τὰς παρὰ τὴν εἴσοδον, Bulle rejects the usual interpretation as ‘ cunei ’, and without quoting parallels, gives the arbitrary meaning ‘ pillars ’ (for parodos gates). Evidently the operation consisted rather in repairing part of the first and second kerkides,[7] *i.e.*, those nearest to the Theatre Street parodos, which was the principal entrance (εἴσοδος).

4. Πάροδος. Inscriptions from Iasos in Asia Minor,[8] recording dramatic and musical performances, contain the sentence: καὶ εὗρεν ἡ πάροδος δραχμήν, ἡ δὲ θέα ἐγένετο δωρεάν. Müller’s suggestion,[9] that this means the payment of one drachma for each of the seats next to the diazoma, is absurd. The word πάροδος as part of the theatre means a passage, usually (as used by modern writers) those on each side of the orchestra, also called εἴσοδος; but the meaning of the inscription is obscure.

THE CAVEA IN ANCIENT ART

Unfortunately there are very few ancient representations either of the whole cavea, or of part of it, or even of spectators. The subject was not considered suitable for vase-paintings, perhaps owing to the difficulty of representing, even schematically, an audience of thousands. Thus we can only comment on the few surviving representations; of those given below, only in (E) and (F), both Roman, is it certain that an actual theatre is intended to be portrayed.

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[1] *IG* xi. 2. 287A, 99, 120 (250 B.C.).

[2] As Jebb on Theophr. *Char.* xxx, 7.

[3] For some buildings adjoining theatres, cf. the Dionysiac sanctuaries called Stibadeia (C. Picard, *Comptes Rendus de l’Acad. des Inscr.*, 1944, 127 ff.).

[4] *IG* xi. 2. 203 A, 82, 85 (Delos, 269 B.C.).

[5] *CIG* ii, addenda 2755 = Le Bas and Waddington iii, 1586 (Aphrodisias, Caria, late Hellenistic); Vitruv. v. 6. 7; *CIG* iii. 4283 (Patara, 147 A.D.).

[6] Dürrbach 290. 179 (Delos, 246 B.C.); Bulle 190.

[7] The enumeration of kerkides is always made, for one standing in the orchestra, from left to right.

[8] Le Bas and Waddington, 252–7.

[9] *Philologus Suppl.* vii, 91.

(A) Black-figure fragments by Sophilos, about 580–70 B.C.[1] These contain the inscriptions ᛊΟΦΙLΟᛊ: ΜΕΓΡΑΦᛊΕΝ and ΠΑΤΡΟϘLVᛊ: ΑΤLΑ, *i.e.*, Πατρόκλου ἆθλα. The seats are (in fact) those of a sixth-century stadium. Evidently the stadium, even then, had seats rising in regular tiers. Bieber considers the seating to be wooden, and this seems plausible from the early date[2]; but the painting itself is completely solid, and may possibly represent stone or rock. The tiers rise with the uncomfortable inclination of 1 in 1, being even steeper than the cavea at Khaironeia.[3] The eight tiers face both directions, and rise to an apex in the centre; the spectators are all sitting on them, though their legs are often not portrayed. No Prohedria is shown, and the rows, which are drawn in section, are probably intended to be rectilinear. In spite of the differences between this 'grandstand' and the theatre cavea, it, like the steps at Lato,[4] gives an interesting comparison with theatres.

(B) Corinthian krater, Berlin 1655, from Cervetri (the Amphiaraos krater.)[5] Three rows of spectators (old men) are shown, and all are sitting on separate thrones, which are finely carved and appear to be wooden. The thrones are placed side by side and in rows one behind the other, and the back rows are on the same level as the front. The spectators are watching a chariot race, not a dramatic performance; but the accurate representation of wooden thrones with horizontal arm-rests is of importance in giving an idea of the wooden Prohedria throne in the early theatre.

(C) A Panathenaic amphora of *c.* 550 B.C., Paris, Cabinet de Médailles 243, from Kamiros,[6] shows spectators sitting in tiers watching an acrobat. Four spectators are shown sitting and standing on a rising stand of irregular shape, and clapping their hands.

(D) Etruscan fresco, Weege, *Etruskische Malerei*, Beilage II; *JdI* 1916, 118, Beilage I; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 428. Spectators are shown watching games, perhaps at a stadium. They are sitting on plain wooden seats, of the simple type shown in fig. 10, and men and women are in the same place.

(E) Roman coin of Athens, *BM Cat. Greek Coins*, *Attica, etc.*, pl. XIX, fig. 8; Flickinger 63 and front cover; Bieber, *Denkmäler* 75. This Athenian coin of the Roman period [1] gives a front view of the cavea, the Acropolis wall and the Parthenon, which is situated quite correctly in relation to the theatre. The details are very vague, and the number of tiers and kerkides is diminished for the sake of simplicity; but the diazoma is shown very clearly, as if it had a road running along it. As this is only a distant view and a small coin, no spectators are included.

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[1] Papaspyridi-Karousou, *AM* lxii, pls. 52–3; Béquignon in *Mon. Piot* xxxiii, 1933, 43, pl. VI; Caputo, *Dioniso* iv, 253; Bieber, *H.T.*, 115. Found at Pharsalos, now in National Museum at Athens (N.M. 15499).

[2] Although Sophilos will have drawn a contemporary stadium, he may have had in his mind a temporary erection such as would necessarily have been made at Troy, which would undoubtedly have been wooden; and certainly no stone-built or rock-cut auditorium of such an early date is known.

[3] Where the rock-cut seats have average height 34 cm., average width 41 cm.

[4] P. 128 above.

[5] Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* iii, pl. 121; Payne, *Necrocorinthia* 329, no. 1471.

[6] *CVA Cab. Méd.* ii, pls. 88–9.

(F) Roman coin of Herakleia in Bithynia; Wieseler pl. III. 17. This coin gives a view of the Roman theatre at Herakleia in Bithynia, taken from the outside. In front, we see the back wall of the scaena, with its arcades. In the centre is the orchestra, where a gladiatorial contest appears to be in progress. At the back is the cavea, of which we can see the top half, surmounted by a colonnade. Seated in the cavea are the spectators, who are enlarged out of proportion to the building in order to be visible.

(G) The alleged vase-painting reproduced in Millin, *Peinture de vases antiques* ii, 78 (whence *Ann. Inst.* 1829, 407 ff., pls. H, I; Wieseler 34, pls. 8*a–c*), is undoubtedly bogus, *i.e.*, never existed at all. If genuine, as believed by Wieseler and others, it would provide the only picture of a Greek cavea; but, as Reinach in his commentary on Millin *loc. cit.* says, the whole thing is a monstrosity and must have been invented as a puzzle by some dilettante.

VITRUVIUS' 'THEATRUM GRAECORUM'

In some very well-known chapters of his fifth book, Vitruvius expounds the ideal directions for the construction of a theatre. They may be subdivided into (1) General directions, (2) Directions which apply to the Roman theatre only, (3) Directions which apply to the Greek theatre only. The second, and parts of the others,[2] do not concern us here. The first section includes Vitruvius' directions regarding bronze vessels in the theatre, and these lead to a long digression on Greek harmony.[3]

Choice of Site. Vitruvius' recommendations can be summed up in three prohibitions: do not build a theatre in a marshy or unhealthy place, do not let it face south, do not build it on a level piece of ground. This was obviously the order of importance, in his opinion, in the choice of a site. The Greeks, however, seem to have considered the last point first in their desire for economy. If there was only one hollow slope within reach, marshes and sun were of minor importance. It is true that Greek theatres are found in plains, just as some Roman theatres are on steep slopes [4]; Eretria and Mantineia may be instanced. In both of these[1] an artificial mound had to be heaped up at considerable labour, and at Eretria it was even found necessary later to excavate the orchestra below the natural level of the earth. But these are great exceptions. We can safely say that, at least in the fifth century, the Greeks did not bother about the direction which their theatres faced. Five of the earliest caveas, Athens, Thorikos, Eretria, Rhamnus and Syracuse, face almost due south. More attention seems to have been paid to this point at a later date.[2] As regards marshy land, the topography and afforestation of modern Greece are too different from those of ancient times to enable any exact opinion; but Oiniadai, and even 'town-planned' Megalopolis, are not to-day considered at all healthy. Yet 'piles and substructures', mentioned as a δεύτερος πλοῦς in Vitr. v. 3. 3, cannot actually have been necessary.

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[1] There are also less distinct Roman coins, as shown in *Hesperia* v, 323–4, fig. 28, depicting the theatre of Dionysus.

[2] *E.g.*, Vitruvius' directions regarding the stage buildings. Dörpfeld in *AM* xxii, 1897, 439–62 and xxiii, 1898, 326–56 deals mostly with these.

[3] See p. 137 below.

[4] *E.g.*, Dugga (near Carthage), Orange.

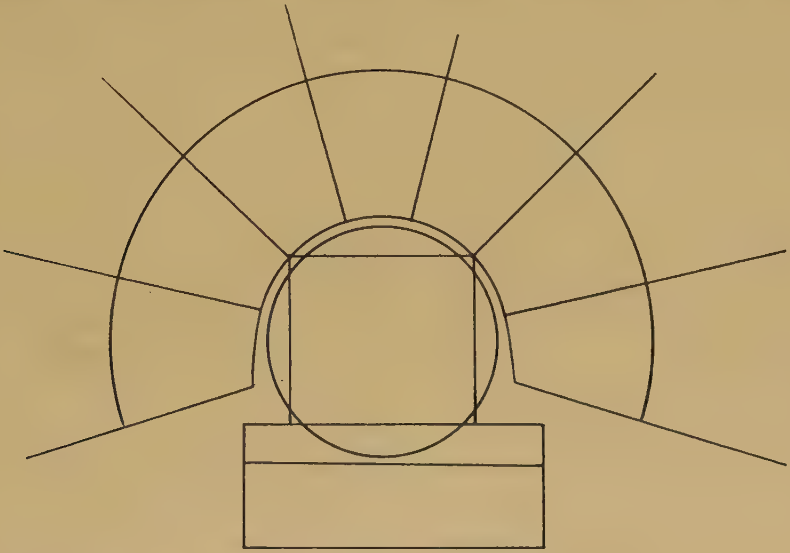

Fig. 4.—Vitruvius' Greek Theatre.

Planning. This may be taken next in order, although in Vitruvius (v. 7. 1) it does not come next. A suitable centre is found and the orchestra circle is drawn. Then, in a Greek as opposed to a Roman theatre, three squares are inscribed in it with their corners equidistant. The base line of one of these[3] constitutes the front of the proscenium, while the stairs are formed by prolonging the radii where they intersect the eight corners in front of this line (see Fig. 4). The front row will not be exactly circular, but expanding slightly outwards and drawn from three centres. The stairs should continue

[1] Fiechter, *Eretria*; G. Fougères, *Mantinée et l'Arcadie Orientale*, 165. For other theatres, see Müller 30, n. 2.

[2] Naturally there are later theatres, *e.g.*, Aptera (Crete), which face due south; Philippi faces S.S.E.

[3] This square alone is shown in Fig. 4.

above the diazoma in a straight line, but ‘ a praecinctione inter eas iterum mediae dirigantur, et ad summam *quotiens praecinguntur altero tanto semper amplificantur* ’ (v. 7. 2.). This is usually translated as if Vitruvius only intended the stairs to be once doubled in each theatre. But he evidently means that there should be four times as many stairways above the second diazoma ! Such a system is nowhere extant, and perhaps he is using inexact phrasing. To continue his suggestions, the measurements of seats, stone or marble, in Roman theatres (and possibly Greek), should be as follows. Height: ‘ Ne minus alti sint palmopede, ⟨ne plus pede⟩ [1] et digitis sex ’—perhaps the best reading in a corrupt passage. This would give a possible height of 16–18 Roman inches, *i.e.*, about 37–41 cm. Width: 2–2½ Roman feet, *i.e.*, about 55–69 cm. (v. 6. 3). The diazomata (‘ praecinctiones ’) should be erected proportionately to the height of the theatres; this presumably means that they should split up the upper from the lower rows as equally as possible. They should not be higher at the back than they are wide, otherwise the sound will rise too much, and the word-endings be difficult to hear in the epitheatron (v. 3. 4). A line drawn from top to bottom row should touch the corner of every row. In other words, the diazomata should ideally be of equal height–width proportion to the seats; if one is 1 : 2, the other should be also.[2] Finally, he favours a colonnade, either behind the skene or round the top of the cavea or somewhere near the theatre, and mentions examples at Rome, Athens, Smyrna and Tralles (v. 9. 1).

Comparison with Existing Theatres. The orchestra circle was originally, no doubt, drawn very roughly; but in Hellenistic theatres it was, as Vitruvius says, the architect's starting-point, and was measured with great exactness. At Epidauros the centre is marked by a circular stone, which served for measurements and proportions throughout the theatre.[3] Although Vitruvius says ‘ ita tribus centris hac descriptione ampliorem habent orchestram Graeci ’ (v. 7. 2), strictly speaking, the orchestra retained its original circular shape; the expansion of the arc only applies to the cavea proper.[4]

The ‘ ground plan ’ of three inscribed squares is to be taken, as is commonly the case with Vitruvius, more as an ideal precept than as a recording of fact. It does, however, give a fair description of one or two Greek theatres. The distance of the proscenium from the orchestra centre has been shown by Bieber, *H.T.*, 255,[5] to apply to Magnesia, Delos, etc. The plan of having stairways opposite the corners of the inscribed squares implies eight stairways

[1] A conjectural insertion.

[2] Rizzo incorrectly says that Vitruvius wished the height of the diazomata to be the same as their width.

[3] Fossum, *AJA* 1926, 74. But individual rows often show quite large discrepancies.

[4] At Epidauros the orchestra circle is marked by marble slabs.

[5] This is the only object of Bieber's diagram. She does not mention the other interesting parallels between Vitruvius and the Delo stheatre (see p. 136 below).

and seven kerkides (Fig. 4), as at Pergamon, Delos, Mantineia, Pompeii (large theatre) and originally at Segesta. It has the advantage of giving neither too few stairways nor too many (*e.g.*, Sikyon has fifteen[1] and Thorikos only three); and also of being an uneven number. But seven cannot be said to be more common than other numbers.

The refinement referred to by Vitruvius,[2] whereby the arc is drawn from three centres and thus slightly enlarged, was only adopted in a few Greek theatres. Examples are: Epidauros (perhaps the prototype), Priene, Delos and Oropos. Each of the two other methods, straight wings and circular wings with the same radius, is about equally common. The advantages of the three-centre method are easier exit for the spectators and avoidance of the ugly protrusion of the extreme corners. Thus it is most commonly adopted in those theatres which have caveas forming a very obtuse angle (*e.g.*, 210°).

Vitruvius' recommendation to double the stairways above the first diazoma is more often found than not, in such theatres as have a diazoma. There is no doubling in Argos, Sikyon, Syracuse, etc.[3]; there is said to have been no doubling at Athens[4] or Megalopolis, but there is insufficient evidence on this point. At Pergamon, Myra and Stratonikeia we find the curious device of placing the upper stairways half-way between the lower ones, without continuing the latter above the diazoma. Possibly this was intended to help the entering crowd to distribute itself better.

Evidently outside stairways were part of Vitruvius' 'theatrum Graecorum'; for in his Roman section[5] he suggests six cunei and seven stairways. Lateral stairs are the almost invariable practice in mainland Greece, only 'archaic' theatres like Thorikos[6] not having this feature. In Asia Minor, practice is not uniform, though they are only absent in a minority of theatres.

The seat measurements are really those applicable to Roman theatres, and are too high and narrow for most Greek seats, except in the epitheatron. Vitruvius does not give separate measurements for Greek theatres, nor does he mention the different level between foot-space and seat, customary in the latter, but uncommon in Roman theatres.

His words about diazomata (v. 3. 4)[7] represent a fair account as judged by the remains. Usually, however, the diazoma tends to be almost, or quite, as high as it is wide. Thus at Epidauros[8] its height is 1 m. 35 and its width 1 m. 83, giving a proportion of 135 : 100, whereas the proportion of the epitheatron seats is 196 : 100, a much lower angle. In Delos[1] we have similar proportions: height 1 m. 16, width 1 m. 50. Some theatres have extremely high, narrow diazomata, of the kind that Vitruvius dislikes; this is chiefly in rock-cut theatres, such as Khaironeia[2] and Lindos. On the other hand, the lower diazoma in the rock-cut Argos theatre[3] appears to be over twice as wide as it is high, and thus to give the upper spectators a poor view! The dictum (v. 3. 4) that ' a line drawn from the top to the bottom row should touch the corner of every row ' applies only to theatres in which the upper seats are of equal height with the lower. In about half, the epitheatron seats, where measurable, are up to 7 cm. higher.

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[1] The peculiarly shaped theatre near Xanthos actually has twenty.

[2] v. 7. 1, 2; see p. 139 below.

[3] Especially in Asia Minor, *e.g.*, Telmessos (Lycia), Kyaneai, Xanthos.

[4] But Piraeus (Zea), which is copied in many respects from Athens, has doubling. See p. 138, n. 86.

[5] v. 6. 3.

[6] See p. 126 above, n. 2.

[7] See p. 134 above.

[8] Measurements from Gardner and others, *Megalopolis*, 41, fig. 29, transferred from inches to centimetres.

It is not stated by Vitruvius that the Greeks ever had colonnades round the top of their caveas. The colonnades mentioned are (v. 9. 1): At Athens, those of Eumenes and of the new temple of Dionysus, and the Odeum of Pericles;[4] at Smyrna, the Colonnade of Stratonike; and at Tralles, the colonnade all round the stadium, which is ' like those of stage buildings '. Other towns are also said to have ' circa theatra . . . porticus et ambulationes '. Here ' circa ' merely means ' in the neighbourhood '. The Roman practice of crowning the cavea with a semi-circular colonnade was entirely unknown to the Greeks.[5] Epidauros, however, has a paved passage 62 cm. wide behind the top row of all; and it is reported[6] that in 1668 Desmonceaux found a low wall, of which slight traces remain, behind this. So there would have been a passage, similar to a diazoma (but not to be called by this name) running all round the cavea at the top. It is uncertain whether the περίοδος referred to in the Delian inscriptions[7] has this meaning.

Archetype of Vitruvius' Cavea. Although Vitruvius has obviously drawn upon many sources for his ideal Greek theatre, as regards the geometrical layout and the description of the cavea, no writer has noticed the extraordinary correspondence between Vitruvius' theatre and that of Delos.[8] In the cavea and the general layout, almost every detail corresponds. The theatre faces west (not south) and is situated on a healthy eminence. There are seven kerkides, as suggested, and eight stairways, which have intermediate stairs above the diazoma. The cavea encloses an area of approximately 210°, the implied angle in Vitruvius, and is planned on his ' three-centre ' system. The diazoma[9] is not as high at the back as it is in width. All these points are such as vary considerably from place to place. Can it be a coincidence that they agree word for word with the cavea described by Vitruvius? The only slight disagreement is the fact that the angle of inclination is not uniform at Delos, owing to the epitheatron seats being higher. But this is a refinement which may well have escaped notice. Thus, while Vitruvius' account of Greek stage buildings may have been derived from some different source, it is incorrect to speak of 'Vitruvius' fanciful model for Greek theatres '.[1]

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[1] Chamonard, *BCH* 1896, 285; Fossum, *AJA* 1926, 74; Vallois in *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, 1921, 213; id., *L'Architecture Hellénique et Hellénistique à Delos* (Paris, 1944), i. 220.

[2] See p. 163 below.

[3] Gardner and others, *Megalopolis*, fig. 26. Height 60 cm., total width 1 m. 49.

[4] Not an odeum on the site of the Odeum of Herodes, as Granger (Loeb, 1931) would have it, as Vitruvius mentions that it is ' exeuntibus e theatro sinistra parte '.

[5] It is probably to be restored in some of the Sicilian theatres, but must be a Roman alteration.

[6] Defrasse 196.

[7] Dürrbach 290, 184.

[8] See n. 1 above.

[9] See p. 135 above.

The Digressions on Acoustics, etc. In two passages (v. 3. 2 and v. 8. 1) Vitruvius wanders away from his subject in order to enlarge upon his scientific theories. In the first, he is discussing the orientation of theatres, and says that caveas should not face south, as the sun's rays, penetrating into the hollow, swirl round and round and stifle the atmosphere. The second is a very long digression on acoustics, evidently a favourite subject with Vitruvius. He mentions that in certain Greek theatres ἠχεῖα, or bronze sounding-vessels, were placed somewhere in the cavea, and helped the already good acoustics by reverberating to the natural pitch of the actors. He even implies that these could be tuned at will in order to correspond with the actors' voices. This leads on to a further digression on the principles of Greek harmony. It should be noted that no remains of or places for such bronze vessels have been found in any Greek cavea. In the Graeco-Roman theatre of Aizanoi,[2] in Phrygia, a number of niches were found at intervals throughout the cavea; but it is doubtful whether they were used for bronze vessels. No doubt, when Vitruvius speaks of Greek theatres having them, he is generalising from a single example. It may be conjectured that he drew this detail, like others concerning the Greek cavea, from the theatre of Delos. The cavea at Delos is not sufficiently well preserved for us to determine whether it could have had bronze vessels or not. They would not necessarily have left any traces. But they would, in any case, be quite a luxury, not a necessity, and we should look for them in a prosperous and refined city such as Delos was during the Hellenistic Age.

That artificial aids to acoustics were not necessary can be demonstrated at Epidauros, where a man standing in the middle of the orchestra can almost whisper, and every word will be heard distinctly by a friend seated on the top row, fifty-five rows above the orchestra. When the friend speaks he will not be heard so distinctly. The acoustics are considerably impaired by rain or wind. Speakers from the base of the proscenium are not so audible, though they can be heard very distinctly if they speak in a raised voice. This falling-off is partly due to the fact that the seating in the cavea faces the orchestra and not the stage; but also to the fact that the skene is only preserved to a height of about 2 feet, as against its original height, which may have reached the same level as the diazoma.[1] The presence of this as a background would have helped the actors to a great extent. For many years now, trees have been planted behind the skene (see Pl. 52*b*), and these give a slight aid to the acoustic effects.[2]

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[1] Brownson in *AJA* 1891, 269, himself referring to the cavea.

[2] Texier, *Déscription de l'Asie Mineure* i, 113.

The secret of Epidauros undoubtedly lies in its perfect proportions, in that ἁρμονία which so impressed Pausanias. Good acoustics are also to be found now at Delphi and, to a lesser extent, Athens, Delos, Thera and Sikyon. Megalopolis has poor acoustics now owing to the recent undergrowth. Rock-cut theatres provide a dead effect, which would not be so great when spectators were numerous.[3]

Note. Vitruvius raises many points of interest, and the following four sections, which are principally concerned with the planning of theatres, are intended partly as a commentary on his ideas of the correct appearance and the function of Greek theatres.

Theatres and Town-Planning [4]

The idea of disposing all the streets of a town in an orderly fashion first occurred to the Greeks in the fifth century. It seems likely that the Piraeus was the first city to be built in this way. Of the two theatres at the Piraeus, the older is that at Munychia. It is now completely ruined, but from the report made in 1884 [5] it appears to have lain parallel to the street system, though rather outside the urban area. The small Zea theatre [6] is much later, and so had to fit in with the ‘ chess-board ’ system. The plan in Haverfield, fig. 2, gives a good idea of the layout.

Priene [7] is another example of town-planning, and there the theatre occupies, in effect, one and a half rectangles in length and one and a half in width. The side and rear analemmata are arranged to form a rough rectangle. The same principle is visible at Pompeii,[8] but there the theatre, as opposed to the odeum, has a circular analemma. At Knidos both the theatre and the odeum fit in with the town-planning. Pergamon, Ephesos,

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[1] Vitruvius' precept that it should reach to the height of the top of the cavea only applies to Roman theatres.

[2] Most text books have old photographs of Epidauros, which omit these. See, *e.g.*, fig. 187 of Bieber's *H.T.*, published in 1939.

[3] In modern times performances have been held at Athens (theatre of Dionysus and Odeum of Herodes), Delphi, Epidauros, Syracuse, Orange and elsewhere.

[4] A. von Gerkan, *Griechische Städteanlagen*; F. Haverfield, *Ancient Town-planning*; W. J. Anderson and R. P. Spiers, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, rev. by W. B. Dinsmoor, London, 1927; K. A. Doxiadis, *Raumordnung im griechischen Städtebau* (Heidelberg and Berlin, 1937).

[5] *Eph. Arch.* 1884, 170. Cf., however, Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 397.

[6] Philios, *Praktika* 1880, 50; *Eph. Arch.* 1885, 62; Dragatsis, *Eph. Arch.* 1884, 196.

[7] Von Gerkan, *G.S.*, fig. 9; Haverfield, figs. 6–8.

[8] Von Gerkan, *G.S.*, fig. 15.

Perge and other Asiatic cities, as also Thera, include their theatres in properly laid out plans. At Miletos,[1] on the other hand, the theatre is built up against the city wall, while the town-planning system is at an angle of about 40° from it. Although the present remains of the theatre are Roman, this surely indicates that its Greek predecessor was on this exact site, and was built earlier than the rectangular scheme. Apart from Miletos, other examples of theatres adjacent to town walls are: Philippi,[2] where the theatre, datable to about 357 B.C., has its east analemma adjoining the city wall; Thasos,[3] where the east analemma consists of part of the city wall; New Pleuron,[4] Aipion[5] and Skotoussa (Thessaly).[6] The theatre at Rhamnus [7] makes use of fortification walls to a certain extent.

With regard to Sikyon, the case is not quite clear. Fossum in *AJA* 1905, 272 contends that there is a complete layout of streets dating from shortly after 303 B.C. As the theatre is not quite in alignment with this, he maintains that it must be dated earlier than this part. But (*a*) the alignment difference is very small, (*b*) Diodorus xx, 102 says that before 303 B.C. most of the inhabitants lived on the coast, not near the Acropolis.

Thus in the majority of cases the theatres fit in with the general scheme—a somewhat surprising fact, since it is to be imagined that town-planning was introduced very seldom before the age of Alexander, whereas dramatic performances are known to have been held considerably earlier. The difficulty is removed if we assume that in the fifth and early fourth centuries both stage and auditorium, in most of the smaller towns, were wooden constructions, sometimes resting on a foundation of stone, which would be razed to the ground when a permanent marble theatre was erected. Thus the orientation of the latter could be adapted to the requirements of town-planning. At Delos [8] the change was effected gradually, and the old orientation was kept; in small theatres, however, the older plan might be rejected in the interests of uniformity.

The Greek Semicircle

While the true Roman cavea occupies exactly 180°, the Greek cavea, unless it has been altered in Roman times, always occupies more than 180°, and its wings do not necessarily follow the same arc as the remainder. The extent of the cavea varies from just over 180° to about 210°. There is a curiously muddled account of this practice in Haigh 93: ‘In most of the

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[1] Von Gerkan, *G.S.*, pl. 6.

[2] P. Collart, *Philippes*, pl. II; id., *BCH* 1928, 74.

[3] *BCH* 1928, 493, fig. 5.

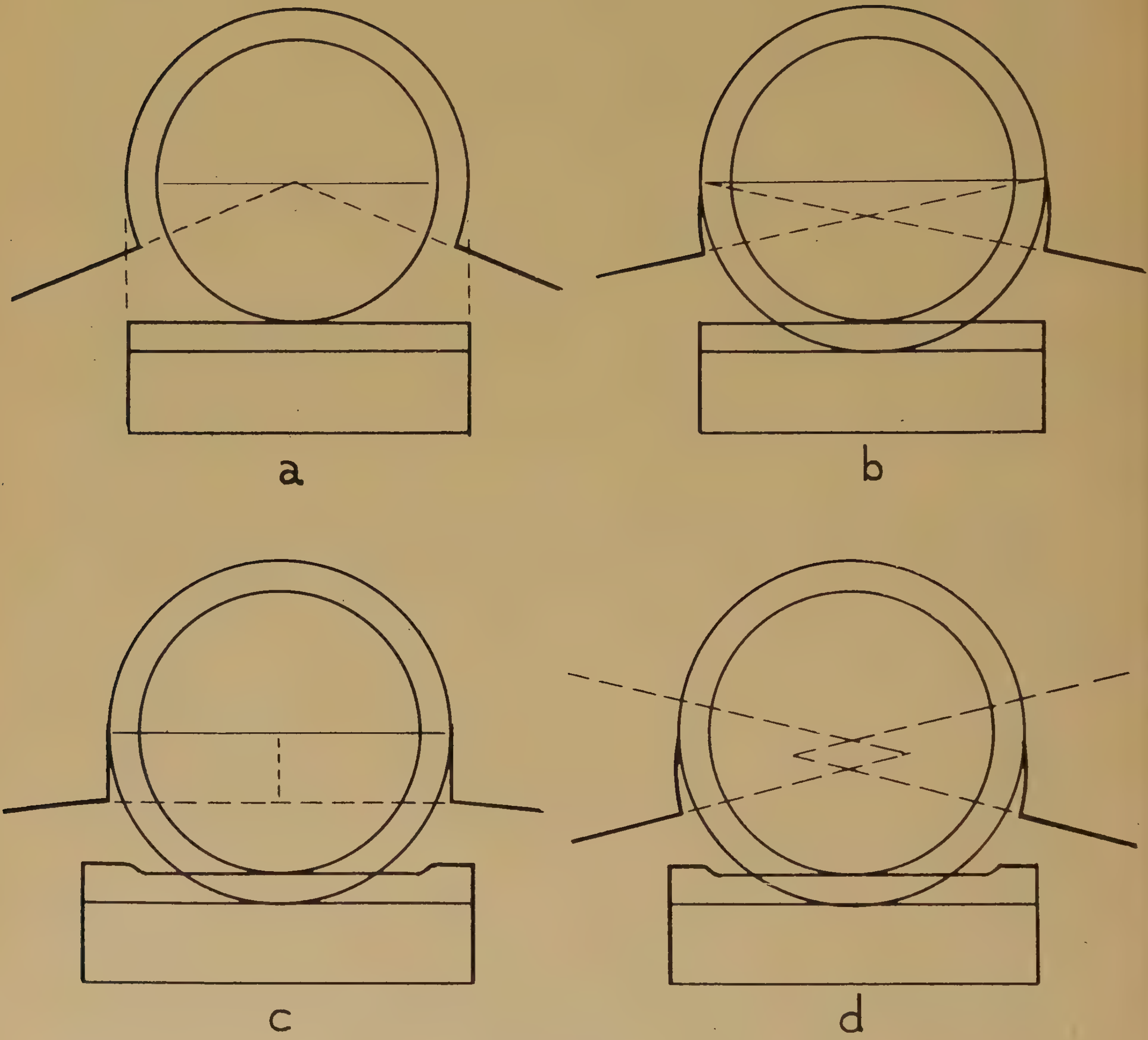
[4] See p. 188 below.

[5] See p. 190 below.

[6] Stählin, *Thessalien*, 110.

[7] See p. 176. Called θέατρον in inscriptions.

[8] Stone seating first introduced in 297 B.C. (*IG* xi. 2. 150A, 10–19) or possibly earlier; cf. pp. 148–9, 151.



A. Circular (No. I below).
B. According to Vitruvius (No. III below).
C. Athens (No. II below).
D. Epidauros (No. IV below).

Fig. 5.—The Greek Semicircle.

From Dörpfeld and Reisch, *Das griechische Theater*, figs. 67–70.

later theatres the two ends of the semicircle were prolonged in the same curve as before, so that the inside boundary of the auditorium formed about two-thirds of a regular circle' (*i.e.*, 240°). 'The effect of this arrangement was that the spectators sitting at the extremities of the two wings faced towards the centre of the orchestra, and away from the stage. Nor is this surprising.' On the contrary, it would be very surprising if that had been the case, for the spectators at the wings would have been constantly compelled to crook their necks sideways, and some of them would have seen little of the stage. Actually the extension on each side never amounts to more than 15°, averaging 8°. This small prolongation not only utilised extra space, but added to the architectural beauty of the building, without seriously obstructing the view of the stage even from the extreme wings. Apart from irregularly built theatres, the only exception to these rules is Pergamon,[1] where the parodos walls form a straight line, but the cavea itself only a small segment. Vitruvius' Greek theatre should form an angle of nearly 210°.[2]

Dörpfeld in D-R, figs. 67–70, gives four types of caveas, according to the arrangement at the wings; these are reproduced in Fig. 5 (A, C, B, D). No. I is the completely uniform arc of a circle, as is found at Megalopolis, Sikyon, Argos, Ephesos, Dodona, New Pleuron and elsewhere. This must have been common at first, but gradually died out because of two disadvantages: (i) the spectators at the wings did not enjoy as good a view of the stage as they would otherwise, (ii) the ends of the parodos walls would project too much and obstruct the exit into the parodoi.

No. II is the method, first found in the present cavea at Athens, of extending the section beyond the semicircle by means of straight lines. We also find this at Eretria (the late fourth century reconstruction), Piraeus (Zea), Oiniadai, Assos, Aigeira (?), Akrai, Termessos and Pompeii. Of these, all except Athens and Eretria are late Hellenistic. But Fiechter [3] is not entitled to argue from this that at Athens it must be a late alteration from method No. I; for not only can we adduce Eretria as a parallel, but there is no evidence for such a change having taken place. The shape may have originated at Athens in the following way. It is known [4] that the Periclean orchestra was further north than the earliest orchestra; and there may have been a further shift at the time of the Lycurgean reconstruction. Assuming [5] that the size of the orchestra did not change, the move northwards, *i.e.*, towards the cavea, would tend to result in a rectilinear section between the widest part of the pre-Periclean orchestra and the widest part of the later orchestra. This method did not produce a very artistic effect, as the sudden change from curved to rectilinear offends the eye.

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[1] Plan in Fig. 6. A street prevented enlargement on either wing.

[2] It would be 210° but for the fact that its wings are described with greater radii.

[3] A.III. 52.

[4] Pickard-Cambridge 15.

[5] Cf. Pickard-Cambridge 8.

Hence the systems seen in Nos. III and IV were thought out by architects. The first application of the ‘ three-centre ’ system is at Epidauros, where the broadening out begins within the basic semicircle. Vitruvius’ precepts [1] are based rather upon Delos, which has broadening only in the extra 15° (between 180° and 210°) at each end. The ‘ three-centre ’ method is also adopted at Priene, and at Magnesia, which imitated Priene.[2]

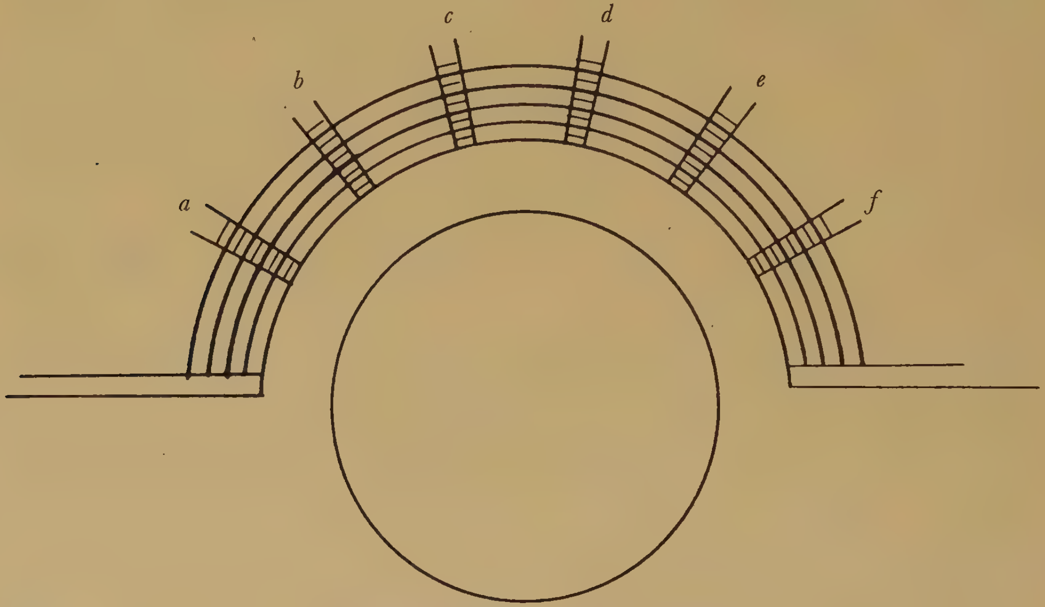

Fig. 6.—Pergamon in Greek Times.

From Dörpfeld and Reisch, *op. cit.*, fig. 61.

Peculiar experiments with the shape of the cavea were not favoured, but we have one such example, in a cavea partly square and partly rounded, at Xanthos [3] in Asia Minor. Irregularities, however, often occur even in Hellenistic theatres; and these are frequently made worse, or symmetry destroyed, by the romanisation of Greek theatres, which is discussed below, p. 191. Fortunately the Romans altered few theatres in mainland Greece; the majority have remained with their caveas intact, and we are able to observe little details, like this ‘ three-centre ’ system, which gave Epidauros the ἁρμονία it still possesses.

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[1] v. 7. 2.

[2] Cf. p. 155 below.

[3] Wieseler, pl. A.4. At Termessos one of the parodoi has been replaced by an enormous extension of the cavea, which joins up with the stage buildings and almost amounts to Haigh’s 240°.

The Spectators' View[1]

Müller's aim was to advocate the high stage contested by Dörpfeld, and for this purpose he tried to demonstrate that the spectators at Athens would not have been able to see a low stage. Dörpfeld retaliated by asking how the occupants of the Prohedria in the lateral kerkides, being so low, would have been able to see what happened on such a high stage. Haigh raises the point of caveas where the front row is high above the orchestra. Pickard-Cambridge, supporting Dörpfeld, argues that modern outdoor performances show that by good stage management both actors and chorus can be well seen from ground level.

The view of the spectators in the topmost seats at Athens should first be considered. A passage from Alexis (fr. 41 Kock, quoted by Pollux ix, 44) makes the women complain of having to watch from the back rows 'like strangers'; but there is no complaint about obstruction of the line of vision. While at Epidauros, Delos and elsewhere the epitheatron seats have a greater inclination, this is not so in the majority of theatres, including Athens; and so the view of the orchestra must have been partially obstructed, yet not to such an extent as to cause annoyance. Müller was clearly incorrect in thinking that a low stage could not have been seen from the upper rows. He originally relied upon a drawing of his showing how much spectators could have seen over the *heads* of the row immediately in front of them! This mistake was soon shown up by Dörpfeld. When there are no fixed places, spectators will instinctively sit so as to see between the heads of the spectators in front of them. The drawings in Fig. 7 are based upon an afterthought of Müller's and are intended to show the line of vision over the head of the spectator two rows below. From Fig. 7*b* it will be seen that part of the orchestra (not to mention the skene) is completely visible; and that a partial view is obtained of those in the middle of the orchestra. In practice, a certain amount can be seen even below this level. Moreover, these difficulties only apply to those in the very top rows of all, which must have remained untenanted except in a great crowd.[2]

If nothing in favour of the high stage is proved by Müller, nothing against it lies in Dörpfeld's argument of poor visibility from the wings of the Prohedria.

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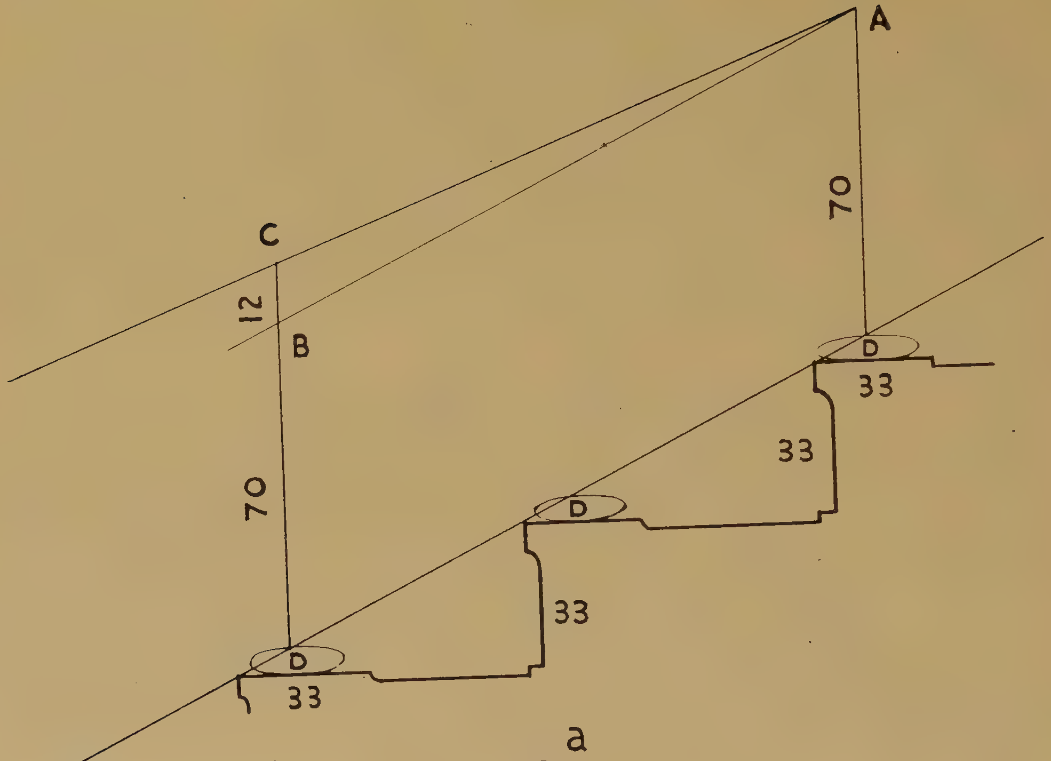
[1] A. Müller, *Philologus Suppl.* vii, 108; Dörpfeld, *AM* 1899, 310; Müller, *Philologus* N.F. xiii, 329; Haigh 159; Pickard-Cambridge 70; drawings in Fig. 7.

[2] Plato's mention of 30,000 in the theatre is a grossly exaggerated 'round number' of a poetical nature. The amount of space which should be allowed per person in computing seating capacity has been much disputed, 35 and 50 cm. being the extremes. The simplest solution is to think that the vertical slits, 41 cm. apart, at Athens represent the actual allowance, even if not a standard measure. We then obtain, for Athens about 17,000, Epidauros about 17,000, Megalopolis perhaps 19,000, the largest in mainland Greece. Of theatres elsewhere, Ephesos is larger still, while Syracuse which Rizzo 51 claims as the largest, seems smaller even than Megalopolis. Paus. ii, 27, 5, calls Megalopolis the largest in Greece.


A
70
C
12
B
D
33
33
D
33
70
D
33
a

Inclination of AB $= 1$ in $\dfrac{76}{33} = 1$ in $2{\cdot}303$.

" " AC $= 1$ in $\dfrac{76 + 76}{33 + 33 - 12} = 1$ in $2{\cdot}815$.
(line of vision)

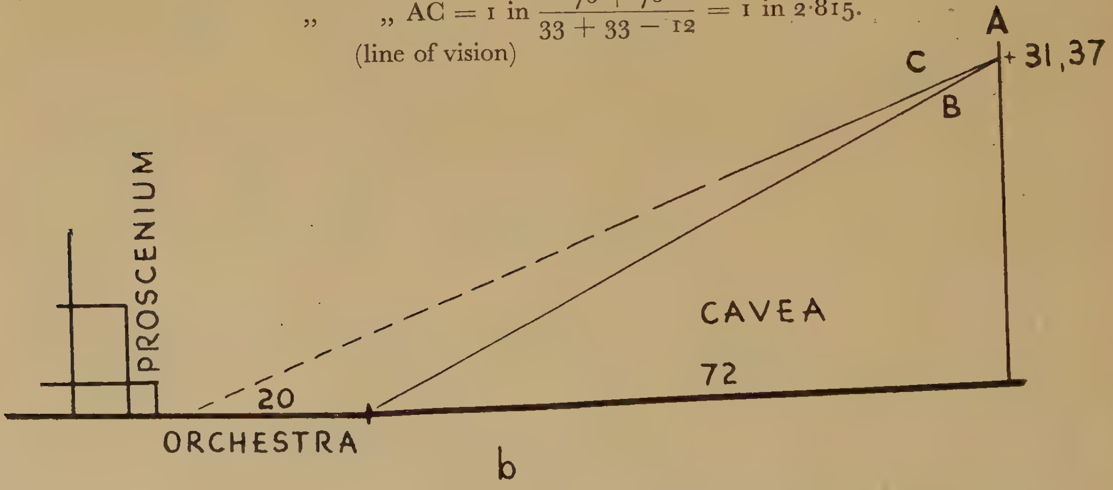

A
+ 31,37
C
B
PROSCENIUM
CAVEA
72
20
ORCHESTRA
b

FIG. 7.—(*a*) THE SPECTATORS' VIEW FROM THE HIGHEST ROWS OF THE ATHENS CAVEA.
(*b*) THE SAME, SHOWING ANGLE OF VISION IN THE WHOLE THEATRE.

For the Logeion was not wide, and the actors cannot have acted far from its front; hence all except their feet would have been clearly visible.

The ideas of Dörpfeld and Haigh [1] regarding the purpose of removing some of the front rows of the cavea are contradictory, but neither seems to have gathered the real purpose. They quote Assos, Pergamon and Delphi as instances of this; and Dörpfeld takes it as showing a conversion from the Hellenistic theatre, which he imagines to have a low stage, to an 'Asiatic' type, in which alone he will concede the raised Logeion. But the real purpose of the removal of rows has been clearly shown by the excavation of the theatre at Corinth.[2] The Greek theatre was almost entirely destroyed in 146 B.C., and the remains later romanized. While the orchestra canal and most of the Greek seats remained, the lowest ten rows were removed, and a perpendicular cutting made into the rock. This enlarged the orchestra and placed the spectators nearly 3 m. above it. The wall was plastered, and covered with frescoes of lions and gladiators, leopards, trainers and acrobats. Obviously the orchestra was used for exhibitions of this nature, and the high wall protected the spectators. The same purpose is certain at Pergamon and Assos (and perhaps at Priene, where in Roman times a Prohedria bench was inserted in the fifth row). It would give greater protection to the audience from the wild animals, either by a wooden screen or even without. If the raised Logeion had created so many difficulties in visibility, we should have expected a transformation of other caveas, too.

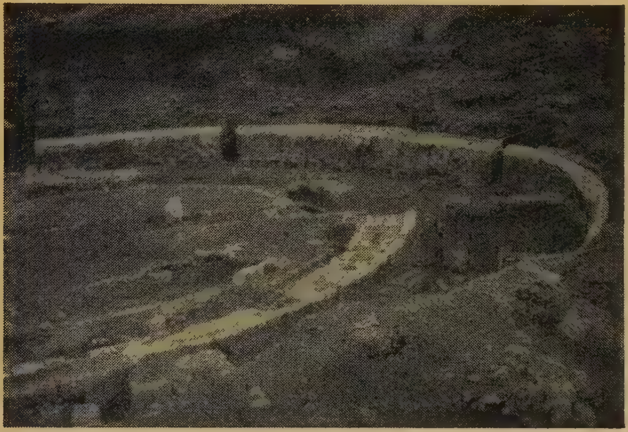


FIG. 8.—CORINTH, ORCHESTRA FROM WEST.

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[1] D-R 342; Haigh 159.

[2] Shear, *AJA* 1925, 383; 1926, 451; Stillwell, *AJA* 1929, 77; Wrede, *AA* 1926, 407. Photograph Fig. 8. Cf. p. 192 below.

We must not confuse with this romanisation the purely Greek expedient of a drop of 50 cm. or so from the first row to the orchestra. Delphi is an example of this, not of the other method; others are Khaironeia, Mycenae, Aigeira and Mantineia. In the case of the first three, there is a natural slope down at the orchestra level (cf. Thorikos); but at Mantineia the theatre is built on flat ground. Fougères, *Mantinée et l'Arcadie Orientale*, 165, states that there was a drop of 1 m. 20, but he does not take into account the slight slope which the orchestra has even there. In these theatres there is no question of reconstruction of the cavea or of improving visibility. There is no evidence whatever that the Greeks discarded any Prohedria benches as being too low in relation to the Logeion. In Tegea[1] a bench seems actually to have been placed in the orchestra in the third century B.C. or later; and the orchestra thrones at Oropos are of second century origin, while we know for certain that there the actors performed on the Logeion. Where large-scale removals of the front of the cavea took place, they were due entirely to Roman influence.

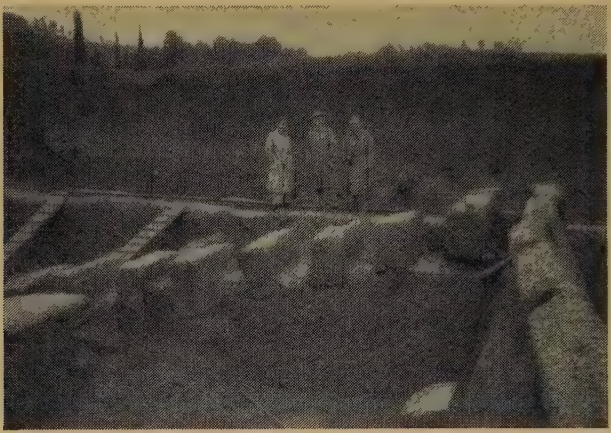

FIG. 9.—OLYMPIA, STADIUM SEATS, WEST BLOCK.

WOODEN SEATING

Literary Evidence. Wooden benches were known by the name ἴκρια (or ἰκρία),[2] which also meant wooden boat-decks, platforms,[3] stages or scaffolding. The references of Aristophanes, Kratinos and the lexicographers to *ikria* are set out in Pickard-Cambridge 11–12.[4] The lexicographers' references, all of late date, tell us: (1) that they were of the shape seen in Fig. 10, (2) that they were made of planks nailed together, (3) that they were used at Athens before the θέατρον was made, (4) that they were for sitting on, or, according to Suidas s.v. Πρατίνας, for standing on, (5) that they were near the poplar, which some spectators climbed up in order to get a better view, (6) that they were in the Agora, where Dionysiac competitions took place before the theatre of Dionysus was constructed, (7) that the seating at the Ecclesia was also of wooden *ikria*. The language in which the benches are described is very similar in all accounts, but there are definite discrepancies. The information in Suidas is self-contradictory, as it refers to spectators standing and sitting on the same *ikria*.

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[1] See p. 180 below.

[2] This, however, is by no means the only word in classical Greek for 'seats', as implied by Beare in *CR* 1939, 55. There are also ἕδραι, ἑδώλια (Pollux iv, 121) and θᾶκοι (Delos inscriptions).

[3] The passage in Athen. iv, 167*f* is wrongly given by *LS*^{9} as having ἴκρια in the plural and in the sense of 'theatre seats'; actually it is in the singular and refers to a platform.

[4] See also *RE* s.v. *Ikrion*, 992.

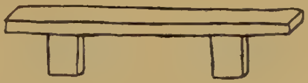

FIG. 10.—WOODEN SEATING.

It has been held [1] that the accounts which include performances or competitions in honour of Dionysus in the Agora are incorrect. But the idea is not in itself unlikely, and it is difficult to see why the commentators should have invented it. We know that on the first day of the City Dionysia the statue of Dionysus was solemnly carried to the altar of the Twelve Gods. This altar is now known,[2] through the discovery of an inscription bearing the words [Λ]έαγρος ⋮ ἀνέθεκεν ⋮ Γλαύκονος | δόδεκα θεοῖσιν, to have been situated on the north side of the Agora. In later times the procession stopped here, and sang and danced. Thus it seems very likely that the City Dionysia were originally celebrated in the Agora, and only subsequently, perhaps at the end of the sixth century, transferred to the precinct of Dionysus. The evidence from lexicographers on θέα ἀπ' αἰγείρου is confused and possibly mistaken. But there seems no doubt that some kind of theatre existed in the Agora in the earliest days of performances,[3] that it had *ikria*, and that *ikria* were also erected in the theatre of Dionysus. Pickard-Cambridge 12 writes: 'Various passages . . . speak of a single poplar-tree (αἴγειρος) in the market-place, which must surely be identical with the αἴγειρος close to the *ikria*'. But both Hesychius and Suidas s.v. αἰγείρου θέα say that the latter was πλησίον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, by which they probably mean the shrine of Dionysus rather than in or near the Agora.

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[1] *E.g.*, by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hermes*, 1886, 597; *RE* s.v. *Ikrion*, 993.

[2] Meritt, *Hesperia* v, 357 ff.; Raubitschek, *Hesperia* viii, 160 ff., with bibliography. Haigh 13 is incorrect in speaking of statues of the Twelve Gods. The dedication by Leagros is before 480 B.C.

[3] Cf. the passage in Plato *Laws*, 817*c*, where he will not let tragic poets set up stages in the Agora.

According to Suidas [1] there were two occasions at Athens when the wooden benches collapsed: the first during the lifetime of Pratinas, *i.e.*, before 467 B.C.; the second (in 458?), which caused Aeschylus to flee to Sicily. Haigh [1] 108, n. 1 dismisses the latter account as 'obviously a foolish conjecture of some commentator'. Certainly as a reason for his fleeing to Sicily we can reject it; but it is likely that the story, however absurd are the reasons it gives, had some basis of fact. Beare in *CR* liii, 1939, 51 gives passages which, he claims, show that wooden seats were used in Athens not only throughout the fifth century but even at the time of the New Comedy. Detailed examination of these texts does not show them to be in any way conclusive; his chief text, however, can be taken as a further reference to a collapse of seats, though not necessarily in the theatre of Dionysus. This is Plautus, *Curculio*, 644–7, and is obviously an incident borrowed from a Greek source, which must go back to the time of the New Comedy. The action of the *Curculio* takes place in Epidauros, therefor the kidnapping must have occurred elsewhere, but whether it was at Athens, where, it is true, many of the plots in the New Comedy were centred, is far from certain.[2] Many provincial theatres [3] had wooden seats up to the time of the New Comedy and even later. This may well be a reference to some nearer theatre; among those in the Argolid, the cavea at Mycenae [4] was entirely wooden except the Prohedria. Moreover, we may adduce an *argumentum ex silentio* against such an occurrence in Athens.

Another literary reference to wooden seats, not necessarily at Athens, is in Pollux iv. 122: τὸ μέντοι τὰ ἑδώλια ταῖς πτερναῖς κατακρούειν πτερνοκοπεῖν ἔλεγον· ἐποίουν δὲ τοῦτο ὁπότε τινὰ ἐκβάλοιεν (cf. ii. 197). Beare *loc. cit.* well points out that Haigh [5] has failed to see that πτερνοκοπεῖν took place in the wooden and not in the stone auditorium. The word is a rare one, not found elsewhere, and this fact is easily explained by the custom dying out with the change-over to stone caveas. The explanation given by Pollux implies not only a seated audience, but a different type of wooden seating from that described by Hesychius.[6] Pollux's type has, in addition, wooden strips forming a 'front' to the seats, which the audience kicked with their heels. Perhaps this is a later type, as it approximates more closely to the normal stone seating which superseded it.

Evidence from Inscriptions. (1) Although in the Delian inscriptions [7] no direct mention is made of wood, the existence of wooden or earthen seats up to 297–250 B.C., when stone was gradually substituted, is implied by the extensive nature of the alterations. (2) An inscription from Gythion [1] reads: οἱ ἔφοροι . . . ἐγδότωσαν τρεῖς γραπτὰς εἰκόνας . . . καὶ τὰ διὰ θέατρον ἴκρια τῶ χορῶ. Bulle refers ἴκρια here to a stage for musical recitals, arguing that the explanation given by Kornemann *loc. cit.* (' for the spectators to watch the dances ') is unsound, owing to there being no dances at musical festivals. But neither explanation is satisfactory. It is difficult to see why a special order from the ephors should be needed either to enable the spectators to sit in the auditorium or to allot the stage to the performers. It may be argued that τὰ ἴκρια consisted of wooden planks not assembled, but even the assembling of these would not warrant an order. Possibly a section of the cavea was reserved for the chorus. The excavations at Gythion [2] have revealed a stone cavea, but it is of later date than this edict.

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[1] s.v. Πρατίνας, Αἰσχύλος. Cf. Pickard-Cambridge 13–14.

[2] It may also be questioned whether some other place of entertainment, such as an open odeum or stadium, is not intended.

[3] See p. 152 below.

[4] See p. 175 below.

[5] 344. Pickard-Cambridge 19, n. 2, defending Haigh, says: 'This method of showing displeasure might be used even with stone seats'. But would kicking with sandals or bare feet against stone have produced enough noise?

[6] s.v. παρ' αἰγείρου θέα, where the term ὀρθὰ ξύλα probably means 'uprights' rather than merely 'straight pieces of wood'.

[7] Bulle 174 ff.; Vallois, *L'Architecture Hellénique et Hellénistique à Delos*, i. 231.

Evidence from Ancient Art. Whether the Sophilos fragment depicts wooden seats has already been discussed.[3] The Amphiaraos krater [4] shows spectators on elaborately carved wooden thrones, and so confirms archaeological evidence about the Prohedria. The only certain representation of spectators on wooden benches, if we eliminate the Sophilos fragment, is the Etruscan fresco.[5]

Archaeological Evidence. The evidence for wooden Prohedriae, which became almost obsolete in Hellenistic times, will be examined elsewhere.[6] The front row was often considered as a separate entity from the rest of the cavea. Thus it seems that in the Athens wooden cavea [6] the front row only was composed of wooden seats resting on stone foundations. At Piraeus (Zea) there may have been a wooden Prohedria in an otherwise entirely stone cavea. At Mycenae,[7] on the other hand, the Prohedria is of stone, while the absence of other seats suggests a wooden section behind.

As is natural, no remains of wooden seating have been found. Evidence, therefore, rests entirely on the absence of visible seating in many theatres; but a cavea of plain earth is a possible alternative in smaller towns. Theatres in mainland Greece at which wooden caveas may be suggested are as follows:

(1) *Athens.*[8] Apart from the literary evidence, Dörpfeld's excavation of the earth under the present stone cavea affords a glimpse of the earlier conditions. Haigh [9] summarises this as follows: ' On digging down into the earth foundations of the present auditorium it has been ascertained that these

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[1] E. Kornemann, ' Neue Dokumente zum lakonischen Kaiserkult ', in *Abh. schles. Gesell. vaterl. Cultur*, 1929, 8 ff.; quoted by Bulle, *Sparta*, 60; S. B. Kougeas, Ἑλληνικά i, 19, line 35 of inscr.; *Riv. Fil.* lvi, 586.

[2] *Prakt.*, 1891, 27 ff.; Pausanias ed. Frazer, iii, 376. The stone cavea is said to be Roman.

[3] P. 131 above.

[4] *Ibid.*, (B).

[5] *Ibid.*, (D).

[6] P. 165.

[7] P. 175.

[8] D-R 30, fig. 7, pl. 1; Dörpfeld in *AM* 1889, 329; Pickard-Cambridge 14 ff.

[9] 83; taken from D-R.

foundations consist of two layers. The upper one belongs to the fourth century, as is shown by the fragments of pottery embedded in it; the lower one is proved by similar evidence to be not later than the fifth'. As this evidence appears to be trustworthy, Bulle,[1] following Puchstein,[2] is incorrect in dating the present stone cavea to the time of Nicias, 420 B.C.; there is, on the other hand, no justification for Beare's [3] late date. We shall be following the literary tradition most closely if we ascribe this important change to Lykourgos, between 338 and 326 B.C. But the wall [4] in front of the present west parodos wall, and the pre-Euclidean inscriptions, show that part of the earlier auditorium was of stone. Haigh, after discussing Dörpfeld's excavation below the stone cavea, continues [5]: 'The innovation adopted in 499, in consequence of the accident,[6] was not the erection of a stone theatre, but the substitution of solid earth foundations for the *ikria* or wooden supports on which the seats had previously rested'. Beare [7] very properly points out that, whatever the non-theatrical meanings of *ikria* may be, in a theatre cavea they mean 'seats' and not any kind of scaffolding or supports; though these may have been necessary at Athens owing to the irregularities of the Acropolis slope. It should be noted that, without the literary evidence, Dörpfeld's excavation would not have given any definite information as to the material of the older cavea.

(2) *Eretria.*[8] A transformation took place in the whole theatre at Eretria about 320 B.C. As the later cavea was much further removed from the old skene, it follows that the earlier cavea must have been situated where the orchestra now is. The new orchestra was constructed by excavating the earth to about 3 m. below ground level; and with the earth so removed an artificial embankment for the new cavea was created. Seeing that the amount of earth excavated approximately equals that of the embankment, and in view of the difficulties otherwise entailed, we may assume that before 320 B.C. there was no earth embankment for the cavea. As the ground on this site is perfectly flat,[9] either there were wooden seats resting on scaffolding, or the spectators must have had a very poor view.[10]

(3) *Ikaria, Rhamnus, Oropos.* At Ikaria and Rhamnus [11] we meet the primitive Attic type of theatre, which contains only a stone Prohedria flanked by stone stelae. Behind this there is an upward slope, but no remains pre-

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[1] 80.

[2] See especially O. Puchstein, *Die Griechische Bühne* (Berlin, 1901), 138.

[3] *CR* 1939, 54.

[4] Called aA in Fiechter A.I, pl. I.

[5] 84.

[6] Cf. p. 148 above. Pickard-Cambridge 14 shows that the date may be up to 467 B.C.

[7] *Loc. cit.*; cf. *LS*^{9} s.v. ἴκρια, ἰκριοποιέω, ἰκριόω, ἰκρίωμα, ἰκριωτήρ.

[8] D-R 114, etc.; Fiechter, *Eretria.*

[9] See p. 132 above.

[10] This theory is partly stated in D-R 114.

[11] Ikaria: *AJA* 1888, 421; 1889, 9. Rhamnus: *AM* 1879, 283; 1891, 364.

served. In both cases it is doubtful whether there were ever any seats behind the Prohedria. The people probably stood, or sat as best they could; for in almost every respect these theatres were primitive and different from other types. If there were seats, they were of wood. The reference by Dörpfeld in *AM* 1926, 22 to an early oval auditorium at Oropos[1] has led to a misunderstanding. This has no connection with the theatre there, but refers to what may best be considered altar steps at some distance away. Poros foundations are all that is now visible in the second century theatre, but it is possible that wooden seats may have had a poros support.

(4) *Delos*. Here the evidence is purely epigraphical,[2] as the excavations have given no clue. The item of 7 drs. for cleaning[3] in 279 B.C. perhaps indicates rough wooden planks laid on an earth and rock cavea; but if there were regular *ikria* they were probably of the 'Hesychius' type, *i.e.*, without wooden fronts. If planks of wood were used, at Delos or elsewhere, they must have been collected after each festival and stored until they were wanted again. Vallois, however, points out that a Parian contractor was employed for the construction of cavea seats as early as 297 B.C. (cf. p. 139 above, n. 8), and contests Bulle's assumption of wooden seating being constructed in 275 B.C. In all events, the stone seating was laid down in instalments, and not finished until 247 B.C. or later.

(5) *Oiniadai*.[4] The eastern half of the cavea is rock-cut, the western half has, in spite of excavation, revealed only one or two rows of stone seating. The remainder may have consisted of wooden benches of the same dimensions as the rock-cut seats. That there was no objection to such an arrangement is shown by Argos, where the peculiar stone benches at the wings are derived from *ikria* and probably replaced them.

(6) *Tegea*.[5] Livy xli. 20 says of Antiochus Epiphanes: 'Tegeae theatrum magnificum e marmore facere instituit'. All that has been discovered of the cavea is two rows of stone Prohedriae and other seats (one row going back to the fourth century), the parodos walls and the circular analemma,[6] which has a fine coping of marble. Bulle suggests that the scheme of building the whole cavea in marble was abandoned owing to insufficient funds. If this is correct, the cavea was left as it was, *i.e.*, in wood except for a few rows of stone. This is confirmed not only by the absence, so far as can be ascertained, of other stone seating, but by the fact that the stone seats[7] with dedicatory

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[1] Arias 66 confuses the two buildings. See Fiechter, *Oropos*.

[2] See p. 148 n. 7.

[3] *IG* xi. 2. 161, A, 81.

[4] Fiechter, *Oiniadai*; Powell, *AJA* 1904, 186; cf. p. 163 below. There is little likelihood of stone being removed by peasants in this isolated spot.

[5] Vallois, *BCH* 1926, 135; Bulle 259.

[6] This now forms the foundation of the church, and is only partly visible.

[7] See p. 180.

inscription by Kymbalos are rectilinear, and thus adapted to the technique of wooden seating arrangements.

(7) *Thespiai, Mycenae and Elis.*[1] These three theatres have been adequately excavated without stone seats being discovered, except the Prohedria at Mycenae. Parodos walls have been found at Elis, but not at Mycenae or Thespiai. Bulle [2] calls Thespiai an ‘ Erdkoilon ’, but the seats may have been either of earth or of wood.

(8) *Unexcavated theatres.* At Tanagra [3] part of the masonry supporting the wings of the cavea was seen by Leake, but no seating whatever. Frazer on Paus. ix. 22. 2 mentions that an experimental trench did not reveal any masonry. The ruins are of vast size (Leake estimates the outside diameter as 300–400 feet), but can be identified only by their well preserved contour. Other theatres where a stone cavea, if ever one existed, has left no trace, although there are other remains, are Demetrias [4] (partly excavated), Koroneia, Thebes in Phthiotis, etc. Roman theatres during the Republic were equipped only with a wooden cavea, as also the private theatres at Tarentum, and the practice was not unknown in later times; though the only example in which we know it was permanently retained is the small theatre near Lake Nemi [5] in Italy.

Types and Arrangement. There are four types of wooden seat: (1) Plain wooden boards laid on earth terraces, which (for fear of removal) would have been stored in a skenotheke or elsewhere when not in use; (2) the type implied in Hesychius’ description and drawn in Fig. 10 above; (3) that implied in Pollux iv. 122 (p. 148 above), which is the same, but with boards also covering the front; (4) a more elaborate type for Prohedria thrones. The term *ikria* cannot be applied to the last. While Type 2 developed into the ‘ economical ’ type of stone seating,[6] Type 3 was replaced by the more ordinary, solid kind.

Any of these types may have been arranged either in rectilinear, polygonal or circular form.[7] The first method had the defect that it did not fit in with a round orchestra (and the orchestra was originally the most important part). On the other hand, the cutting of wooden seats in an arc of given radius was not an easy task, and seems to have been avoided in most cases. At Syracuse there is a three-sided rock-cut water-channel earlier than the present cavea; whether it can be deduced from this [8] that the original cavea was likewise three-sided and rectilinear is very doubtful. At Athens[1] and elsewhere[2] rectilinear survivals in stone may indicate a polygonal scheme based on the division into kerkides.

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[1] Thespiai: Chamonard, *BCH* 1896, 285. Mycenae: *BSA* xxv, 418. Elis: Walter, *ÖJh* 1915, Beiblatt, 68.

[2] 259.

[3] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* ii, 456.

[4] Stählin, *Pagasai und Demetrias*, 23, 119; *Prakt.* 1912, 154.

[5] Bulle, *Sparta*, 52, n. 1.

[6] See p. 153 below.

[7] On polygonal and rectilinear form in the cavea see above, p. 127.

[8] Anti 85 ff., pll. III, IV; see note on p. 273 below.

STONE SEATING, USUAL TYPE

In the great majority of Greek theatres the seats are of a standard type, each tier being made out of single blocks in section. These serve as (*a*) seat, (*b*) foot-rest for the row behind. Normally the foot-rest is sunk 1–8 cm. lower than the seat in front, while the rear part, which becomes merely a foundation, may be at the level of either of these. As a rule, Greek seating of this standard type has a fillet projecting forward, whereas Roman seating has not. The fillet may or may not be turned down flat at the stairways. Fig. 11 shows a typical example of the usual type of seating.

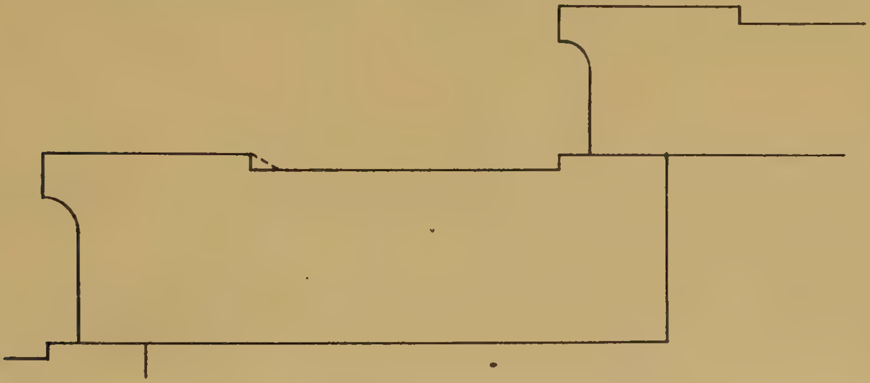

FIG. 11.—STONE SEATING, USUAL TYPE.

ECONOMICAL STONE SEATING

The standard type of seating, found in the great majority of Greek theatres, was by no means universal even in Hellenistic times. Apart from theatres in which wooden seats survived,[3] or where rock-cut seats had been made, we find a certain number where seat and foot-rest are made up of two or more blocks instead of one throughout. In nearly all cases this must have been due to a desire for economy. Marble was not available in all parts of Greece, and the cost of importing it from elsewhere in large quantities was often prohibitive. Now the part of the stone seat which could most easily be spared was the bottom half of the back, which served only as a foundation.

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[1] See pp. 165, 182–3.

[2] E.g. Tegea; see p. 180.

[3] See p. 149.

Obviously an inverted L-shape would need fewer cubic feet of stone (see Fig. 12). But the mere cutting out of the part indicated by dotted lines would not solve the problem of expense. It was also necessary to separate the vertical and horizontal sections. Thus two distinct forms arise; the first transfers the vertical section further back, and makes a kind of T-shape, which needs props in front at regular intervals underneath the seat; the second keeps the inverted L-shape, but thickens the vertical section. The two forms will here be referred to as the Argos type [1] and the Delos type; the difference is roughly shown in Figs. 13*a* and *b*. In Fig. 13*a* the dotted portion A represents in section the orthostates used as supports at intervals. In outline the two systems are very similar; from the point of view of expense the Argos type has a slight advantage.

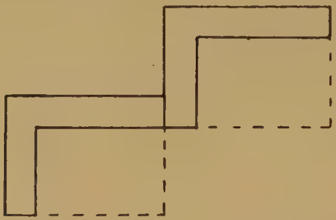

Fig. 12.—Economical Stone Seating.

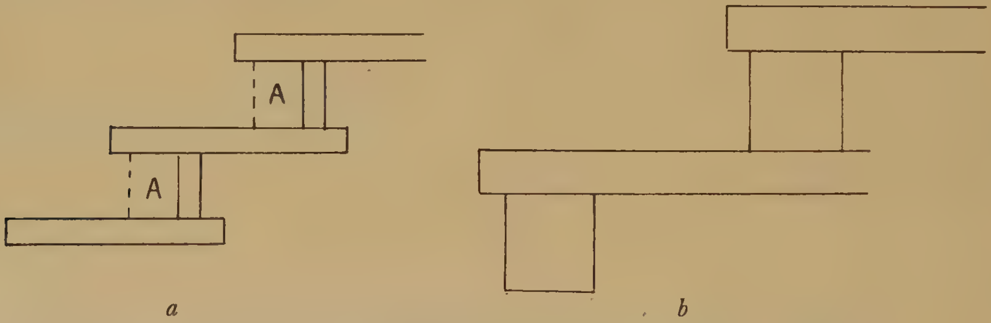

Fig. 13.—Economical Stone Seating: Argos Type and Delos Type.

I. *The Argos Type.*

(a) *Argos.*[2] The marble seats join on directly to rock-cut seats, which extend beyond the second and fourth staircases; and were in consequence made the same height and distance apart as those in rock. The sectional shape of these seats varies from that of Fig. 12 by having no stone foot-rest, *i.e.*, they may be described as of reversed Gamma form.[3] The foot-rests consisted merely of pressed earth, or, as in the top row visible in Pl. 52*a*, of an outcrop of rock. The small supporting uprights (A in Fig. 14) are found at each end, and at regular intervals between. The arrangement is that they are set at intervals of exactly 2 m. 90 in each row, starting from the blocks at the inner end. As the latter are radial from the orchestra centre, the rest are not radial, and viewed from the orchestra become increasingly more asymmetrical. Apart from the two end blocks, there are in the second row (that behind the Prohedria) two supporting blocks, in the third row three, in the fourth row three; and originally an increasing number, as the same interval was adhered to. Measurements of supporting uprights: Height 22 cm.,[1] width and depth variable; horizontal top blocks project about 8 cm. in front of uprights. The seat height totals 31·5 cm., or including the portion inserted as foundation into the earth, 36·5 cm. Width 38 cm.

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[1] The type Fig. 13*a* is actually more similar to that of Priene than Argos.

[2] *AM* xvi, 363; Vollgraff, *Nieuwe Opgravingen te Argos* (1931). No published record of the seats in the side kerkides. See Pl. 52*a*, Fig. 14.

[3] See Fig. 14.

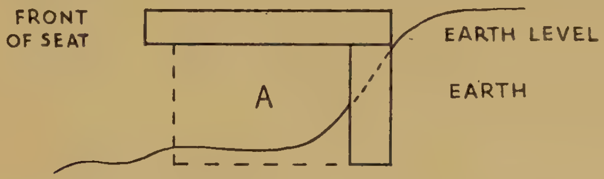

FIG. 14.—ECONOMICAL STONE SEATING: ARGOS.

(b) *Priene.*[2] Here the economical seating is found throughout, and the shape is a real T. There are, however, two breaks in each horizontal slab, and as the foot-rests lay directly upon earth, it must have been found difficult to keep them level. The rows occupy about the same space as at Argos,[3] but the supporting blocks are closer, though very irregularly spaced. Thus (in the first kerkis) they number, apart from the two end blocks, in the second row (that behind the Prohedria) four, in the third four, in the fourth four, in the fifth five, in the sixth five, in the seventh five, in the eighth five, in the ninth six. Measurements of supporting blocks: Height 28·5 cm.; width variable, 23–31 cm.; depth to back, not more than 19 cm. Each supporting block normally carries two horizontal slabs, sometimes one or three. A break is made in the latter between seat and foot-rest, and the front is undercut. Full measurements of the seats (in section) will be seen in Fig. 15.

(c) *Magnesia-on-Maeander.*[4] Again this type of seat is used apparently throughout, but full investigations cannot be made owing to only partial excavation. As at Priene, the intervals between the supporting blocks are irregular. Their height is 28 cm. This compares with 28·5 cm. at Priene,[1] and falls only a fraction short of the 'Attic-Euboïc' foot of 29·5 cm.[2] According to Dörpfeld the Magnesia seating in its present form belongs to the early years of the second century B.C. It therefore seems likely that it was a deliberate borrowing from the neighbouring Priene, which was noted for its good architecture. The method of constructing the T-shape is, however, different (see Fig. 16). There is no separate level between seat and foot-rest, and the seat is fitted into the back orthostate (shaded differently in Fig. 16). This

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[1] This is the height above earth level. Below earth level a further 5 cm. as foundation.

[2] A. von Gerkan, *Das Theater von Priene,* 30. Best illustrated in v. Gerkan, pls. I, IX, XIV; Fig. 15 below is taken from pl. XIV, 2.

[3] There are five kerkides as against four, but the Argos stone seats do not occupy the whole of a kerkis.

[4] Dörpfeld, *AM* 1894, 70. See Fig. 16, taken from *AM* 1894, 71 (reversed).

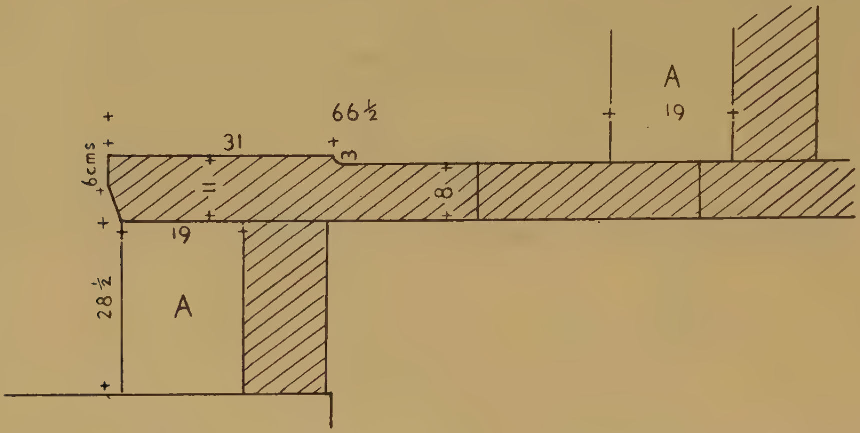

Fig. 15.—Economical Stone Seating: Priene.

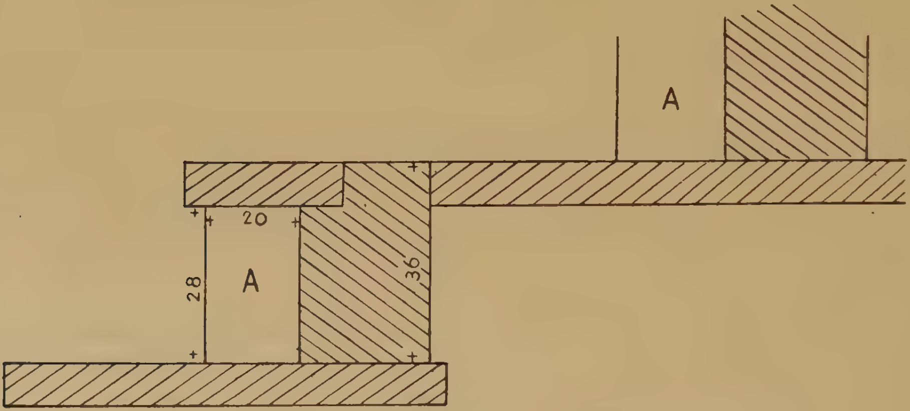

Fig. 16.—Economical Stone Seating: Magnesia.

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[1] The width is also within 1 cm. of that at Priene.

[2] See Robinson, *Olynthus* viii, 16, 29, on the two normal standards.

method gives a little more security without extra bulk in stone; it is only surprising that the horizontal slab behind was not similarly fitted into the other side. Available measurements are given in Fig. 16.

II. *The Delos Type.*

(a) *Delos.*[1] The front of the solid supporting block is cut back towards the bottom, while the long horizontal slab, serving as both seat, foot-rest and foundation for the upper course, is made narrower in the central (foot-rest) section. The width of the supporting block varies. The ‘ economical ’ method was sometimes replaced at the stairways by solid blocks of the usual type.[2] It seems that this replacement was not done in the beginning, as it does not occur throughout. For example, in the second row (first behind Prohedria) it is found at the first stairway and on each side of the second and third, but nowhere else. In other rows, which are badly damaged, isolated examples occur, also mostly in the northern half of the cavea. Possibly the strengthening was necessary owing to a collapse in some kerkides; these may be the very ones mentioned in a Delos inscription of 246 B.C. referred to above, p. 130. The economical method was little cheaper in the long run, for an item of 60 drs. was incurred then, and perhaps other sums at other times. To-day the seats, both at Delos and Thera, are in a very ruined state, as the economical method was also the weakest structurally.

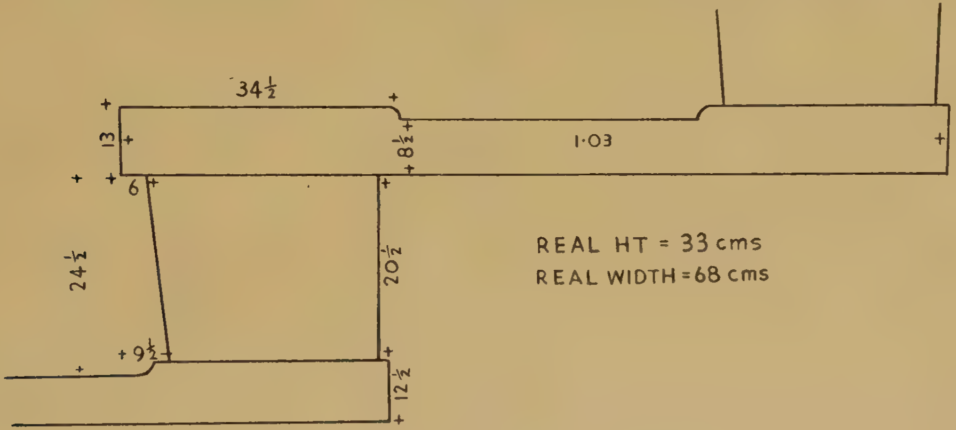

FIG. 17. SECTION OF DELOS SEATING.

(b) *Thera.*[3] The width of the supporting block at Thera is usually about 17 cm., but varies between 11 and 19 cm. The height of the seat slabs in front is often slightly more than the regular 12·5 cm. As to the different level between seat and foot-rest, which Dörpfeld emphasises in *Thera* iii, fig. 243, we were unable, on our visit, to find seats of this type, and accordingly it is omitted from Fig. 18 below. The few remaining appeared to have perfectly flat top surfaces. The sectional drawing in *Thera* iii, fig. 243, takes no account of alterations at the stairways: the lower blocks are replaced for strengthening, as in places at Delos, by much larger square blocks at each staircase, and at the point in the third kerkis where the seats are intercepted by the passage to the water cistern.

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[1] See p. 136 above, n. 1, and Pl. 53*b*, *c*; *BCH* 1896, 267, pl. XXIII. Measurements given in Fig. 17 are taken partly from *BCH* 1896, but checked personally.

[2] This is not mentioned in *BCH* 1896 or elsewhere.

[3] Hiller, *Thera* iii, 256 (Dörpfeld). Measurements in Fig. 18 are the result of personal observation, but are naturally variable.

The chief difference between Delos and Thera lies in the greater elaboration at Delos, where the horizontal slab is carefully hollowed out in the middle, and the supporting block cut back.[1] The high and narrow seats of Thera appear very primitive with their straight lines and lack of ornament, and were certainly very uncomfortable to sit on. Nevertheless, they must have been copied from Delos; the use of solid blocks at the stairways is exactly parallel.[2] Dörpfeld dates the stone cavea to the middle of the second century B.C., whereas that of Delos is of the second quarter of the third century. It is, however, possible that his dating is too late, and that the borrowing is almost contemporary.

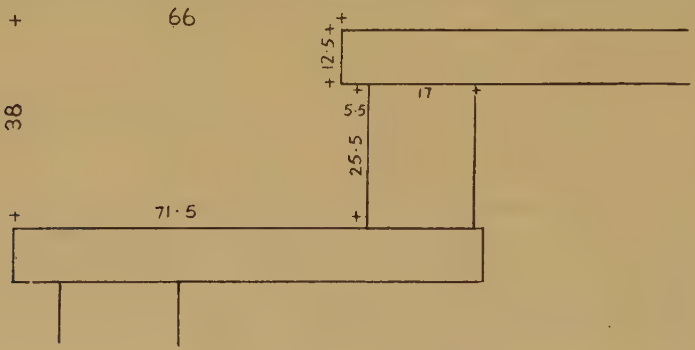

FIG. 18.—SEATING: THERA.

III. *Eretria*.[3]

The seating at Eretria must also be considered here, although it does not belong to either of the above types. It adheres to the normal type of seat, with cyma reversa in front; but it has no stone foot-rest, and each row is quite separate from those above and below it (see Fig. 19). The foot-rest consisted simply of earth, or possibly of tiles, and the blocks rested on earth throughout the cavea. The measurements given in Fig. 19, however, apply only to the lower half; such seats as have survived from the top are of similar measurements except for their height, which is the exceptional amount of 54 cm. This may have included a foundation of as much as 14 cm.; thus the upper seats would have been about 40 cm. high, the lower, 32 cm. There is no need to assume the existence of a diazoma, as there were only twenty-five rows in all. The upper rows were laid on an artificial earth embankment, and as the earth was no doubt soft at first, needed good foundations. We have parallels for seats of heights varying from 21[1] to 41 cm. If the lower seats were 32 cm. high, that would have sufficed, without the necessity of foot-rests sunk in the earth, which Fiechter suggests in *Eretria*, fig. 22. The width of the foot-space, excluding the cyma reversa, is approximately 35 cm., thus making the reasonable interspacing, between the front of one row and of the next, of 74–82 (almost always less than 80) cm.

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[1] The latter is also, however, a feature at Thera.

[2] This argument holds good, although it is held (p. 157 above) that the solid blocks at Delos constituted a repair.

[3] Brownson, *AJA* 1891, 268; Fiechter, *Eretria* 26.

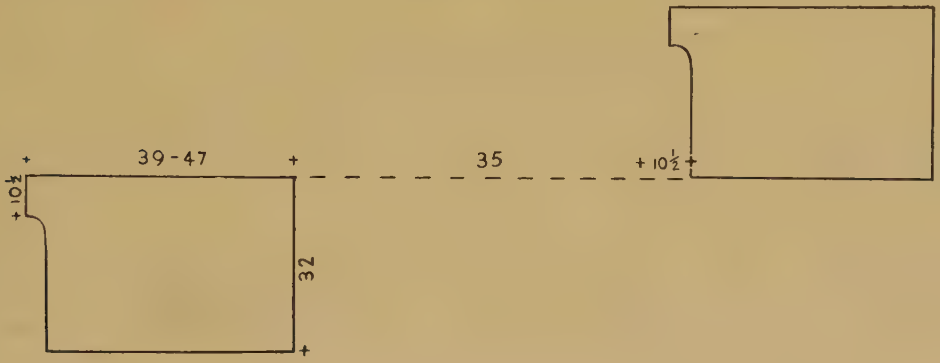

FIG. 19.—SEATING: ERETRIA.

Parallels. The affinities of the Eretria plan are, on the one hand, with Megalopolis;[2] on the other hand, with the stone seating at Argos, for there, too, the rows are entirely disconnected one from another. A nearer parallel has been discovered in the stadium at Olympia, where in 1938–9 two sections of seating were excavated on the south side (that opposite to the hill of Kronos)[3]: one of these is shown in Fig. 9. They consist of nine parallel and rectilinear rows of stone seats, all disconnected as at Eretria. The chief difference between the two is that the Olympia seats are orthostates, while those at Eretria are approximately square in section. As with the upper seats at Eretria, part of the block was used as a foundation, and this achieved a certain measure of stability for the seats. A rough cross-section of the Olympia seats is shown in Fig. 20. It will be seen from Fig. 9 that the inclination is very slight, so that the view of the spectators at the back would have been considerably obstructed. At the Epidauros stadium[1] the seating is also in unconnected rows, but it is merely rectangular slabs laid flat upon the soil without foundation.

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[1] Piraeus (Zea).

[2] P. 160 below.

[3] See Kunze, *IV. Olympiabericht*, 1944, 64. He says: 'Das Stadion in Olympia hat bekanntlich niemals steinerne Sitzreihen besessen'; and regards these as 'ein schlichtes Steinpodium' for wooden seats. But the slight cyma, shown in fig. 20, argues for actual stone seating, in spite of Paus. vi. 20. 8. By Pausanias' time the stonework may have become covered with earth, as at the Epidauros stadium (Paus. ii. 27. 6).

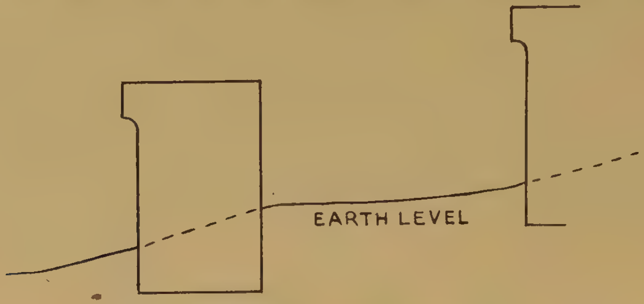

Fig. 20.—Seating.—Olympia, Stadium.

IV. *Megalopolis.*[2]

The seating consists, as before, of two separate pieces. But it bears a much greater affinity to the normal type of united seating, as, although the seat is of marble and the foot-rest of limestone or breccia, yet the two join on (behind the seat) at the same level, and the seats have no struts in the middle. The fillets, however, are turned down straight at each end next to the steps, as in the epitheatron of Epidauros. Fig. 21 will make this clear.

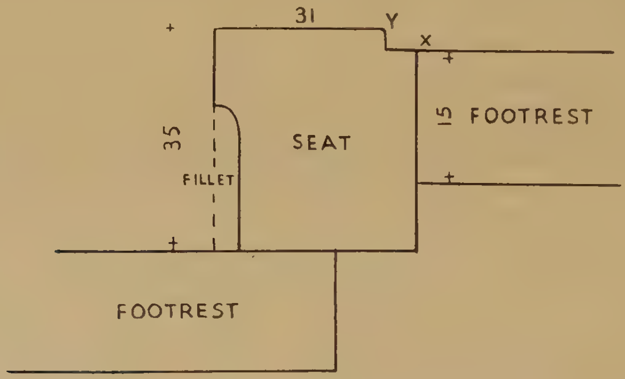

Fig. 21.—Seating: Megalopolis.

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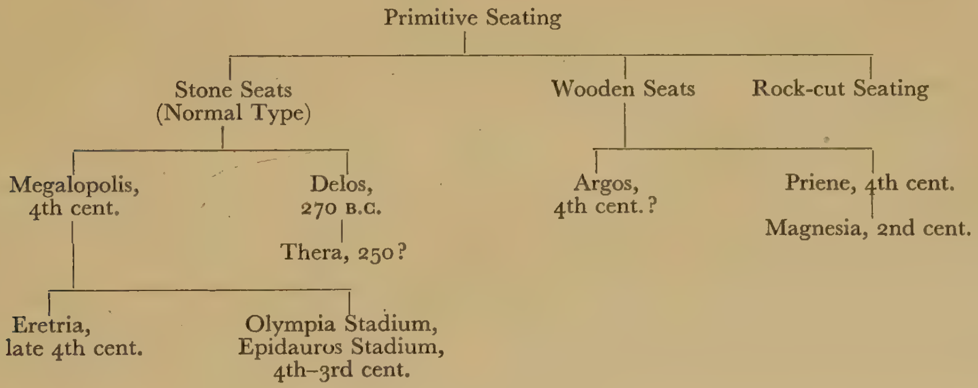
[1] Defrasse 230.

[2] E. Gardner and others, *The Excavations at Megalopolis*, ch. III; Fiechter, *Megalopolis*.

It will be seen that the join at X occurs a short distance behind the slight sinking at Y (height 0·6 cm.). Schultz in Gardner ch. III observes that in the lateral kerkides the join occurs straight down from Y, the foot-rest being wider and the seat narrower. It is not possible to discover whether the economical type of seating was adopted throughout the theatre. It is not a very satisfactory one, as the small saving in the bulk and material of the foot-rests is easily offset by the insecure nature of a cavea so constructed.

Summary. These types represent a conscious effort to save material by a slightly different design. Most writers avoid the question of their origins, and consider them all as offshoots of the normal type. But the first glance at the Argos–Priene group, with its conspicuous struts, suggests a direct imitation of wooden seats. We know [1] that wooden *ikria* were by no means uncommon in the fifth to second centuries. Struts similar to the stone supports at Argos were necessary to wooden seating, and can clearly be seen on the Etruscan fresco.[2] It is very likely that the parts of the Argos theatre not cut in the rock were originally supplied with wooden benches, which were in time replaced by stone ones of similar shape. Priene combined the wood technique with a solid foot-rest, and Magnesia copied Priene. At Delos and Eretria,[3] on the other hand, although wood had been used earlier, inspiration for the saving of material came from stone seating of the common type. No caveas later than 150 B.C., whether Greek or Roman, have been found with the economical type. The following table attempts to show the dates and relationships:


Primitive Seating
Stone Seats (Normal Type)
Wooden Seats
Rock-cut Seating
Megalopolis, 4th cent.
Delos, 270 B.C.
Thera, 250?
Argos, 4th cent.?
Priene, 4th cent.
Magnesia, 2nd cent.
Eretria, late 4th cent.
Olympia Stadium, Epidauros Stadium, 4th–3rd cent.

ROCK-CUT CAVEAS

Extent. The following theatres have either entirely or partly [4] rock-cut seating: Athens (the top rows only); Piraeus, Zea (part); Khaironeia (all);

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[1] See p. 146 above.

[2] Weege, *Etruskische Malerei*, Beilage II, quoted above p. 131.

[3] Cf. D-R 113 on wooden seats in Eretria (first theatre).

[4] For combinations of stone and rock seating in the same theatre see p. 163 below.

Daulis (all); Oiniadai (part); Sikyon (part); Aigeira (all); Argos (all except base of wings); Lindos, Rhodes (all); Syracuse (all except top rows); Akrai (part).

Müller 30, n. 3 (and also Wieseler i. 24, Curtius, *Peloponnesos* ii. 490, Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland* ii. 28) assert that Sikyon is an example of the fully rock-cut cavea; but in fact most of the seating is made of slabs of the same poros of which the cavea hill consists; there are only one or two rock-cut seats visible. As to Mycenae, Arias 86, in speaking of 'una fila di sedili incavati nella roccia', is ignoring not only the excavation report,[1] but even the photograph which he reprints (Arias fig. 56). There is no direct evidence for rock-cut seats at New Pleuron; this is only a somewhat questionable deduction by Fiechter.[2]

At one time, before the great excavations carried out during the last sixty years, the rock-cut caveas were more visible than those with stone seating. This led to some surprising statements. For example, Pashley, *Travels in Crete* i, 37, remarks of the ruins at Aptera: 'Not having been cut out of the living rock, as most of the Greek theatres are, it had lost, as it seemed to me, about two-thirds of the original size, by the degradation of the soil above and around it . . .'; Leake, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor*, 327: 'In the more ancient theatres of that country (European Greece) it seems to have been the common practice to excavate all the middle part of the cavea and even the seats out of the rock.'[3] Needless to say, there was, even a hundred years ago, no foundation for these statements. The only rock-cut theatres in mainland Greece mentioned by Müller,[4] writing in 1886, are Khaironeia, Argos and the small part of the Athens cavea; while several stone caveas were known during the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Of those known at the present day, perhaps one-eighth are rock-cut.

The geographical distribution of these provides a problem of some interest. Müller 30, n. 3 says: 'Dies geschah häufiger in Griechenland als in Kleinasien'; but it appears that even now no rock-cut theatres have been discovered in Asia Minor. The only attempt to explain this is Leake's tentative suggestion that it was only the older theatres that were built in this way. But Oiniadai cannot be dated earlier than 234 B.C., Piraeus (Zea) is second century, and neither Aigeira nor Lindos can be very early. It is true that in Graeco-Roman and Roman theatres the idea was almost completely abandoned[5]; but the existing rock-cut caveas are not by any means all early.

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[1] Boëthius, *BSA* xxv, 1921–3, 418.

[2] See Fiechter, *Oiniadai*, 19; Arias 47, n. 1.

[3] Sandys' edition of Theophrastus reprints Jebb's note on ii. (Kolax) 32, to the same effect, without comment. On the other hand, Rizzo 33 quite wrongly claims that no theatres except Syracuse had more than a small portion of the cavea rock-cut.

[4] 30, n. 3.

[5] The references by Belli (quoted by Falkener, *Theatres in Crete* etc., 18, 21) to the theatres at Lyktos

Is it not a more plausible theory that the Dorian communities took advantage of any natural rocky slope, while the Ionians preferred to use quarried stone, at least for the majority of the cavea? To the Attic and Ionian mind, a theatre cavea was a thing of beauty; to the Dorians it was a purely utilitarian construction. Naturally these distinctions would fade out gradually during the Hellenistic age. The only ‘ Ionian ’ towns on the list above are Athens and Piraeus. At Athens[1] only the uppermost rows were cut out of the Acropolis rock; this work must have been an addition, and hardly forms part of the cavea proper, although it was used by spectators. The seats are cut very far away from the orchestra, and are of rough workmanship and almost rectilinear in parts. At the Piraeus the rock-cut seats may almost be said to have been made in imitation of the theatre of Dionysus, so close is the resemblance in other points. The rock wall and seats to the east side of the theatre at Thorikos are not in any way part of the cavea. All the other towns on the list are Dorian, Aetolian or Boeotian.

Planning. In some theatres (*e.g.*, Delos) rock is found below the cavea, behind it, or elsewhere; but in no case has rock been cut away and seats placed upon it, using it as foundation.[2] This has been claimed to be so in the epitheatron at Athens, but the opposite seems more likely in the absence of evidence. Difficulties had to be overcome in cutting the rock into a circular shape. Most of the suitable rocky slopes would originally have been too straight on their surface. This difficulty is usually met by hollowing further into the rock; but at Argos a different method was adopted. Of the four kerkides the exterior ones, apart from a few feet on the inner side of each, have seating made of thin stone slabs.[3] This cannot have extended up to the full height of the centre of the cavea: probably the outside kerkides only went up as far as the ‘ lower diazoma ’. At Khaironeia the two extremities were certainly banked up with earth, and may have had stone seating, but there is no trace of this now. At Oiniadai [4] an entire half of the cavea, including the east wing and part of the centre, is in stone, while the remainder is cut out of the rock. Sikyon has only very few seats in rock. At Aigeira [5] the outcrop of rock is of such a peculiar shape that it only permits a cavea of roughly triangular shape, with its apex at the back.

While the situation of the Athens theatre demanded that the topmost

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and Gortyn, which were Roman, cannot be accepted. If the seats in these had been rock-cut, they would almost certainly have survived from his time (1730) to the present day.

[1] For the κατατομή at Athens see D–R 42; Pickard-Cambridge 138, 169; G. Welter, *AA* 1938, 38; *RE* s.v. κατατομή.

[2] The bottom twelve rows at Syracuse were in Roman times cut lower, and marble seating placed upon them. This was done for the benefit of the senators who occupied these rows (not the orchestra, as usually in Roman theatres). Cf. pp. 192, 273.

[3] See p. 154 above, and Pl. 52*a*.

[4] Fiechter, *Oiniadai*; Powell, *AJA* 1904, 176.

[5] Walter, *ÖJh* 1919, Beiblatt, 20ff.

seats should be cut out of the rock, that of Syracuse led to the exact opposite. The whole of the section below the diazoma, and the lower half of the epitheatron, are rock-cut. Above this there were stone seats, which have completely disappeared owing to their being used as a quarry. The principal difficulty at Syracuse must have been that the slope of the rock was too gentle. The rock-cut seats are exceptionally wide,[1] as at Piraeus, and even so the upper rows had to be erected upon a banking of earth. At Khaironeia, on the other hand, the seating is very narrow indeed,[2] and even so the slope of the hill is too steep. Instead of the normal diazoma, there is a sheer wall of rock, 1 m. 60 high, with only the width of a normal row of seats; above this, four more rows, and then a second wall of rock, 2 m. 30 high.

Skene. As might be expected, the stage buildings in rock-cut theatres were not always of stone. At Syracuse, for example, they rest on a foundation of rock, which is well trimmed for this purpose; over this are stone constructions of the usual type. In the poorer towns, however, we find theatres which have left no trace of a skene, such as Khaironeia and Daulis. An inscription from Khaironeia (*IG* vii. 8409) speaks of a proscenium, but this, in common with the remaining stage buildings, must have been made of wood. The cavea would hardly have been cut out of rock in any place where stone was plentiful. If stone could be dispensed with for the cavea, it could be dispensed with altogether.[3]

Refinements, etc. Thus a rock-cut theatre must have been a dull and cold place, nor can the acoustics have been as good. The Khaironeia theatre faces almost due north, and, owing to the steep hill behind it, the seats seldom get any sun. Perhaps the dampness was avoided by placing wooden boards over the rows; for the country folk who attended cannot all have had cushions. There is, as in most rock-cut theatres, no dividing line between seats and the foot-rests behind, so that this system would have been useful to the spectators' feet also. Mouldings are uncommon: the base of the diazoma at Syracuse has a projection with Lesbian cyma reversa; at Lindos [4] (Rhodes) many of the seats have carving in profile. But in most cases the general aspect is surprisingly plain in comparison with stone-built theatres.

The Prohedria is not a common feature in rock-cut caveas. It would have been very difficult to include it in the rock carving, if only on account of the shape, and normally the front row is just the same as the others. At Argos,[5] however, a stone Prohedria bench, set on a rock foundation, was joined to a series of rock-cut benches. The segmental platform at the bottom of the Khaironeia cavea may be taken, perhaps, as a base for a wooden Prohedria. Such a Prohedria would be unparalleled, but otherwise it is hard to explain the cutting of this platform.

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[1] 82 × 33 cm., Rizzo 44.

[2] Average width as little as 41 cm.

[3] Even in Argos the wings, which are of stone, are constructed in such a way as to use less stone than usual. See p. 154 above.

[4] Arias 130.

[5] See p. 166 below.

PROHEDRIA

The word προεδρία (προέδρα), as applied to the cavea, means a seat in some way different from the rest, which constituted a seat of honour. The three materials of which the Prohedria may be made are rock, stone and wood, the last naturally leaving no positive traces. Rock Prohedriae are not found except at Argos, and stone Prohedriae in rock-cut theatres are also very rare. The result is that in the great majority of rock-cut theatres it can be proved that no Prohedria whatever existed; these are: Oiniadai,[1] Lindos (Rhodes), Akrai, and probably Aigeira and Daulis. Argos had a mixture of stone and rock for its benches, Khaironeia may have had wood. Stone caveas where no Prohedria can have existed are: Thorikos, Dodona, New Pleuron, Delphi, Mantineia, Eretria, Rhodes, Pergamon and Pompeii.

Origins. The Prohedria as a seat of honour existed long before the appearance of the theatre, and must have been seen in the Agora and public buildings. It is not surprising that these have left no trace, for they were almost certainly wooden. The fine carving and architectural ornamentation found even in the earlier stone Prohedriae justifies the assumption that their predecessors were in wood.

1. *Use of Wood. Possible Occurrences.*

(A) *Athens.* Bulle and Lehmann-Hartleben in Bulle 62, 70 argue that certain flat blocks with inscriptions of the fifth century (IEPE . . ., etc.) on their risers (fronts), and with a top breadth of 65 cm., must have served as bases to a wooden Prohedria, not to a stone one, chiefly because they are rectilinear; also there are no marks on the top surface of the stone, though this is not an infallible test, as marks made by the rubbing of heavy stone objects disappear after a certain time. The block containing the letters IEPE . . . is called ‘ No. 2 ’ by Lehmann-Hartleben *loc. cit.*, and is illustrated (front only) in Bulle pl. 6 fig. 11. It is conjecturally restored by them as IEPEOΣ alone, and it is well remarked that in the fifth century this would be sufficient for the priest of Dionysus Eleuthereus, who occupied the place of honour. Lehmann-Hartleben further remarks [2] that these letters would take up 1 m. 03 in width, or just one-third of the width of a whole kerkis at this level. But it should be observed that there is no inscription at all on the left-hand division.

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[1] There are seats with inscriptions, but they are not distinguishable from the ordinary seats.

[2] In Bulle 63.

As several priests must have sat in the same kerkis, the reading ΙΕΡΕΟΝ (ἱερέων) may be brought forward as an alternative.

A similar but more fragmentary block[1] contains the letters . . . ΓΟ/Κ or . . . ΤΟ/Κ, and a third has this appearance:

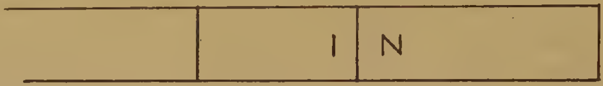

Fig. 22.—Inscription in Theatre of Dionysus, Athens.

The first two letters of the former have been interpreted, perhaps rightly, by Bulle as [ΣΤΡΑΤΕ]ΓΟ or [ΙΕΡΟΦΑΝ]ΤΟ. He makes no guess at the Κ in the former or the Ι and Ν in the latter. Surely these may confidently be restored as (i) Κ, after a break for definite named persons, (ii) Λ, Μ, Ν. The letters Λ and half of Μ may well have disappeared, and the three together would have a width of 1 m. 30, which is not too narrow for three spectators, designed by consecutive letters of the alphabet.

(B) *Khaironeia.* See p. 164 above.

(C) *Piraeus* (Zea).[2] A small incision may denote a wooden Prohedria.

(D) *Kephale* (Kéfalo), Kos. Arias 127 writes of this small theatre: 'Sull' ultima serie di sedili' (the bottom row) 'in corrispondenza della *thymele*' (orchestra altar) 'v' è una levigatura della pietra, forse un accenno ad una semplice *proedria*'. This seems to be correct, and the Prohedria would most likely have been in wood. As with the bases at Athens marked Κ, (Λ), Μ, Ν, it may have supported a wooden bench rather than a series of thrones.

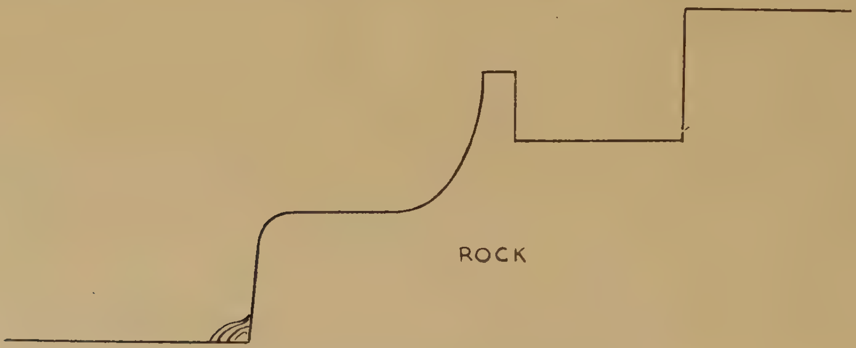

Fig. 23.—Section of Seating, Argos.

2. *Use of Rock.* It has already been mentioned that Argos[3] alone, to the extent of our knowledge, employed a rock-cut Prohedria. There it is

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[1] Lehmann-Hartleben in Bulle 61, 63.

[2] Bulle 202; Arias 16; and references as on p. 138, n. 6.

[3] See pp. 164, 154 above; Pl. 52*a*.

made possible by a rise in the level of the rock at this point. This results in the rock-cut portion, which occupies the centre, being extended further towards the wings than the rows behind it (see Pl. 52*a*). The join between the rock and stone benches is well made. In one sector the two alternate; at the wings stone only is found. There are no arms, even at the stairways, and the back-rests have rather a backward slope. Roman alterations have disturbed a portion in the centre. A rough section is given in Fig. 23. Seat height approximately 38 cm. Lion-claw feet have been added in marble at intervals; these are well preserved, but the imitation of stone Prohedriae does not suit the rock.

3. *Use of Stone.* This is by far the most common method, and we have many examples from as early as the fourth century. Stone was at first, for example at Athens, mixed with wood; but wood was not sufficiently permanent for an outdoor theatre, and it is doubtful whether it was used for the Prohedria in later times, except probably at Piraeus (Zea). Stone, on the other hand, continued to be used throughout all periods of Greek building. The most usual kinds of stone for this purpose were at first poros or limestone and later marble; and the Prohedria is normally of the same material as the other seats.

Types. I. Benches, which may be classed as (*a*) benches with back-rests and arm-rests, (*b*) benches with back-rests only. II. Thrones, (*a*) several joined together, (*b*) each separate. III. Thrones with benches between them in the same row. It is usually said that the earliest type of stone Prohedria consists of benches; but Rhamnus, Ikaria, Tegea and Priene, which have thrones, are quite as early as the theatres which have benches.

Ia. *Benches with Back-rests and Arm-rests.*

These would seem to have had their origin in the Peloponnese, as against Type IIa, which originated in Attica. A further subdivision into benches made of one or more pieces in section, and of one or more pieces in elevation, is impracticable, as these various methods exist side by side, not only in neighbouring towns at the same period, but even at Delos in the very same benches. Only at Thera does the use of many pieces in section result in a too angular appearance. Elsewhere, except to close observation, the divisions are almost imperceptible.

The first three theatres are Megalopolis, Sikyon and Epidauros. Their chronological order is a matter of controversy. But at Megalopolis we have dedication inscriptions by Antiokhos, and reasons are given below for assigning these to 350 B.C. or earlier. If this is so, Megalopolis was planned first and may have inspired the others; for it must have been much frequented by other Peloponnesians.

(A) *Megalopolis.*[1] There are nine benches, one to each kerkis, with tribe names on most,[2] and dedicatory inscriptions. In elevation, each bench consists of four blocks side by side, with the exception of the lateral benches, which have five. In section, each is made up of four parts, (i) back-rest and arm-rest, (ii) seat, (iii) rear part of base, (iv) legs with scroll work and fillets as shown in Fig. 24*b*. The lateral benches were originally the same length as the others, and were also composed of four blocks side by side, but subsequently they were enlarged by the insertion of a fifth block, without regard to the consecutive lettering of the inscription. The full dedication is found only on bench 1: Ἀντίοχος ἀγωνοθε|τήσας ἀνέθηκε τὸς θρό|νος πάντας καὶ τὸν ὀχετόν. Dedications in abbreviated form appear on benches 5 (the central θρόνος) and 9: Ἀντίοχος ἀγωνοθετήσας ἀνέθηκε. The omission of the father's name has rightly led to the conclusion that this is the well-known Antiokhos, an

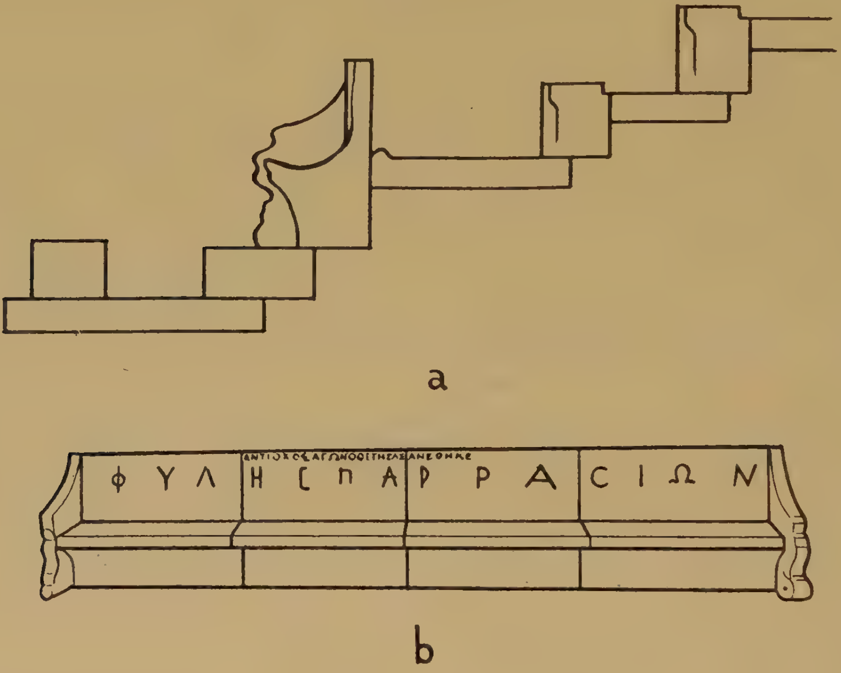

FIG. 24.—MEGALOPOLIS. (*a*) SECTION OF PROHEDRIA. (*b*) CENTRAL BENCH. From Gardner and others, *Excavations at Megalopolis*, figs. 24–25.

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[1] Gardner and others, ch. III. (Schultz). Fig. 24, *a*–*b* are taken from Gardner and others, figs. 24 and 25.

[2] See p. 183 below.

athlete of Lepreon, who went as ambassador to Susa with Pelopidas in 367 B.C.[1] While Richards, in Gardner and others, ch. VII, considers the inscriptions early fourth century, Bulle 105, following Hiller in *IG* v. 2. 450 and Wilhelm in D-R 141, places them after 350, and Arias 100 as late as 330 B.C. It is also held by Gardner that they were added to the original scheme. He says that (i) the θρόνοι and ὀχετός are dedicated separately from the remainder of the cavea, (ii) they are in a peculiar position with a wide passage behind, (iii) the square pedestals at the wings (base of parodos walls) are on a level with the second row of the cavea. But as to the separate dedication, the ornamental benches would alone constitute a large item of expense, which might well be borne by a private citizen; as to the wide passage, this is an extremely convenient arrangement, and the Prohedria fits in well with the rest of the cavea. The widening of the lateral benches was perhaps connected with the transformation of the west parodos into a skenotheke.

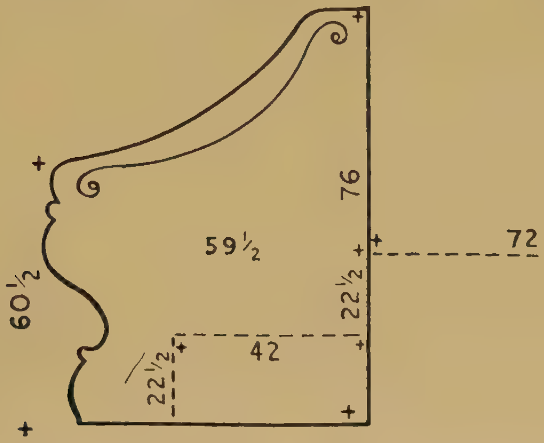

FIG. 25.—SIKYON, SECTION OF PROHEDRIA.

(B) *Sikyon.*[2] None of the descriptions mention the two lateral Prohedria benches, which are situated, curiously, in the second row, evidently in order not to block the exits at the wings. The seats are hollowed well in, which leaves them square and not very comfortable. The benches are made of local stone from the same hill, and are ornamented with fillets and volutes. The foot-rest behind them shows a rise above their own foot-rest of 45 cm., in order that the view shall not be obstructed; this proves that they are contemporary with the building of the cavea. Measurements of a section of seat of average size are given in Fig. 25. Fiechter gives the total height as 82 cm., but it is actually only 76 cm. on an average. The bench in kerkis 2 is of poorer stone and smaller size, having a total width and height of only 49 and 68 cm. respectively. The foot-space behind the Prohedria is mostly in the same poros, but changes in places to a hard limestone.

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[1] Xen. *Hell.* vii, 1, 33.

[2] Trowbridge, *AJA* 1889, 267; Fiechter, *Sikyon*, 27, fig. 18; Arias 75, fig. 49 (wrongly titled as 'proscenium'). Pl. 53*a*, Fig. 25.

(C) *Epidauros.*[1] The three rows, first, thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth, which contain Prohedriae, have benches of approximately the same shape, all made of one block. The first has volute feet and sculpture reliefs; the last has volute feet; while the row below the diazoma is not only smaller but not ornamented. Those in the first and thirty-fifth rows have a passage 60 cm. wide behind them. Their measurements are correctly given by Kavvadias *loc. cit.*[2]; his figures for the first row are, however, taken from repaired seats, as these alone

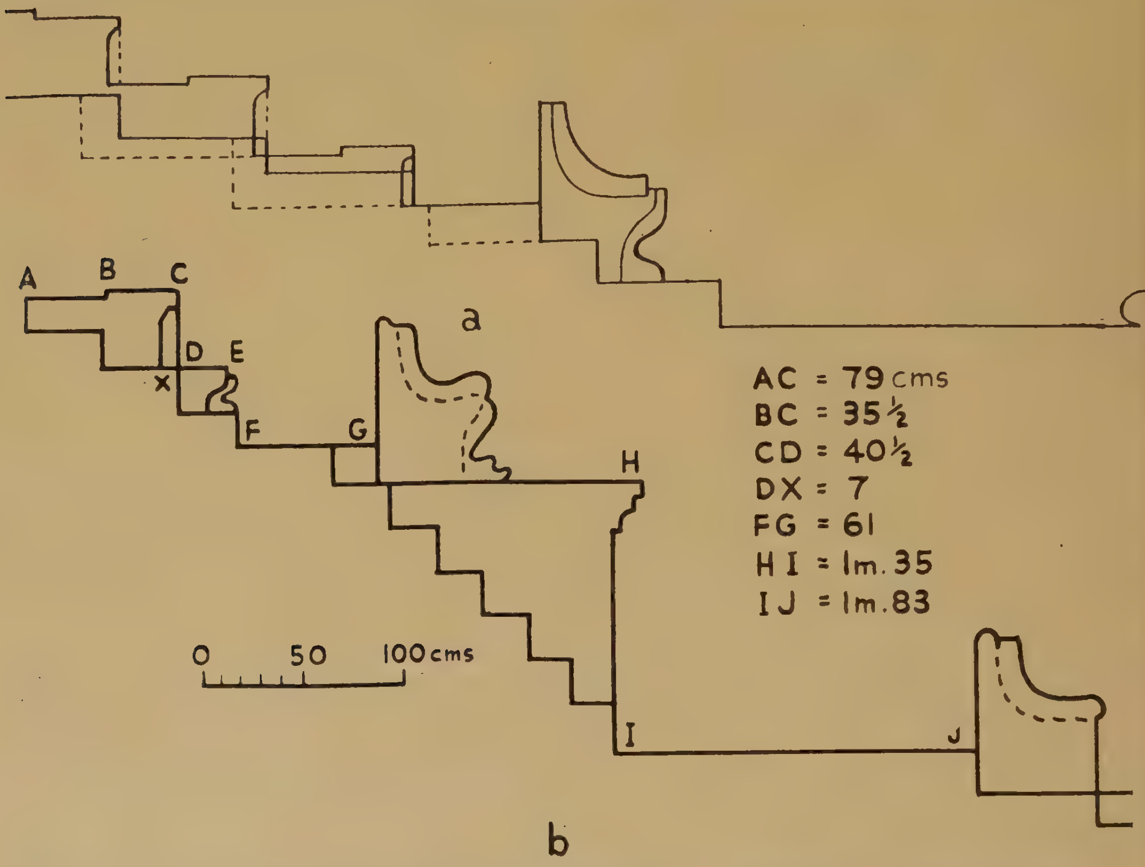

FIG. 26.—EPIDAUROS. (*a*) SECTION OF LOWER PROHEDRIA. (*b*) SECTION THROUGH DIAZOMA. From Defrasse, 199 *b* and *a*.

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[1] Defrasse 186; Kavvadias, Τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, 79. Photograph Pl. 52*b*. Sectional drawings Figs. 26*a*, *b*.

[2] First row: Height of whole 90 cm., of seat 42·9 cm. Thirty-fourth row: Height of whole 80 cm., of seat 35·7 cm. Thirty-fifth row: Height of whole 84 cm., of seat 40 cm.

have back-rests preserved to a full height. An unusual feature of these repairs is that they have not provided any arm-rests where the other benches have them, *i.e.*, at the stairways. In the rows above and below the diazoma new seats have in places been substituted, but some of the old seats are preserved to their full height. The raised foot-rests with lions'-claw fillets in the thirty-sixth row (second above diazoma) are visible in Fig. 26*b* (DE). These foot-rests have a width of 47 cm. and a height, above the narrow passage[1] at the rear of the Prohedria, of 47 cm., two blocks being superimposed. The object of this is to give a clear view over the benches. Epidauros was very well provided with Prohedriae, as three complete rows have not been proved to have existed in any other theatre.

(D) *Delos*.[2] After the earlier group of three Peloponnesian theatres, we find the idea of Prohedria benches elsewhere in Greece. Like the seats at Delos, the benches, too, have been constructed according to an economical principle, thus corresponding more to Megalopolis than to Epidauros or Sikyon. Of the seven marble benches, one to each kerkis, Arias 122 says 'sono in generale di un sol blocco'. This is not accurate, for the majority of the sections are in two blocks, back-rest and seat. This principle is adopted throughout in five of the kerkides and partially elsewhere. The following is a summary:—

Kerkis 1. The central sections are in two blocks, the upper piece being in some cases preserved (see Pl. 53*b*). Those at each end are in one piece, including arm-rests.

Kerkis 2. Central sections in two pieces; those at each end in one, as before. See Pl. 53*b*, left-hand side.

Kerkis 3. Central sections in two pieces, narrower. At the north end, not only the end block with arm-rest is single, but also a much wider block adjacent to it. See Pl. 53*b*, right-hand side. At the south end, the end block only is single.

Kerkis 4. Only the north end section is single.

Other kerkides. All sections double. Arm-rests probably attached to back-rests.

In the first kerkis, where the two methods are in one place fully preserved, differences in colour and height can be seen. The marble of the separate back-rests is greyish, that of the remainder of the same seats is the same yellowish-white as in the single blocks. The top of the double sections is 1·5 cm. lower than the top of the single. These differences may indicate a replacement of white stone by grey stone of the same shape at a later date, no doubt in the first bench only.[1] If the new pieces were dowelled in more strongly, this would account for the fact that they alone of the double blocks remain *in situ*. The dowel holes where visible elsewhere are rather shallow. Measurements are given by Chamonard in *BCH* 1896, 269.

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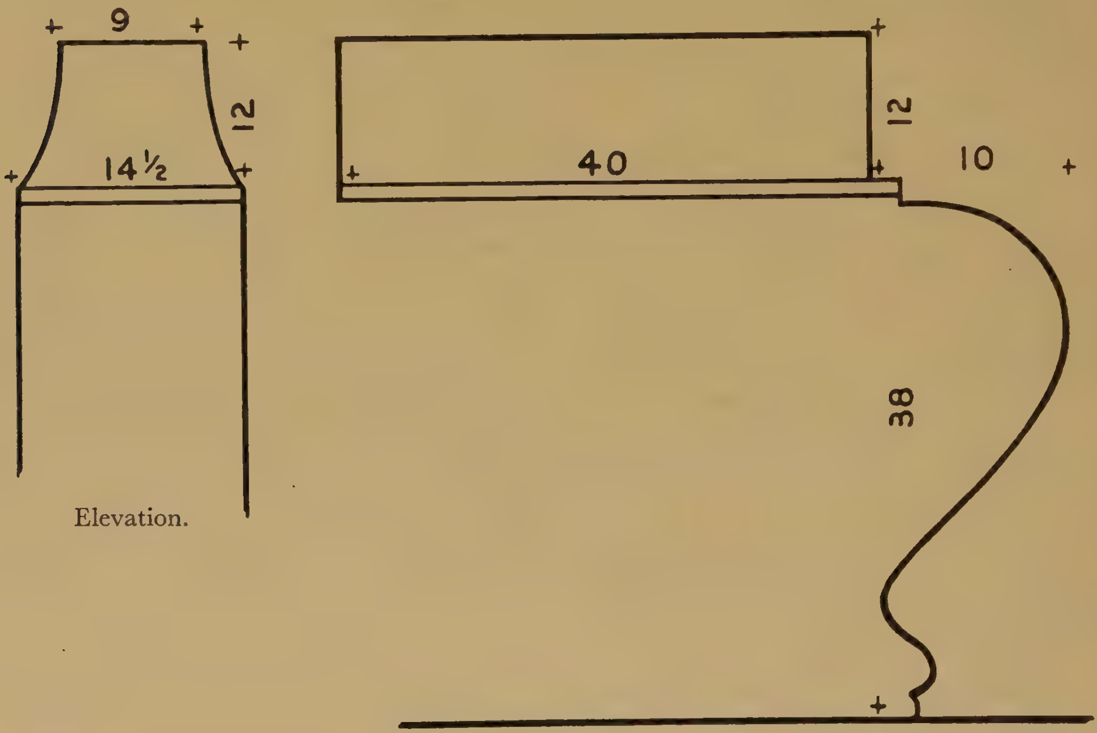
[1] Its width is 67 cm. All notes in this paragraph are from personal observation, and may therefore conflict with those in Fig. 26*b*.

[2] See references p. 136 above, n. 1, also Chamonard, *REA* 1926, 171; Arias 120. Photographs Pl. 53*b*, *c*.



Elevation.

Cross-section.

FIG. 27.—THERA, PROHEDRIA ARM-REST AND FILLET.

(E) *Thera*.[2] Here the imitation of Delos, which occurs in many other details, leads to a very plain and unattractive version of the two-block system. The back-rests were almost straight, from what can be judged; for although the dowel holes are visible,[3] the back-rests have entirely disappeared. It is unlikely that they were of wood; they may have been removed in late Roman times for other uses. In spite of slight hollowing of the seat, it remains very uncomfortable, as both seat and foot-rest [4] are narrow, and the back-rest is too angular. The arm-rests and ornamented legs (see Fig. 27) were added, in separate blocks, at the stairways.[1] The passage behind the Prohedria is 54 cm. wide, not 34 cm. as Dörpfeld gives.

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[1] Cf. pp. 130, 157 above for a possible reference to these repairs.

[2] Hiller, *Thera* iii, 249 (article by Dörpfeld); Arias 131; id. *Dioniso* iv (1933), 96 (comparison with Zea). Drawings in Fig. 27 are from personal observation; but cf. Dörpfeld in Hiller, *Thera* iii, fig. 243.

[3] About 9 cm. from the rear.

[4] Width 34 cm. (Dörpfeld gives 36).

(F) *Sparta.*[2] The Prohedria benches have not been fully excavated, and those already cleared are much mutilated, so that measurements are difficult. They appear, however, to be of the same type as Sikyon, but with rather less ornamentation. Behind the Prohedria is a passage 80 cm. wide, and behind this a raised foot-rest 30 cm. wide, as in the epitheatron at Epidauros (see Figs. 26*b*, 28).

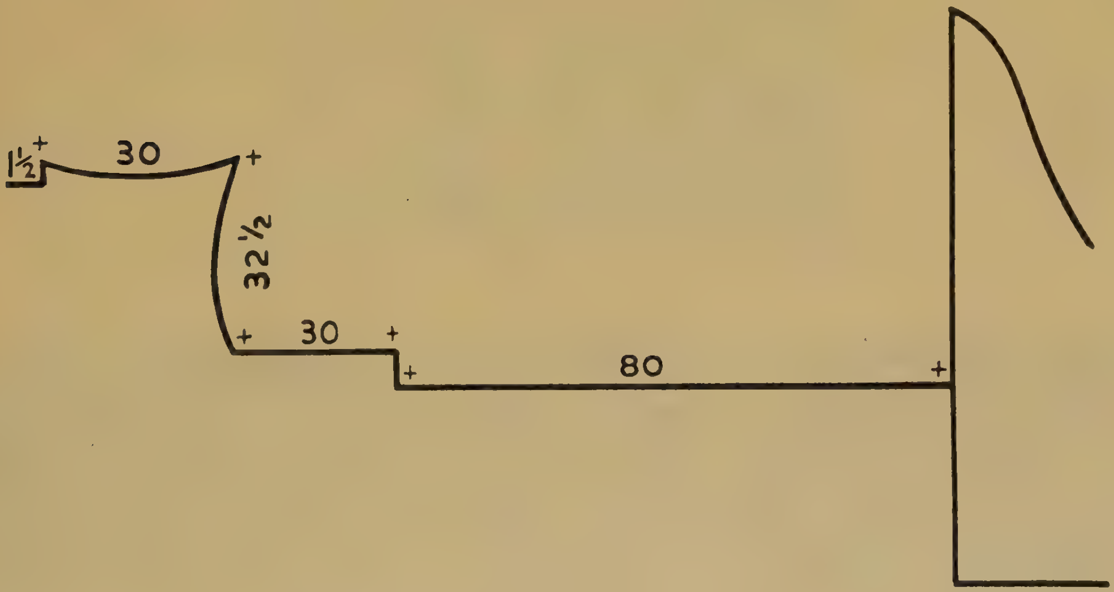

FIG. 28.—SPARTA, PASSAGE BEHIND PROHEDRIA.

(G) *Orkhomenos*, Arcadia.[3] There is little left of the theatre except the Prohedria. This is a long bench in an arc of a circle, having arm-rests only at each end; thus over a considerable extent of the bench there are no arms. An inscription, dating from the third century B.C., on the front of the back-rest, reads: Ἐπιγένεος ἀγωνοθετήσας Διονύσωι. In the orchestra are two isolated seats of the 'single throne' type, described below, p. 179.

(H) *Syracuse.* Rizzo is probably correct in thinking that the rock cutting [4] immediately below the diazoma, shown in his fig. 15, was for a stone back-rest. This would have the effect of turning an ordinary row of seats into a Prohedria.

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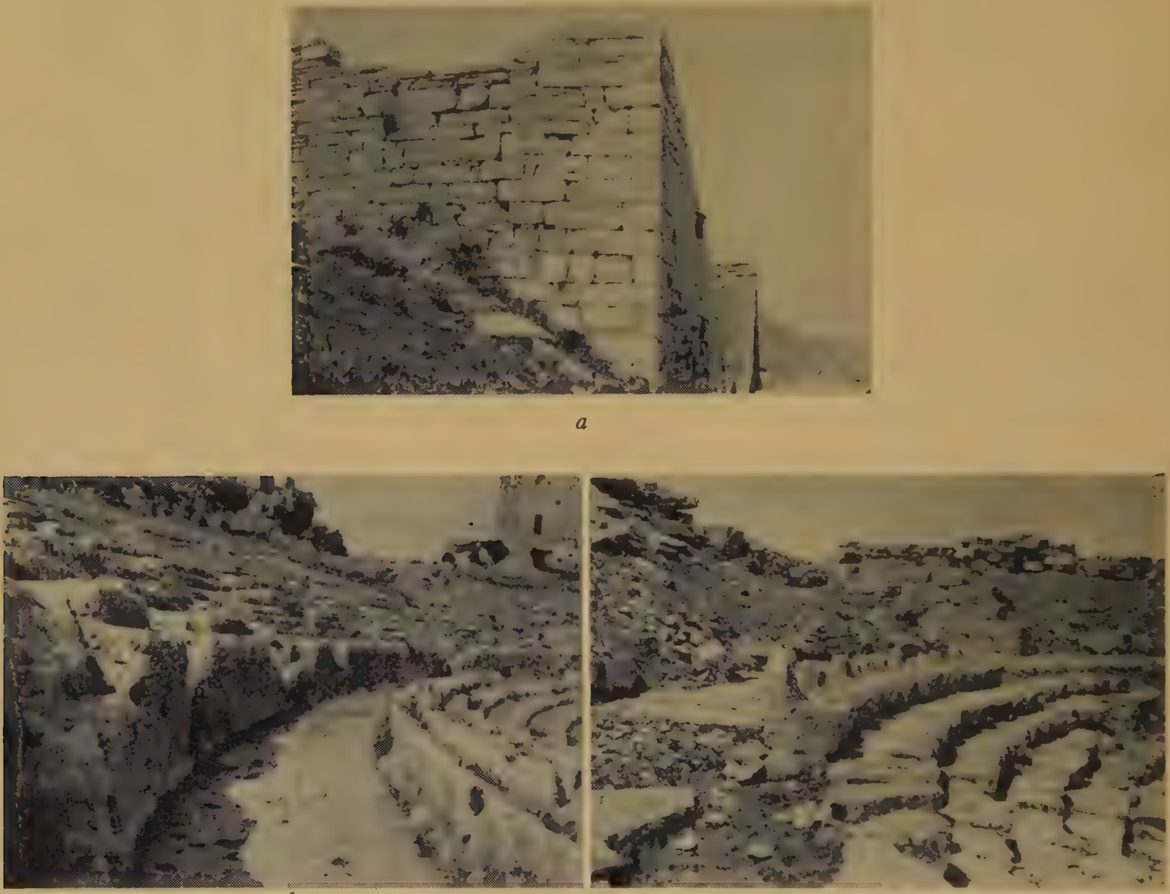
[1] And at the passage to the cistern mentioned on p. 158 above.

[2] Woodward, *BSA* xxvi, 175. Plan in Fig. 28.

[3] *BCH* 1914, 79; Karo, *AA* 1914, 161; Bulle 248; Arias 83.

[4] Fig. 29*b*; Rizzo 43, fig. 15. In Rizzo's figure some portions are white and others shaded, but actually the whole section is rock-cut and should not have been differentiated. Arias 138 mentions Prohedria benches *above* the diazoma at Syracuse, but must be thinking of these.

(J) *Segesta*.[1] The row below the diazoma is a series of Prohedria benches, with fillet, having the back-rest joined to the seat, but each bench consisting of many separate blocks. The latter cannot represent separate seats, however, as their width (parallel to diazoma) varies from only 28 to 42 cm.


a

b *c*

Fig. 29.—*a*, Segesta, East Analemma; *b*, Syracuse, Diazoma; *c*, Segesta, Rows below Diazoma.

(K) There are several theatres in Asia Minor which have benches with back-rest and arm-rest. An unusual feature is found in the ' smaller Prohedria ' at Priene,[1] a single bench resting in the fifth row of the central kerkis. This, even if of earlier origin, must have been placed in that position not in Hellenistic times, when the view even of the raised Logeion was quite adequate from the first row, but in Roman days. The Roman practice of giving gladiatorial shows in the orchestra necessitated the disuse, and often the removal, of the bottom rows of the Greek cavea, or alternatively the erection of a high screen round the konistra, as at Athens. Hence the best seats would be in almost the fifth row.

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[1] Fig. 29*a* and *c*; Bulle 110, with full references. for the diazoma.
Bulle 113 remarks that the back-rests form a screen

Ib. *Benches with Back-rests Only.*

(A) *Argos.*[2] This type of bench, without arms, obviously originated in Argos (fourth century B.C. ?), where it had a special function to perform. It joined on to the rock-cut benches, which could not very easily be supplied with arm-rests. Sectionally the stone benches are in one piece; but several blocks, side by side, go to make up their length, which on each wing amounts to less than the width of a kerkis. This is quite a considerable length, as there are only four kerkides. The back-rests slope backwards.

(B) *Mycenae.*[3] Here the Argos stone benches are closely imitated in limestone, although the absence of rock would have made arm-rests preferable. Arias 86 wrongly says that the benches are rock-cut, and is also incorrect in suggesting that the extreme backward slope of the back-rests may be due to a shifting of the ground behind; for, in fact, the back-rests are in one piece with the seats. This backward slope is an exaggerated imitation of Argos. Height of seats 30 cm., width 40 cm. The benches are divided up by stairways; the part immediately over the dromos of the Tomb of Clytemnestra was removed during the excavation.

IIa. *Thrones, Several Joined Together.*

The term ' thrones ' is here used in its modern sense of separate chairs of honour, divided from the others by arm-rests, fillets, etc. The Greek word θρόνος [4] does not necessarily signify this. Such thrones may easily be joined together, side by side, and this was the usual practice in classical times in Attica, but outside Attica there are no examples from theatres. Although the Athens thrones in their present form are probably first century B.C., they are evidently copied from earlier thrones of the same type. It is therefore likely that they bear no small resemblance to the thrones of the cavea of Lykourgos.[1] But, even so, the thrones at Rhamnus and Ikaria are probably earlier.

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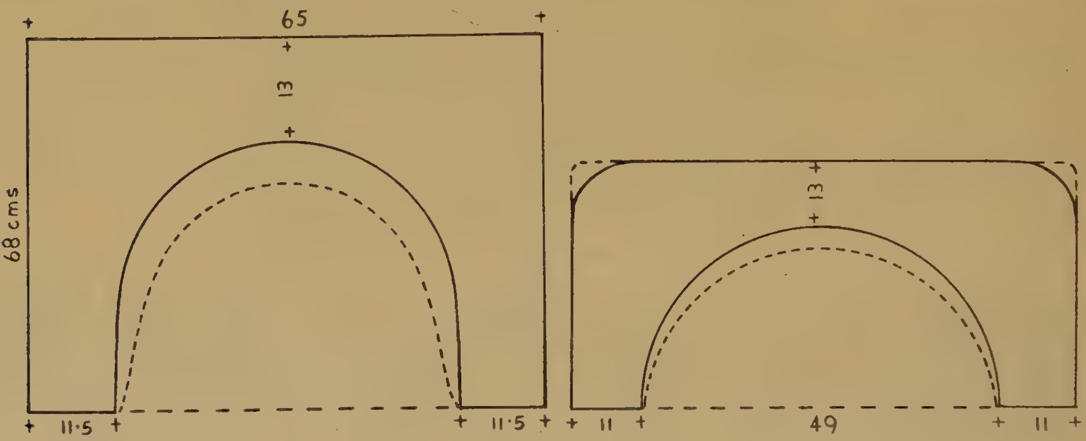
[1] Von Gerkan, *Priene*, 30, pls. V. 3, XIV. 4; Bulle 251 n. 2.

[2] Prohedria not mentioned in any account. Best plan in *Guide Bleu*, 387. Photograph Pl. 52*a*; cf. p. 154.

[3] *BSA* xxv, 1921–3, 418 f., and inscr. *ibid.* 409.

[4] *E.g.*, in the dedication at Megalopolis, p. 168 above.

(A) *Rhamnus.*[2] Four thrones were found by the excavators, of which three are still near their foundation, though not quite *in situ.* Originally there were five (probably not more), with an inscription (*IG* ii^2. 2849) running continuously, in two lines, from throne to throne. Date about 350 B.C. The foundation consists of five smooth blocks of local marble, of which the two most easterly seem to have been replaced at some date. They give a foot-space, in front of the thrones, of 30 cm. All the thrones were separate, but contiguous. The dedication, by a priest of the hero Arkhegetes, cannot have contained his father's name or his deme if there were only five thrones, owing to the lack of space. The widths of the preserved seats are 68 cm. for No. 3 and 64 cm. for the others. This makes a total for five of 3 m. 24, and as the length of the base is 4 m. 80, Bulle tries to reconstruct two further stone thrones, making seven,[3] or even two or three wooden thrones. But no further dowel or chisel holes are visible in the base, and it seems likely that there were not more than five thrones altogether. The back-rests were in one piece, but have not been preserved. The lower part is solid, and the inscriptions are carved on the front, below the seat. Lolling in *AM* 1879, 284, n. 1 notes the resemblance of these thrones to two found near the Rhamnus temples (1 km. away) and bearing fourth century dedications by Sostratos.



a *b*

FIG. 30.—IKARIA, THRONES.

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[1] Cf. Pickard-Cambridge 142.

[2] Lolling, *AM* 1879, 283; *Prakt.* 1880, 62; *AM* 1891, 364; Bulle 1; Arias 22; Vitucci, *Dioniso* vii, 215. Photograph Pl. 54*e*.

[3] Arias 22 says there were seven, but makes no comment. There was no necessity for the father's name to be included.

(B) *Ikaria.*[1] The layout and form of throne are strikingly similar to those of Rhamnus. On a base, of slightly smaller dimensions, were five thrones, carved roughly out of large blocks. There is also a sixth throne, of different shape, mentioned in *AJA* 1889, 177[2]; but it is implied there that only five thrones existed, whereas actually the five belong to the base and the sixth elsewhere. Of the five belonging to the base, four are in double blocks, with two thrones to each; the fifth, no doubt the central one, being single. The central throne is as shown in Fig. 30*a*. Height of seat, 34 cm. One of the double thrones has just twice the length (1 m. 30) of this, and the partition arm measures 23 cm. across at the top, but 25·5 cm. at seat level. The whole is carved out of one block. The other double throne[3] has the same interior measurements for the seat, but there is less width at the backs and the partition. The total length, which is here preserved, is 77 cm. Thus there were three blocks side by side, comprising five seats. The sixth seat is single, but of a different shape; for it is rounded at the back, though this changes to an almost rectangular shape at the bottom; see Fig. 30*b*. It has a seat height of 39 cm., and a total height of 98 cm., all preserved. It probably stood entirely by itself, at some distance from the central bench.

(C) *Athens. Theatre of Dionysus.*[4] The thrones round the orchestra at Athens are too well known to require detailed description. They are high-backed and clearly divided from each other, though often two or three are joined together; and the whole throne or thrones are made of a single block of Pentelic marble. There are five to each of the thirteen kerkides, except that the lateral kerkides have six. The central throne of the central kerkis belonged to the priest of Dionysus Eleuthereus, and its elaborate carving and sculpture have often been described.[5] It has holes on the passage in front, intended for an awning, and it and the others have spaces for foot-stools. In this central seat, the height from the seat to the pedestal between the lions' claws is 50 cm. Thus, allowing for a cushion 7 cm. high, we shall obtain a comfortable seat (40 cm.) by having a foot-stool 17 cm. high. All the other thrones have a seat height of 42–44 cm., with slight hollowing. The raised divisions separating one seat from another are 16 cm. wide, except in the central kerkis, where, owing to the greater size of the central throne, they are only 12 cm.

In Roman times, in order to make room for an elevated imperial box, some of the thrones were removed and placed in upper tiers. Earlier, however, the thrones were in the first row only, and numbered sixty-seven. Owing to the displacements the exact order is not quite certain.[1] A complete list of the inscriptions, which are found on the fronts below the seat level, as at Rhamnus, is given by Dörpfeld and Fiechter. These are correctly given in all cases where the two concur, and the following table gives the correct reading where they do not [2]:

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[1] *AJA* 1888, 421; 1889, 9; Bulle 4; Arias 19; Möbius, *Abh. Münch. Akad.* 1928, 4; Vitucci, *Dioniso* vii, 215. Photograph Pl. 54*f*.

[2] Measurements are there given for this, but not for the others. Those quoted below were taken on our visit.

[3] It appears in photograph Pl. 54*f*.

[4] D-R 40, etc.; Fiechter A.I. 72, etc.; Pickard-Cambridge 141. Photographs Pll. 51*a*, 54*a*, *c*, *d*; section of Prohedria and priest's throne in Figs. 31–2.

[5] See Pl. 54*a*, Fig. 32; and cf. Risom in *Mélanges Holleaux* 257.

Kerkis.	No. of Throne.	Consecutive Number.	Dörpfeld.	Fiechter.	Correct Reading.
I	2	2	Βουȝύγου	ΒΟΥΤΥΠΟΥ	See below.
IV	1	17	καὶ Εὐνομίας	ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑΣ	Dörpfeld's.
IV	3	19	Πατρώου	ΠΑΤΡΟΟΥ	,,
IV	5	21	Σωτῆρος καὶ 'Αθηνᾶς	ΔΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΕΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΕΝΑΣ	Fiechter's,[3] but Διός only once.
VII	5	35 (or 36)	Θυηχόου (no lacuna)	Lacuna before	Fiechter's, but see below.
XII	5	60 (or 61)	Παίωνος	Ι. . . . ΠΟϹ	ΠΑ. . ΟΠΟϹ

The dispute between Βουȝύγου and Βουτύπου is not of great account. The present letters are ΙΥΓ⊙, and it looks as if the correct reading had been Βουȝύγου, but that in Roman times some one, not recognising the earlier form of Z, and imagining that it was T, filled in the Γ to become a Π. In No. 5 of Kerkis VII, there is a lacuna before Θυηχόου, but in it the word ΙΕΡΕΩϹ can clearly be seen; it had been imperfectly erased, as being unnecessary. In No. 5 of Kerkis X, the top line above 'Ιεροκήρυκος has been cut out. The inscriptions in upper rows, not on thrones, are of late Roman origin.

The date of the thrones and their inscriptions is undoubtedly second or first century B.C. Dörpfeld (D-R 46) would attribute the thrones themselves to the cavea of Lykourgos in the fourth century. But this view has been shown to be untenable. Not only are the details of carving and profile late, but the passage behind the Prohedria, which Dörpfeld adduced as evidence of the unity of the cavea, can be seen quite clearly (*e.g.*, in Pl. 54*a*) to have consisted originally of an ordinary row of seats, from which the front part has been chopped off, in order to allow room behind the Prohedria. Fiechter, on the other hand, goes too far when he assumes that in the fourth century the Prohedria *must* have been situated further forward. For there are no traces of wear in suitable places in the front passage, and there would have been room for a tier behind the Prohedria, as shown in Fig. 31. We may assume, on the whole, that the thrones are an approximate imitation of fourth century thrones occupying the same place. This is borne out by the inscriptions; for while some forms are very late, others must have been copied from early forms, or from copies of them.

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[1] Rough finishing at the sides will belong to a throne not visible at the sides, *i.e.*, not next to a stairway.

[2] Only the actual words in dispute are given. See D-R 47; Fiechter A.I. 66. In Kerkis III, Nos. 1–2, consecutive Nos. 12–13, ἐκ Πείσης and δώδεκα θεῶν are in two words each.

[3] Fiechter commits a solecism by saying there is no *iota* in ΣΩΤΕΡΟΣ. The word after 'Αθηνᾶς is Σωτείρας.

IIb. *Separate Thrones.*

Whereas the last group shows an exclusively Attic tradition, the idea of separate thrones, which are first found mixed with benches (see Section III below) at Priene, is not confined to any one area. Here for the first time we find seats in the orchestra itself, first in a modified form at Priene, then in the open at Oropos. This plan was to lead, in Roman theatres, to the abolition of the orchestra as a dancing-place and its use as 'orchestra stalls' for the senators. Even in the Hellenistic age the chorus had lost much of its usefulness, and its growing unimportance made a large orchestra superfluous.

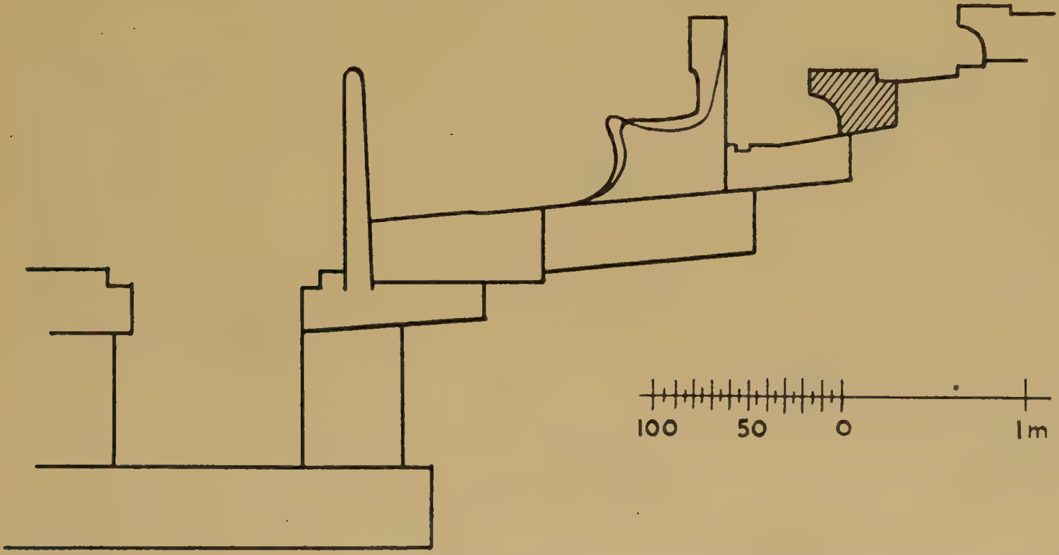

Fig. 31.—Athens, Theatre of Dionysus. Section through Prohedria etc. From Dörpfeld and Reisch, *op. cit.*, fig. 13.

(A) *Orkhomenos*, Arcadia. It is mentioned above[1] that two single thrones were found in the orchestra. Arias 83 mentions their fine ornamentation, and says that they have high backs. Total height 1 m. 05. They must have stood on each side of the bench mentioned, at the edge of the orchestra.

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[1] P. 173.

(B) *Oropos.*[1] Five finely-carved marble thrones, dating to the second century B.C., stand in a circle in the orchestra, at irregular intervals from each other. On their fronts, as at Rhamnus, they have dedicatory inscriptions. The wording on each throne is the same, and reads: ΝΙΚΩΝ ΝΙΚΩΝΟΣ ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΩΙ. Marble slabs form foot-rests, and lions' claws terminate the legs. The back-rests are hollowed out, but not the seats. On the sides are reliefs of floral scrolls, which Arias calls climbing vines. At the top, the back-rests are finished off in a pleasing curve.[2]

III. *Thrones and Benches Together.*

(A) *Priene.*[3] The present planning shows five marble thrones flanked by benches with back-rests but no arms. They are not arranged symmetrically (cf. Oropos), and are separated from the remainder of the cavea by a passage of the unusual width of 2 m. 10. The central position is occupied not by one of the thrones, but by a large altar, situated between the third and fourth thrones. The thrones have rounded backs and the usual ornamentation, and in front of each is a marble block designed as foot-rest. Von Gerkan, *Priene*, pl. XXX, observes that these foot-rests have dowel holes on their upper surface, and considers that the Prohedriae must originally have stood upon them, and thus have been in the same positions, but further forward; but the purpose of the dowel holes is far from clear. Nor is von Gerkan's theory that the altar is later than the thrones tenable. If there had been no altar in about 330 B.C., when the thrones were set up, one of the five would surely have been placed roughly in the middle of the semicircle.

(B) *Tegea.*[4] The excavations have now been covered up, as they lie 3 m. below the level of the modern village. The layout is difficult to grasp from the published accounts, but the details given will enable the arrangement to be understood easily. From west to east, we have (1) stage buildings; (2) an orchestra of rectangular shape; (3) a single throne, flanked by marble seats without back-rests but with arm-rests, the seats being rectilinear; (4) a line, also rectilinear, of marble slabs, which may have marked the earlier boundary of the orchestra; (5) another row of rectilinear marble seats, without back-rests or arm-rests, containing the inscription: ΚΥΜΒΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩΙ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΣΑΣ, belonging to the fourth or third century B.C. The difference in level between (3) and (5) is negligible, the latter being only 7 cm. higher, whereas the remainder of the cavea behind it rises with a normal inclination. Thus it is obvious that (5) was originally the first row, and that (3), as at Priene, really occupied part of the orchestra. As the orchestra had before been of a rectangular shape, (3) had to be made to fit in with this, in order to avoid considerable structural alterations. It is doubtful whether the term ' Prohedria ' should be used or not in connection with (5). The theatre requires more thorough excavation before many difficulties can be solved.

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[1] D-R 100; Fiechter, *Oropos*, 13; Arias 66. Photograph Pl. 54*b*.

[2] The throne from Delos illustrated in *Mélanges Holleaux*, 1913 (Risom), pl. XII, whence Pickard-Cambridge, figs. 42–43, is probably not from the theatre: it was found in the 'synagogue'.

[3] Von Gerkan, *Priene*: Bieber, *H.T.*, 207.

[4] Vallois, *BCH* 1926, 135, pls. V–IX; Bulle 259; Arias 97.

Summary. The evolution of the Prohedria can be traced from its primitive form, as a wooden bench occupying the front row, through its many classical forms to its Roman counterpart, a series of marble thrones in the orchestra. Its occupiers were priests (and sometimes priestesses), archons, generals, councillors, ambassadors, perhaps heads of tribes, and those to whom the honour might be granted.[1] At Athens the great majority of its occupiers were priests; while at Mycenae they were merely a benefactor and his family. When in Hellenistic days the raised Logeion became common, the Prohedria was much lower than this, and so cannot have afforded the best view. But it is wrong to think that for this reason it was abandoned at dramatic performances. The best comment is Byvanck's remark on modern boxes, in *Mnemosyne*, 1920, 144: ' Ne in hodiernis quidem theatris sedes principales sunt, ubi optime actores, sed ubi ipsi qui adsunt optime spectantur.'

NAMES OF SECTIONS AND RESERVED PLACES

If we exclude inscriptions, such as those on the thrones of the theatre of Dionysus, which merely give the names of the persons privileged to use the Prohedria, we can divide the remaining evidence into two groups. First, there are names for sections of the theatre or individual seats, indicating the spectators who occupied them; secondly, there are names only intended to guide the spectators, and not reserving special seats.[2] In some cases it is difficult to decide to which group an example belongs.

Athens. Our only fifth-century evidence comes from Aristoph. *Birds* 793–5 (cf. schol. *ad loc.*; Pollux iv. 122), and from the inscriptions quoted in the next paragraph. In the former the audience is reminded how convenient it would be to have wings; for example, if a spectator saw his lover's husband ἐν βουλευτικῷ, *i.e.*, in part of the theatre seating specially reserved, he could fly up and dash off to his lover. The allusion is explained by the scholiast, and later by Pollux, Suidas and Hesychius, who probably drew their information from this scholion. The section in question was reserved for the βουλευταί, or members of the Council of 500, and was commonly known as βουλευτικὸς τόπος or βουλευτικόν. There was a similar τόπος for the ephebes. It should be observed that τόπος is a vague word, and no doubt refers to something larger than a single row in a kerkis, but smaller than a whole kerkis; moreover, it is not a Prohedria, as these were reserved at Athens for priests and important officials. The reserved seats for councillors and ephebes would in all probability be situated just behind, in some of the kerkides. The would-be adulterer in the *Birds* would be sitting higher than this, and so could fly upwards (οὗτος ἂν . . . πτερυγίσας ἀνέπτατο) without danger of observation.

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[1] There is no evidence of payment having been exacted for the Prohedria.

[2] Plaques such as that illustrated in Haigh² 372 fig. 33, bearing the words ΚΡΟΝΟϹ ΧΙΙΙ ΙΓ, have no connection with the theatre, and were shown by Rostovzeff, *Rev. Arch.* 1905, i. 110 to be pieces from a game; cf. Daremberg-Saglio s.v. *Tessera*, fig. 6818.

The reading of the Athens inscription *IG* i^{2}. 879 is ΒΟΛΗΣ ΥΠΗΡΕΤΟΝ, *i.e.*, βουλῆς ὑπηρετῶν, a complete notice in itself.[1] It designates the place occupied by the attendants of the Council, but had been re-used at the west corner of the analemma at the theatre of Dionysus. *IG* i^{2}. 880, which is misquoted by Allen 25 and Pickard-Cambridge 20 as ΚΕΡΥΟΝ, was found outside the theatre, but probably belongs to it. The fragmentary letter before ΚΕΡΥΚΟΝ is more likely to have been ς (sigma) than Ο; thus we should have τόπο]ς κηρύκων.[2] A third inscription, discovered by Bulle,[3] reads . . . ετῶν, and may have contained exactly the same text as the first. Bulle,[4] observing that it is 65 cm. (2 Greek ft.) high, declares that it cannot have come from the cavea, and assigns it to the parodos wall. Such a theory is quite untenable. Does he mean that the attendants had to stand in the parodoi throughout the performances? Surely the height of the block is of no concern. Bulle shows that only the top half of the . . . ετῶν inscription was polished, whereas the bottom shows traces of having been set in the earth. If these blocks had been placed in the cavea, only a height of 33 cm. would have shown above the level of other stones, and they would themselves have served as the seats of the attendants. The vertical slits (Bulle pl. 6. 8) on the fronts, distant from each other by just over 50 cm., may have served to measure out the seating space.

It may be argued that the rectilinear nature of these blocks precludes any idea of their use in the cavea. But their date is about 425–404 B.C., when the stone cavea, as at present constituted, probably did not exist.[5] If these are blocks from an earlier cavea, they prove (*a*) that this earlier cavea was not entirely of wood, even if mostly so, (*b*) that it was constructed on a partly rectilinear or polygonal framework. It cannot have been very homogeneous; for example, the inscription [1] discovered by Bulle with the letters ΙΕΡΕ . . . belonged to a stone base for a probably wooden Prohedria. There is no indication in these inscriptions of a complete stone auditorium prior to 404 B.C., as was once assumed from *IG* i^2. 879 alone.[2]

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[1] The larger letters Ο and Χ are naturally later, and have nothing to do with the text. Cf. D-R 38, fig. 11, whence Pickard-Cambridge 20, fig. 8. This and the other inscribed blocks mentioned below are in light poros.

[2] Cf. [Ἀρχιθε]ώρου τόπος, at Delphi (E. Bourguet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii. 1. 83) and the Melos inscriptions quoted p. 183 below.

[3] 60, pl. 6. 8; Fiechter A. III. 72, fig. 44.

[4] 60, 68.

[5] See p. 150 above. For date cf. Pickard-Cambridge 20.

Melos. The four fragmentary inscriptions,[3] (*a*) ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚ[ΩΝ ΤΟΠΟΣ] (*b*) . . . ΟΔΩΝ ΤΟΠ[ΟΣ], (*c*) [Τ]ΟΠΟΣ ΥΜΝ[ΩΙΔΩΝ] (*d*) . . . ΩΝ ΤΟΠΟΣ, found by Lenormant in the 'small theatre' [4] at Melos, have been overlooked by subsequent writers on the theatre. The correctness of his interpretation of them is beyond question. For the word τόπος cf. p. 182 above. The ephebes have here been replaced by νεάνισκοι, younger boys. Ὑμνῳδοί were common in the Hellenistic theatre. The reading in the lacuna in (*b*) is doubtful; but we should perhaps read ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΩΝ in (*d*), as councillors were specially favoured throughout Greece. In *IG* xii. 3. 1243 Lenormant's inscriptions are rearranged so as to put τόπος first in each case, and to run them all consecutively without a break. To do this is to place all the τόποι very close together,[5] which is unlikely; so that Lenormant's divisions seem preferable.

Megalopolis.[6] The nine Prohedria benches have inscriptions on their back-rests: (*a*) dedicatory [7]; (*b*) names of Arcadian tribes, (i) on the backs, dating to third and second century B.C., (ii) on the fronts, first century B.C. or A.D.[8] During the interval the tribes have changed considerably. There are five instead of six, and the Paniates and Apolloniates—the latter in a different kerkis—are the only survivors from the previous list. It appears that for some time—perhaps a century—after the construction of the cavea there was no stage building or facility for storing scenery. During this time the tribes were probably content to sit where they could find room in order to watch the games and performances of various kinds which took place here. But when the θέατρον came to be used for dramatic representations, more need was felt for giving the tribes a wedge of seats each and engraving their names on the Prohedria benches. As Antiokhos, the donor, had already inscribed his dedication upon the fronts of the back-rests of Nos. 1, 5 and 9, it was thought best to place the tribal names on the backs. Later, when a new allotment had to be made, the fronts were naturally freer for inscriptions.

Ephesos.[9] A number of inscriptions were found on the back of the dedication by M. Vibius Salutaris and elsewhere. As they were replaced, their original positions are not certain, but Heberdey arranges them as follows: in centre, βουλῆς; to right, γερουσίας; to left, ἐφήβων; the three next kerkides on each side, six pre-Roman tribes; in the two lateral kerkides, perhaps, χρυσοφοροῦντες ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱερονεῖκαι and παῖδες (unless these two are later additions). Inscriptions of the Roman period include new tribes, officers and συνέδρια. As Heberdey remarks,[1] while the tribes may have occupied the whole of the kerkides which bore their names, the other categories cannot have. The inscriptions may have served also as names for the actual kerkides; but Rizzo [2] is hardly correct in saying that their only use was to name the kerkides after civil and religious institutions.

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[1] Lehmann-Hartleben in Bulle 61. See p. 165 above.

[2] By Puchstein, *Die griechische Bühne*, 138; Müller 35; Furtwängler in *SB Akad. München*, 1901, 411. It is stated by Allen 26 that the relation of *IG* i. 879, 880 to a stone auditorium is 'still problematic'.

[3] *IG* xii. 3. 1243; *Ann. Inst.* i, 1829, 344.

[4] Or odeum.

[5] Because it necessitates placing the inscriptions so as to be continuous as regards the lettering.

[6] Gardner and others, *Megalopolis*, chs. IV (Gardner and Loring) and VII (Richards).

[7] See p. 168 above.

[8] Full list in Gardner and others *l.c.* It seems likely that each reservation extends not only to the Prohedria, but to the whole kerkis, or at least up to the lower diazoma.

[9] Heberdey, *Ephesos* ii, 185, 202.

Syracuse. It has, on the other hand, been asserted [3] that the rock-cut names at Syracuse were intended to show the actual seats of the persons named; *e.g.*, Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου would be that of the priest of Zeus. This is absolutely out of the question. The inscriptions are situated at the diazoma, not at the bottom of the cavea; and the kings and their wives—Gelon (to be restored in Kerkis I), Nereis, Philistis, Hieron—are all in separate kerkides! We have corroboration from Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 83) that, at least in Roman times, cunei could be named after families or distinguished men, while the seats in the cunei so named were intended for equites.[4] Normally such names must have been placed in the bottom rows; but at Syracuse it was found more convenient to put them on the wall of rock forming the diazoma. After a short time the people would remember the name of each kerkis, and any tickets distributed would bear these names instead of numbers.[5]

Delphi.[6] The inscriptions on seats are all of Roman date, but those in Kerkis 2, rows twenty and twenty-one, read Βουλᾶ[ς] . . ., and that in Kerkis 6, row thirteen, reads Ἀμφικτυόνων . . . These seem too far back in the cavea, however, to denote councillors' seats.

Taormina. Inscriptions from the theatre reading ΙΕΡΕΙΑΝ, ΦΙΛΙΣΤΟΥΣ ΔΒ etc., are recorded and commented upon in *IG* xiv. 437.

Mantineia. A further example is almost certainly to be deduced from the inscription ΜΕΘ found during the excavation of the theatre at Mantineia. This is on the front of a seat, found out of place, but no doubt belonging to the first row, with the letters ΜΕ forming a monogram. Fougères [7] interprets this as Μεθυδριέων, and suggests that it denoted a section reserved for the inhabitants of Methydrion, a town 12 miles west of Mantineia.

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[1] *Op. cit.* ii, 203.

[2] 49.

[3] Lenormant, *Ann. Inst.* i, 344. Full list of inscriptions in Rizzo 46–8.

[4] At Orange, for example, the senators occupied the orchestra, and the first three rows of the cavea were for equites, with the inscription on first row EQ. G. III.

[5] An alternative explanation is that a second series of names, on marble blocks, was placed at the orchestra edge, and was removed during the Roman reconstruction of the first twelve rows.

[6] N. Valmin, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III. vi, 2–3.

[7] *Mantinée et l'Arcadie Orientale*, 169. For an inscription from Corinth see p. 273 below.

Square and Rectangular Enclosures

If we neglect such theatre caveas as had rectilinear seating, we find a certain number in which circular seating is combined with a completely rectangular analemma. This plan, tantamount to ‘ fitting a round peg into a square hole ’, is rather a late development. It has been thought that such an arrangement must have owed its origin to the plan commonly executed in the odeum, and found in such buildings as the ‘ smaller theatre ’ at Pompeii (in reality an odeum). But this is a mistaken view. The Greek odeum [1] was essentially an enclosed, roofed building, whereas the Greek theatre cavea was never covered even by an awning.[2] As, however, the odeum also had a stage (*e.g.*, the Proagon, or rehearsal for selection of tragedies, took place in the Odeum of Pericles), it could not be based on the ground plan of a complete circle [3]; and since the combination of a semicircle and a rectangle provided too many structural problems for a completely roofed building, the square shape was universally adopted for roofed buildings of this type, as far as we know, until Roman times. Inside this square, the seating could be rectilinear or, later, semicircular in plan. In order to contrast the origin and development of the odeum with that of the theatre, it can be summarised at this point.

The odeum. The earliest odeum preserved is that of Pericles [4] at Athens. It lies immediately to the east of the theatre of Dionysus, whose eastern wall it touches throughout. There are many literary references to it, and we know that it was built under Pericles in *c.* 443 B.C. Before its excavation in 1912, it was generally supposed that this odeum was circular in shape, while its site was not known.[5] In reality it is square, and we are given a good picture of what its exterior resembled by a coin,[6] which makes it look like a temple with a somewhat peculiar high roof, as suggested in Plut. *Pericl.* 13.

The best plan of the Odeum of Pericles is that of Kastriotis in *Eph. Arch.* 1922–3, fig. 1. In this plan some of the numerous pillar (or column) bases are shown; it is clear that they were in parallel, not in convergent lines. The square from the wall *b* to *a*, together with *f*, and the wall to the east, undoubtedly give us the original plan. Later a section to the north was added, giving more seats on higher ground.[1] The spectators' view must have been considerably hampered by the forest of pillars in front. The chief entrance was from the east parodos of the theatre of Dionysus, probably north of the wall *b*, though Dörpfeld's sketch in *Eph. Arch.* 1922–3, 29, fig. 4, shows the latter as the entrance itself. No stone seats *in situ* are preserved, but several thrones, with finely carved owls on them, were found in the enclosure. These may have been the only stone seats, but both they and the wooden rows behind them must have been rectilinear and not circular.

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[1] This does not necessarily apply to the Roman odeum; nor is the shape of the cavea, in the later odeum, always square. In the Odeum of Herodes at Athens and in that of Corinth there is a large cavea, probably unroofed (cf. Broneer, *Corinth* x, 144; Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* ii, 1. 5 must refer to the stage buildings only) and semicircular.

[2] An interesting result of this was that the Greeks had no word for a ‘ large awning ’. A late inscription from Aphrodisias, Caria, has to employ the Latin word ‘velum ’ in the form βῆλον. Σκιάς, however, might have been used; though at Sparta it referred to a roofed circular building (Paus. iii, 12. 10; Etym. Magn. *s.v.*), also called an ᾠδεῖον.

[3] But see end of previous note.

[4] P. Castrioti, *EA* 1922–3, 25; *Prakt.* 1927, 23; 1929, 29; A. K. Orlandos, *Prakt.* 1932, 27; J. T. Allen, *Univ. of California Publ. in Class. Arch.* i. 7 (1941), 173; Anti 175; Pl. 51*b*.

[5] Bieber, *Theaterwesen*, 75; Haigh 175. Bieber takes the coin referred to below as proving its roundness, but the design could equally well apply to a rectangular building.

[6] Bieber, *Theaterwesen*, fig. 79.

What was the origin of this manner of building? The only earlier plan which resembles the Odeum of Pericles is the pre-Periclean Telesterion at Eleusis, occupying one quarter of the same site as the later hall. Architects were not then accustomed to designing large enclosed halls, and took their ideas from the largest existing buildings, *i.e.*, Doric temples. Internal columns were a regular feature of the sixth-century temple, and were very necessary in a large edifice of this kind in order to support the roof. In the fourth century we have the enormous Thersilion at Megalopolis, with columns in convergent rows, and the later Telesterion at Eleusis.

Unfortunately details of the subsequent development of the odeum are incomplete. We hear of several Greek ones from literary sources, but have no idea of their design. The odeum re-emerges in Roman times. Examples are: Epidauros,[2] Athens (Odeum of Herodes), Melos, Patrai, Gortyn, Knidos, Ephesos, Corinth, Pompeii and many other Roman towns. The seating is always circular, but the building is square only if it had a roof[3] over the cavea (*e.g.*, Epidauros, Pompeii, etc.); otherwise it is similar in design to the Hellenistic or Roman theatre. This late similarity between the theatre and the odeum is merely a borrowing from the theatre cavea. None of these examples can be definitely attributed to a date earlier than the first century B.C., and they are certainly due to Roman influence.

Geographical Limitations. The chief reason for making the side and rear analemmata of theatres straight instead of circular was some local difficulty, whether on account of natural topographical restrictions or of deliberate town-planning. The principal aspects of Greek town-planning, as it affected theatres, are discussed above, p. 138.

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[1] The effect of this was to abbreviate the adjacent section of the theatre cavea.

[2] *AA* 1900, 104. Most of the buildings mentioned above are described in the *Guide Bleu*, and detailed references are unnecessary.

[3] Usually ὄροφος, ὀροφή, but πέτασος τοῦ θεάτρου in *CIG* ii. 3422 (Philadelphia, Lydia).

(A) *Athens, Theatre of Dionysus.* While the west analemma and the north wall of rock are slightly curved, though by no means circular, the east analemma follows a zig-zag course of straight lines. It is obviously dictated by the severe limitations imposed upon the east side of the cavea by the Odeum of Pericles, including the portion added to the north of the latter, and must therefore belong to a date considerably later than 443 B.C. The theatre of Dionysus is not a true example of straight lines in enclosures, but rather of considerable irregularity.

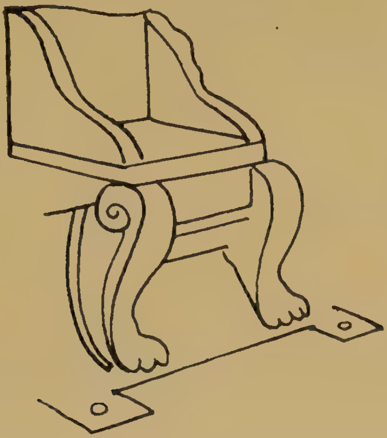

FIG. 32.—ATHENS, THEATRE OF DIONYSUS. PRIEST'S THRONE.

After Dörpfeld and Reisch, *op. cit.*, fig. 14.

(B) *Aigeira.*[1] The cavea is bounded at sides and rear by the edge of the rocky eminence on which it is situated. As this is triangular in shape, with the apex at the rear centre, the circular rows of seats have to conform to this outline. On the edge of the eminence is a low analemma, now in ruins, of triangular shape.

(C) *Priene.*[2] The theatre, planned between 350 and 300 B.C., had to conform to the rectangles which were part of Priene's famous town-planning system. It seems not to have been constructed earlier than the rest of the town, as the stage buildings are adjacent to, and in line with, one of the many parallel streets. The whole theatre occupies an area equal to one and a half of these rectangles. Fig. 33, which shows the layout, is taken from von Gerkan, *Griechische Städteanlagen*, fig. 9, with additions from Wiegand's plan.

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[1] See p. 163, n. 5.

[2] Von Gerkan, *Priene*, pl. II; id., *G.S.*, fig. 9; Haverfield figs. 6–8.

The theatre is not led up to by any imposing thoroughfare, nor is it placed symmetrically between the streets.

(D) *Thera.*[1] The Priene method has to be adopted once again. The town of Thera, built on high and irregular rocky ground, is nevertheless most symmetrically planned [2]; and while at Priene only an approximate rectangle is obtained, at Thera the cavea seats are confined within a more exact square, which is relatively small in area. This results in the majority of the rows being cut off, and provides only a very restricted auditorium, although doubtless sufficient for the population of the island. The date of these walls may be about 250 B.C., and the plan is perhaps chiefly inspired by that of Delos. But in its rectangular enclosure it must be compared not only with Priene, but with the small theatre at New Pleuron in Aetolia.

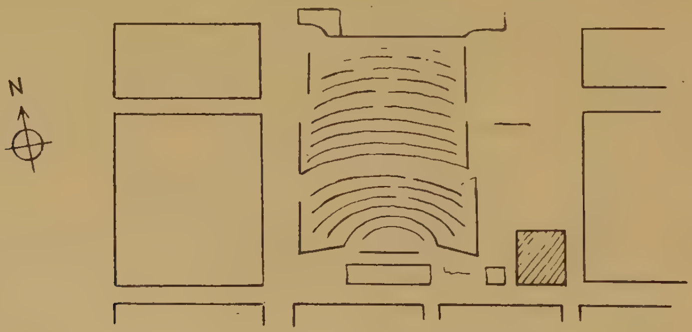

FIG. 33.—PRIENE, THEATRE.

(E) *New Pleuron.*[3] The peculiarity of this theatre is its combination with the town wall.[4] The back centre of the stage buildings is occupied by a tower in this wall (see Fig. 34*a*). The best illustration of the little excavated and poorly preserved cavea is in *AM* 1898, pl. XII. The side analemmata are quite straight, and meet the parodos walls at right angles. As the rear analemma appears to be curved in the small section excavated, it has been marked as circular in the plan. This is quite possible, as the rows of seats were circular; but it, too, may have been straight, forming a complete rectangle as at Thera. The existence of small cubical parascenia, parallel to the parodoi, is of interest, as exactly the same plan occurs at Thera. It is an unusual design, not found elsewhere except at Babylon.[5] The date of Pleuron must be prior to the building of the town wall in about 240 B.C.; and 250 B.C.

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[1] See p. 172 above, n. 2. Anti 114 ff. may be right in thinking that the walls under the lateral kerkides belong to an earlier rectilinear cavea.

[2] See p. 139 above.

[3] Fig. 34*a*, *b*; cf. Fiechter, *Oiniadai*, 23.

[4] Cf. p. 139 above for theatres combined with town walls.

[5] Bulle 246; Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon*, 300. A slight parallel is Delphi, where the straight temenos wall is used as the side analemma of the theatre.

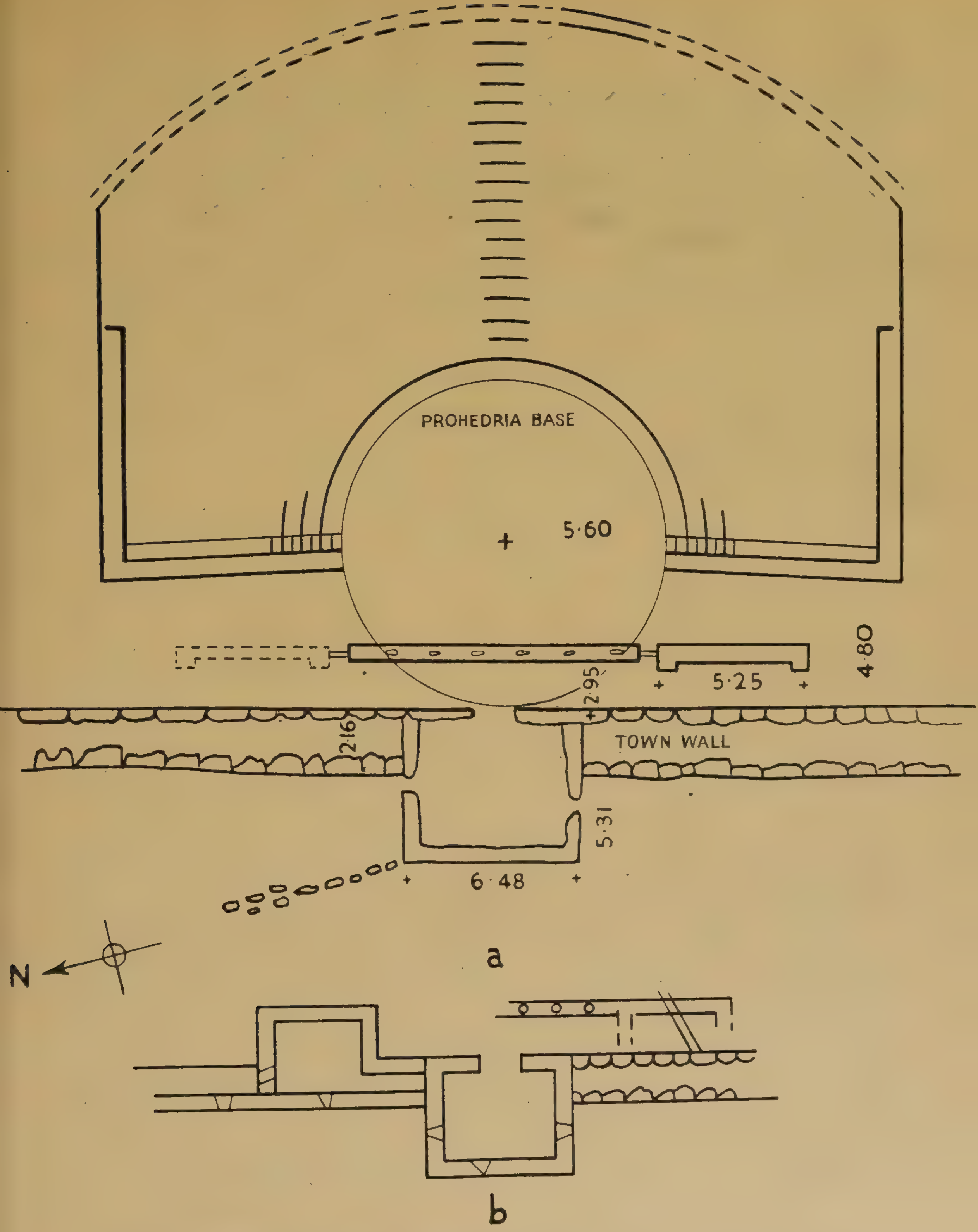
PROHEDRIA BASE
5·60
4·80
5·25
2·95
2·16
TOWN WALL
5·31
6·48
N
a
b

Fig. 34.—(*a*) New Pleuron. Theatre and Town Walls. (*b*) The Same (excluding Cavea).

(*a*) From *AM* 1898, pl. 12. (*b*) From H. Wirsing's drawing in Bulle 244.

can be given as the approximate date of the stone cavea at Thera. It may therefore be suggested that the same architect was responsible for both. If this is so, we have an indication that, at least in the third century, theatre designing was a specialised profession, and that even small islands and unimportant outposts employed well-known architects from such a centre as Athens.

(F) *Aipion* (*S.W. Arcadia*).[1] Like Pleuron, and the theatres mentioned on p. 139 above, Aipion has its theatre built into the town walls. In Leake's sketch of Aipion [2] cross-walls are visible, and it seems that here, as at Thera, the village theatre was confined to a small rectangle.

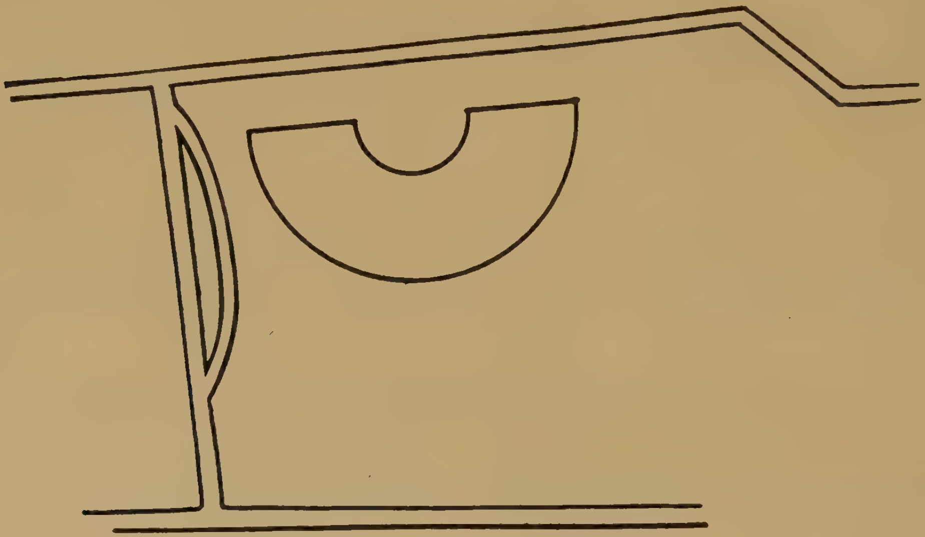

FIG. 35.—AIPION (TYPANEAE). THEATRE AND ACROPOLIS WALLS.
From Leake, *Travels in the Morea* ii. 83.

Summary. Thus requirements of topography are responsible for every known case of this occurrence. At Aigeira an outcrop of rock imposes a triangular shape. At Aipion there is so little room on the small acropolis that the narrow space between the two sides of the town wall had to be economised as much as possible. In the theatre of Dionysus at Athens the presence of the odeum to the east of the cavea necessitated the walls following the rectilinear and angular contour of the odeum. At Pleuron and Thera there seems less claim to necessity. It can only be supposed that town-planning [3] of the kind typified by the layout of Priene was responsible for the abandonment, in these cases, of the semicircular analemma as incongruous with the rectangular system.

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[1] Called Typaneae in Leake, *Morea* ii, 83; cf. *Guide Bleu*, 365.

[2] Reproduced in Fig. 35.

[3] See p. 138.

It is important not to confuse this straight line planning with the irregularity found in local Attic theatres.[1] The latter owe their peculiar shape, especially at Thorikos, to haphazard expansion and lack of architects; while in the case of Thera, Pleuron, Athens and other theatres with square analemmata, every detail seems to have been most carefully thought out. It is true that many of the measurements are inexact, but this may be blamed upon the differences in size and quality of material, which were matters beyond the control of the architect.

Roman Alterations

As the Roman cavea is outside the scope of this article, little need be said concerning Roman alterations. The methods used are, however, of interest so that we can see the original Greek planning, in cases where it has been much disturbed.

All the theatres in Sicily except Akrai, and most of the theatres in Asia Minor, have been subjected to alterations under Roman influence. More often than not the cavea is altered as well as the stage buildings. In Greece proper, the following theatres have had their caveas romanised either partly or almost completely: Athens, Sparta, Delphi, Corinth, Argos (only a choregic monument in the centre) and Gythion. These were all towns of importance during the Roman Empire: Delphi was still a great religious centre, Gythion a large port. Purely Roman theatres are found in Crete, Epirus and Asia Minor.

Details. In many cases the stage buildings were enlarged in front by a wide *pulpitum*, such as the *bema* of Phaidros at Athens. This resulted in blocking up the parodos entrances, and so necessitated either the cutting away of a section of the cavea, as at Syracuse, or the addition of steps up and down, as at Athens. The parodos walls were often placed further back and in a straight line with each other, confining the cavea to 180°, as in Roman theatres. This has been done at Sparta,[2] Ephesos, Segesta and elsewhere. The lateral kerkides are either finished off tidily or left ‘ hanging in the air ’. At Segesta the ends of the circular analemma, by the parodos walls, were made rectilinear in Roman times by a replacement in whiter marble.[3] Bieber, *Theaterwesen*, fig. 41 (*H.T.*, fig. 486) purports to give a sectional drawing of Ephesos in the Roman period; but the mistake has been made of extending the cavea far beyond the 180° which it then occupied. The object of this restriction was twofold: (1) to provide more room for the stage buildings on the wings, (2) to prevent any of the spectators facing slightly away from the stage, for no drama now took place in the orchestra.

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[1] Thorikos, Rhamnus, Ikaria.

[2] See *BSA* xxvi, 1923–5, pls. XIV, XV.

[3] See Fig. 29*a*.

The orchestra was treated in one of several ways, since it no longer served its original purpose. Sometimes it was converted into a special Prohedria for senators, with separate marble thrones. There are no remains indicating this procedure in Greece, but as the thrones were placed loose in the orchestra they were very liable to disappear. Alternatively, it could become a *konistra* for gladiatorial fights and other shows. This necessitated either the complete removal of the lower seats, and the building of a high wall to separate the spectators from the contestants, as at Corinth,[1] or the erection of screens or balustrades, as at Athens.[2] Often, however, the original arrangement was kept.

The Prohedria was either, in the normal course, left as it was, or removed together with the rows behind it. At Priene it was supplemented by an additional Prohedria in the fifth row (cf. p. 175). At Athens part of it was removed to higher rows to make room for the pedestal forming an ‘ imperial box ’. At Argos the Prohedria benches were interrupted in the middle by the insertion of a choregic column. The ordinary seating was not normally disturbed; but at Syracuse the rock-cut seats of the first twelve rows were replaced by marble seating in Roman times, and at Corinth the inclination of the cavea was raised.[3] Sometimes the cavea was crowned by a colonnade, and arches gave communication into the lower rows and the diazomata.

In spite of all these changes, there are two features which may enable us to distinguish a cavea of Greek origin, however thoroughly it may have been converted, from a new Roman cavea. In the first place, the Romans never, with one or two exceptions,[4] erected their theatres in such a way as to use the slope of the hill. They erected them as independent buildings on fairly level ground, with the help of elaborate substructures. Secondly, in the Roman type of seating there is no division between seat and foot-rest, and generally no projecting fillet. When, however, the Romans found a Greek theatre already in existence, they often preferred to alter it rather than to construct a new one.

O. A. W. Dilke.

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[1] See p. 145, Fig. 8.

[2] The screen at Athens (see Pl. 51*a*) is second century A.D.; cf. Pickard-Cambridge 258.

[3] Stillwell, *AJA* 1929, 94 ff., fig. 8.

[4] See p. 132, n. 4. Some of the theatres in Asia Minor, thought to be Roman, may well be adapted Greek buildings.

LOSSES AND SURVIVALS IN THE DODECANESE

(PLATES 55–59)

This article has been written as a supplement to the Stationery Office booklet *Works of Art in Greece, the Greek Islands and the Dodecanese*, issued by the British Committee on the Preservation and Restitution of Works of Art, Archives and other Material in Enemy Hands. The survey of the antiquities in the Dodecanese was only commenced in September 1945 and was still in progress when the booklet went to press, with the result that only the information obtained in the early stages of the survey was included. This article records the position at the end of May 1946.

The islands covered here are Rhodes, Kos, Leros and Patmos, and it will be seen that although damage was seldom heavy, deterioration and minor damage were fairly widespread, mainly among the medieval monuments, and have left the antiquities in urgent need of restoration and repair. Owing to the uncertainties of sea-travel, and the prior demands of work on Rhodes and Kos, it proved impossible to visit any but the four main islands. It is, however, unlikely that the few and scattered antiquities elsewhere have suffered anything worse than the deterioration inevitable during the war years.

The antiquities will be listed by islands, and any references to the above mentioned booklet will be quoted as *Greece*. The illustrations are from my own photographs, except Plates 55 *a*, 56 *c*, which were obtained from the Archaeological Institute at Rhodes, and the article itself is condensed from my reports, which the War Office has kindly permitted to be reproduced.

RHODES.

(1) *The City of Rhodes.*

On Mt. Smith (Monte Stefano)—the ancient acropolis of the city—the palaestra, restored odeon and stadium are all intact. One, or possibly two, bombs damaged the exposed rock-hewn foundations of the temple of Delian Apollo (Pl. 59 *a*), excavated by Laurenzi in 1937 and not yet published.

On the circuit of the medieval walls,[1] a further section of the vaulted passage at the Coschino Gate (*Greece* p. 55, no. 4) slipped out of position at the beginning of 1946, and the whole passage, which is very badly constructed, was shored up in March 1946. On the eastern side of the circuit, at the Marine Gate,[1] a small section of the machicolations, which had been damaged by the bombardments, collapsed in December 1945.

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[1] For the medieval monuments of Rhodes see especially the following: F. de Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, 1908; A. Gabriel, *La Cité de Rhodes*, 2 vols., 1921; G. Gerola, 'I Monumenti Medioevale delle Tredici Sporadi,' Part I, in *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene*, i (1914).

Various damaged monuments in the Walled City, listed, but not illustrated in the booklet, are shown here. The St. Catherine Gate (*Greece* p. 55, no. 5) received a direct hit from a shell on the external half of the northern tower, and the upper section was destroyed (Pl. 55 *b*). The shock of the explosion also opened a crack which extends from the turret of the staircase diagonally down the internal half of the tower nearly to ground level. At the same time, the masonry at the top of the internal southern tower was shaken and displaced. The external appearance of the gate before the war is shown in Pl. 55 *a*. The gate is in a dangerous condition, and is liable to collapse unless repairs are soon carried out.

The Lodge of France (Pl. 56 *c* and *Greece* p. 60) has been examined by an architect and reported to be leaning considerably and in danger of falling.

The ruins of the Byzantine church Demirli Djami[2] have now been cleared (Pl. 56 *a* and *Greece* p. 59). A section of the south-western aisle still remains, while the Bema and Diakonikon survive to a height of about 10 feet, the Diakonikon window being intact. When the Bema was cleared, some unsuspected wall-paintings, hitherto hidden by a layer of Turkish plaster, were revealed. They represent saints or fathers of the church, and are in a poor state of preservation. Most of the Gothic groined porch at the west end[3] was also destroyed (Pl. 56 *a*). The Turkish minaret on examination was found to be unsafe, and has been demolished.

The Piossasco chapel (*Greece* p. 60), illustrated in Pl. 56 *b*,[4] remains standing only because of the reinforcements built into it when it was re-erected.

The ruins of the Refectory in the Museum (*Greece* p. 56) are shown in Pl. 57 *a* and *b*.[5] The debris has since been cleared. Its reconstruction is a matter of some urgency, as at present rain is seeping through the exposed floor into the rooms beneath.

The Lodge of Yeni Cheri Djami (*Greece* p. 60, and photograph p. 52) has since been demolished. Architectural plans and elevations were made of the building before it was finally destroyed.

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[1] Gerola, *loc. cit.*, fig. 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, fig. 54; Belabre *loc. cit.*, 154–5; Gabriel, *loc. cit.* ii, 185 ff., pl. XXXIII (1).

[3] Gabriel, *loc. cit.* ii, 187 and fig. 133.

[4] *Ibid.*, 176, figs. 121 and 122, under the name of St. Demetrius.

[5] Plate 57 *a* shows mainly the damaged room adjoining the Refectory, though the remains of the chimney can be seen in the bottom left-hand corner, and the base of the single octagonal column to the right. Compare the photograph of the Refectory when intact in *Clara Rhodos* i, fig. 112.

Rhodes Museum.

The Laconian cup taken from the Heraion at Samos and later seen in Rhodes (*Greece* p. 27) was found in the museum here. It was said to have been taken from the Heraion by an Italian officer, and later to have been broken. The officer then brought it to Rhodes and left it in the museum for repairs, which were subsequently carried out. It is published in *AA* 1937, 207–8, fig. 3, but one or two pieces were lost in the recent breakage.

(2) *Sites in the Island.*

Asguro. The church of St. John the Baptist,[1] transformed by the Turks into a mosque and now disused, is intact.

Asklipio. The partially restored medieval castle [2] is undamaged.

Castello. The unidentified castle of the Knights,[3] 2 miles north-west of the village, was used by the Germans as a look-out post. They built a flagstaff and a wooden observation hut on the top of the seaward tower, while in the courtyard on the landward side two living huts, one wooden, one stone, were erected, and the foundations laid for another. The main entrance was blocked up with pieces of stone, and a small entrance was knocked into the side of the Del Carretto tower on the east. Most of the embrasures were blocked up with stones. The flagstaff and observation hut have since been demolished.

The roof of the chapel in the north-eastern corner had collapsed, but this seemed to be older damage, and may have occurred before the war.

Fileremo. The restored medieval convent and castle of Fileremo (*Greece* p. 61) are illustrated here, to show the damage done to the church (Pl. 57 *e*) and the living quarters (Pl. 57 *d*).

The small underground chapel with its almost obliterated fifteenth-century frescoes [4] was used for storing military equipment during the war, and when visited was filled with petrol cans, telephone wire, etc. It has now been emptied and cleaned.

Part of the head of the sphinx (*Greece loc. cit.*) was found later, but several pieces are still missing. It is published in *Clara Rhodos* i, 93 and fig. 75.

Fundukli. The small quatrefoil Byzantine church of St. Nicholas is intact, though the wooden railings which enclosed the area before the war have now disappeared. It contains restored sixteenth-century wall paintings.

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[1] Gerola, *loc. cit.*, fig. 96.

[2] *Ibid.*, fig. 120 (before restoration).

[3] *Ibid.*, figs. 101–3.

[4] See G. Schlumberger, 'Fresques de Philérémos' in *Mon. Piot* xix, 1911; Gerola, *loc. cit.*, 326–7; H. Balducci, *Il Santuario di Nostra Signora di Tutte le Grazie sul Fileremo presso Rodi* (Pavia, 1931), fig. 4 and p. 12.

Lindos. The so-called 'Tomb of Cleobulus',[1] on the headland forming the northern arm of Lindos bay, is undamaged, though in a very untidy condition owing to its use as a pen for goats.

Monolithos. The fifteenth-century castle at Monolithos is in a badly dilapidated condition, and a large crack was observed in the vaulted chamber next to the chapel. It was not used by the Germans.

Mount Atabyron. The remains of the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios[2] on the summit of the mountain are reported to be intact.

Thari. At the deserted monastery of Thari, the Byzantine church is in a fairly good state of preservation, but many of the sixteenth-century paintings are beginning to crumble from damp, and are in urgent need of attention. A large piece of plaster has fallen from the dome, exposing the stonework of its construction, and some deterioration was also noticed at the west end.

The monastic buildings have been in ruins for many years.

Kos.[3]

City of Kos.

The fate of the antiquities stored in the castle is dealt with in the Greek booklet, and little can be added. Some semblance of order has now been brought to the scattered marbles which were displayed in the moat and on the terraces before the war, but nearly all the objects stored away have vanished completely. According to local reports, a number of statuettes from the fifth storechamber were in the possession of a Dr. Bernhard Hensel from Königsberg.

As regards the fabric of the castle, all the towers were used as gun emplacements and several guns of varying calibres are still in position.

On the north-western tower of the inner fortification, which bears the arms of Carmadino,[4] the Germans built an A.A. post and two small shelters, while, in order to improve the field of fire, they dismantled the top two courses on the northern side, and threw the stones into the moat. The battlement wall at the entrance to this tower was also damaged.

The 'Milly' tower on the south-west of the inner circuit,[5] which still retains the roof added by the Turks, had a look-out post, constructed of broken pieces of classical marbles, built on top of it (Pl. 58 *a*).

The bastion known as the Baldo del Carretto[6] was used as an A.A. emplacement, and a gun is still in position there. The top course of the tower was dismantled and used to build a platform for the gun.

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[1] *Clara Rhodos* i, fig. 102.

[2] *Ibid.*, 88–91.

[3] The bibliography of Kos is considerable. See generally, for the classical period, *Memorie* i, published by the Instituto Storico-Archeologico di Rodi, 1933; and for the medieval, Gerola, 'I Monumenti Medioevale delle Tredici Sporadi' Part II, in *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene* ii (1916).

[4] Gerola, *loc. cit.*, fig. 33.

[5] *Ibid.*, fig. 29.

[6] *Ibid.*, fig. 34.

In the northern corner of the castle, several small buildings were erected, and the wall was pierced in one place to make a window. The merlons of the northern tower were destroyed to allow full depression to the gun which is still in position.

During a naval bombardment in 1941, the castle was hit by five shells, one of which destroyed an inscription and broke a classical column.

Classical City. The large area of excavations on the site of the medieval city (Pl. 58 *b*) remains intact, but the small medieval church of St. George, which was shored up internally early in the war, collapsed last year after the theft of the scaffolding.

The Turkish 'Mosque of the Loggia', built almost entirely of classical marbles, was hit by a shell, and is now closed. Damage, however, is slight.

The Forum Gate—the medieval entrance to the Città Murata—was damaged by a large German lorry which attempted to pass through. One of the two wooden doors was torn off and has since disappeared. The stone lintel and one console were also detached, but are preserved nearby.

Restored Roman House. The large Roman house near the Odeon was used as a Red Cross storehouse during the war, and suffered nothing more than the scattering of many pieces of revetment marbles which had been stacked for sorting. The mosaics are intact.

The adjacent Roman baths, with traces of a superimposed Early Christian basilica, are undamaged, though many of the circular bricks have disappeared.

Roman Odeon. The Odeon (*Greece* p. 63), hiding-place of many of the vases and inscriptions from the museum, was hit by two shells which slightly damaged two of the Roman arches sustaining the upper tiers. An Attic red-figured krater, removed from this cache by the Germans, was later recovered by the Antiquities Service and is now in the museum.

Unknown Temple and Theatre of Dionysos. One shell landed at the edge of this area, damaging the foundations of a statue base by the temple, and pitting some of the columns nearby.

Palaestra, etc. A bomb, which fell near one of the re-erected stretches of the Portico along the Palaestra (Pl. 58 *c*), caused slight damage to some of the triglyphs, while a shell damaged part of the wall of a baptistery belonging to an Early Christian basilica which had been superimposed on the Roman baths. The numerous mosaic floors in this area were covered with a thick layer of sand during the war and are intact. The largest of them was also protected by a penthouse, now partially demolished.

The houses and shops along the 'Via Decumana', and the so-called 'Nymphaeum' are undamaged.

Other Areas. The partially excavated circular Roman baths are undamaged, but are in need of clearance and repair.

An area near the museum containing unexcavated Roman houses, and known from a trial trench to be rich in mosaics, has a large bomb crater in the middle, but it is not known what damage has been done.

Church of St. John. Of the fifth-century basilica which once occupied the site, this church was the baptistery. It has survived intact, though the basilica has long since disappeared, being only known from the foundations excavated before the war. The church is undamaged, and is used as the chapel for the Orthodox cemetery.

Mosque of Djami Atìk. This was used as a restoring room for the museum early in the war, but was damaged by a bomb and is now deserted.

Places Outside the Town.

Antimakhia. At Antimakhia—a fortified town of the Knights—the Germans maintained a small garrison. They established machine-gun posts in the underground passages of the bastion of Del Carretto,[1] which guards the main entrance, and made concrete apertures in its outer wall. Some damage was also done to this bastion by the removal of stonework to build protective walls.

Inside the walled area the church of Ay. Paraskevi[2] was used by the Germans as living quarters, and ovens were built against the outer wall on the south side. The church is now completely bare, but the mayor of Kos reported that before the war it had contained an ikonostasis bearing a fine ikon of the Veneto-Cretan school, painted in 1717 by Demetrios the Cretan. The walls had previously been decorated with paintings, but all save those at the west end were hidden by a coat of whitewash.

Asklepieion. The site, heavily restored in recent years (Pl. 58 *d*),[3] is intact, and a guardian is still maintained there. All the inscriptions and other objects from the small museum are either buried on the outskirts of the site or stored in the Odeon at Kos.

Capamà. The remains of the excavated Early Christian basilica are in a very untidy condition, many of the marbles having been broken or dispersed during the war. The baptistery was being used by local inhabitants as a stable.

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[1] Gerola, fig. 45.

[2] From Gerola's description (*loc. cit.* 52) this should possibly be the church of St. Nicholas.

[3] Cf. the view taken about 1930 from a similar position in *Memorie dell' Instituto Storico-Archeologico di Rodi* i, pl. VI *a*.

Kefalos. The two Early Christian basilicas of St. Stephen on the coastal strip east of Kefalos were surrounded by the Germans with a minefield as part of their coastal defence plan, and could not be visited. It was observed that a stone pill-box had been built at the seaward end of the basilicas.

At the site of the ancient town of Isthmos, two miles south of Kefalos, the lower temple [1] is undamaged. From the scanty remains of the upper one, which was excavated in 1940 and is unpublished, the only surviving capital has disappeared. The theatre [2] also was damaged by the Germans, who removed two tiers of the stone seats on the south side, and five tiers in the centre. An inscription found in the theatre [3] has also disappeared.

Pyli. The fourth-century vaulted Greek tomb known as the Kharmyleion,[4] and the superimposed church built of classical and Byzantine marbles, are intact.

Palaio-Pyli. The ruined medieval village of Palaio-Pyli [5] was not touched by the Germans. The churches of Ay. Nikolaos (Mikhael), the Panayia and Ay. Antoninos are still kept clean by the few families in the district. The fifteenth-century frescoes are, however, in a dilapidated condition. They were patched before the war, but are now very damp, and are beginning to fall away again. This is especially the case at Ay. Nikolaos (Pl. 59 *c*), where, in addition, one of the two small arches forming a forecourt in front of the north door collapsed in 1944 (Pl. 59 *d*). All three churches, however, are suffering extensively from damp, owing to the numerous rivulets which flow through the village.

The castle,[6] a Byzantine fortress restored by the Knights, has been suffering for many years from the depredations of local villagers, who have destroyed part of the Byzantine gateway in order to obtain the bricks (Pl. 57 *c*).[7]

St. Gabriel. A mile or so to the east of Kos are found the excavated remains of a very early Byzantine church (Pl. 59 *b*) with a baptistery and baths attached. Local inhabitants have recently broken up some of the marbles, and the site is partially under water, being on the edge of the shore.

Zibari. The remains of the Early Christian basilica of St. Paul near Zibari were found to be in a very dilapidated condition. The Germans had dug some slit-trenches on the edge of the area to guard the road bridge over the river, and destroyed the wooden bridge specially built to give access to the basilica. Fragments of the marble ambon, previously collected together in the nave, were scattered, and many pieces had disappeared. In the baptistery, the font, previously almost intact, was heavily damaged by the removal of much of the marble facing. The mosaics were protected by a thick layer of sand during the war, and have not yet been uncovered.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pl. I *a*.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 167, ll. 6–19 and pl. I *b*.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 167, l. 10.

[4] *Ibid.*, pl. II.

[5] Gerola, *loc. cit.*, fig. 41.

[6] *Ibid.*, fig. 40.

[7] For its condition in 1912 cf. Gerola, *loc. cit.*, fig. 42.

Leros.

The castle,[1] a Byzantine and medieval building, was used by the Italians before the war as an observation post, owing to its commanding situation. Look-out positions and living quarters were built on the summit, completely defacing the interior of the castle. When German aeroplanes bombed Leros in November 1943, three bombs landed on the walls of the castle near the entrance, and a small section of the wall was demolished. Just inside the entrance the medieval church of the Panayia was very heavily damaged, but was repaired soon after. Many ancient objects were said to have been destroyed when it was hit, but detailed information is not available. Outside the castle, on the headland, a chapel of Profitis Elias was destroyed, while the fairly modern church of Ay. Paraskevi in the town was damaged.

Patmos.

The island suffered no damage, as the only military operations were directed against shipping in the harbour. Parties of Germans frequently visited the island, but no garrison was maintained there. The manuscripts and treasures in the monastery of St. John are intact, and some twenty-five monks are still living there. The only deterioration noticed in the monastery was in the Refectory, where there is a large crack in the most important of the surviving wall-paintings, and the plaster is beginning to fall away from the wall.

In the village fourteen of the churches were examined and here, too, deterioration of the wall-paintings and carved and painted wooden ikonostases was noticed frequently.

The monastery of the Apocalypse is intact.

T. W. French.

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[1] Gerola, *loc. cit.*, figs. 54–8.

THE USE OF THE STRAIGHT IOTA IN CORINTHIAN EPICHORIC INSCRIPTIONS

In the valuable list of Corinthian vase-inscriptions compiled in Chapter XI of *Necrocorinthia*, Payne made the following observations on the iota:[1] ‘ Iota is usually ≤ ; on late vases a simplified form ᛊ is also found, but the old form persists even in the second half of the sixth century (A.D. i, pl. 7, 25; ii, pl. 24, 9; pl. 39, 12, &c.). A further simplification, I, occurs on a few middle and late vases (nos. 17, 49, 50, 57 (?), 68, 70); this form is used on the Corinthian revetments from Calydon (Poulsen–Rhomaios, pls. 28–9), on the Corinthian Treasury at Delphi, and on a bronze weight of very archaic appearance, found in Attica (Journ. Int. Arch. Num. 1905, 5 ff; obv., bull’s head, frontally, and ΓΒΝΓΤΑΙΟΝ; rev., ϘΟRΙΝΦΙΟΝ Ι); the weight may, however, be later than it looks. . . . In the late sixth century the straight iota becomes commoner; it is the regular form from the fifth century onwards.’

As this comment has been sometimes adduced as evidence in problems of chronology by other writers,[2] it is perhaps worth while to re-examine the list of examples of the straight iota given by Payne *loc. cit.*, and consider them in the light of the few other surviving examples of sixth-century inscriptions from the Corinth area. The point is a minor one, and in no way detracts from the value of the conclusions reached in the above-mentioned studies, which it does not directly concern; it may, however, be noted in the last example—the bronze relief-strip found at Olympia (n. 2 below)—that the editors observe that the inscriptions in question (ΑΡΙΜΤΟDΑΜΟΜ, ΜΑꟻΙΑ) have no epichoric peculiarities such as might help in the problem of the origin of this type of metalwork. Actually, the use here of I = ι, M = σ, and especially D = δ (as against the normal Corinthian Δ), all standard Argive epichoric, makes it practically certain that this inscription, like the few other inscriptions so far found on strips of this technique,[3] is Argive.

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[1] *NC*, 160.

[2] R. L. Scranton, *Hesperia* v, 1936, 236:—‘ The straight iota occurs with increasing frequency after the middle of the (sixth) century, until at the beginning of the fifth century it becomes the standard form ’; K. A. Rhomaios, *Korkyra* i, 1940, p. 123, (on the Calydon revetments): ‘ Ein Zeichen der späteren Zeit (mid-sixth century) ist es, dass das Jota stets mit einem senkrechten Strich geschrieben wird, was erst in der zweiten Hälfte des VI Jhdt. durchgängig üblich wurde ’; H. R. W. Smith, *The Hearst Hydria* (*Univ. Cal. Pub. Class. Arch.* i, no. 10), 1944, p. 260 and n. 137:—‘ On the inscription at Delphi, which was probably engraved soon after the fall of the Kypselids (*Necrocorinthia* 160, n. 2), the one iota which is still readable is straight. The straight iota is later than either of the crooked forms, a point stressed by Payne himself in his discussion of the kouros from Dodona . . . (*op. cit.* 238, n. 5). The argument is not altogether decisive, as there are a few sporadic examples of straight iota which are (or may be) earlier than the Amphiaraos krater (Payne, *op. cit.* 160) ’; Kunze, *JdI* 1938, *Olympiabericht II*, 88 (on a bronze relief strip):—‘ Zwar ist I als iota nicht eigentlich korinthisch, gleichwohl erscheint es gelegentlich in sicher korinthischen Inschriften schon des sechsten Jahrhunderts an Stelle des sonst üblichen ≤ oder ᛊ (Payne 160).’

[3] Orchomenus, *BCH* xix, 1895, 221; Delphi, *FD* v, 123 f., no. 674; Olympia, *Ol.* iv, 101 ff., nos. 699, 699a. Two other inscribed fragments from Olympia (no. 700a and an unnumbered fragment published with it) are, as Kunze points out (*JdI, loc. cit.*), replicas of the Aristodamos and Aias relief; 700b also appears to contain part of Aristodamos’ name.

It is therefore of some small importance as a general precaution, if the conclusions drawn below are accepted, that the theory of the straight iota's sporadic appearance in the Corinthian alphabet from the middle of the sixth century onwards should be recognised as incorrect, and therefore misleading when applied to questions of chronology or provenance.

1. Six Middle and Late Corinthian vases (the numbers quoted here are those of Payne's inscription-list, followed in brackets by those of his vase-catalogue). Payne himself was doubtful over certain of them, particularly in the cases of (*b*) and (*c*) below, where he had to rely on facsimiles published many years ago. As neither of these two vases is yet available for study, it is assumed here that the reading I = ι is correct; if not, they are of course useless as evidence. The readings of (*a*), (*d*) and (*e*) are all guaranteed (cf. Payne, *ad loc.*).

(*a*) No. 17 (1187), Middle Corinthian.

(1) ϺOΦIAΔ (2) ϘOTꓘB (3) MOϘΔϺAΞBΛA (4) BB⊦BϺA (5) AYTOMBΔOϺ (6) . . . . MA (7) ΓOΛYΓEN⊗A (8) ΞAϺ⊕OM (9) . . . Oᒣ . . B (10) MOTVΛOᒣƷB.

Of these ten names, the fourth and seventh show alien forms—Argive lambda in (4), non-Corinthian epsilon in (7). The tenth, in correct Corinthian, shows the four-stroke iota. The I of (1) may therefore be an intrusion like the ⊦ and E, all possibly from an Argive source.

(*b*) No. 49 (1448), Late Corinthian.

(1) ϺOIB (2) ΞAϺΦOI. (3) FAΨA.

Here again there is a confusion of alphabets, with the Ξ used for ξ and the Ψ for chi: one may also suspect that the first name is intended for Bίων, not Εἴων,[1] which would then dispose of the only undoubtedly Corinthian letter on the vase.

(*c*) No. 50 (1449), Late Corinthian.

(1) AᐸAϺOP (2) HAᒣAΔ (3) +OPO\ (4) BVMAXOM (5) ΞAϺ⊙OM.

Payne noted in his vase-catalogue under no. 1449 that the vase is a direct imitation of Attic, with a Lydan prototype, and that the dotted theta is here used under Attic influence. The straight iota here, if correct, may therefore also be copied from the Attic.

(*d*) No. 57 (1462), Late Corinthian.

(1) Ϻ⊗ΛᒣIϘ (2) ϺBIA⊙⁻.

As Payne observed in his inscription-list under no. 57, these are nonsenseinscriptions, and so of little use for his argument. There is nothing to show that the letters are necessarily from a Corinthian source.

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[1] The normal Corinthian form of Ion should in any case be Ϝίων (cf. Payne, *NC* inscription-list, nos. 34 and 46; Fick-Bechtel, *Griech. Personennamen*, 129).

(*e*) No. 68 (1478), Late Corinthian.

(1) ΜΑΔVΛΟᒣ (2) ΑͶΤΣΦΑͲΑΗ (3) ΓΟΛVΦΑΜ (4) ΜΟϘΟΔVΒ
(5) ΜΟᒣᒣΙΤϺΑᒣ (6) ΜΟϘΟΔVΛΟᒣ.

This was checked by Payne himself, who noted on the fifth name[1]: (The iota) 'is virtually a straight line, with a slight suspicion of a bend in the middle; this is quite a careful inscription.' But even so, the presence of the very slight bend forbids its being classed as a true straight iota; on Late Corinthian vases the Ϛ form was beginning to occur now and then, sometimes on the same vase as the Σ.[2]

(*f*) No. 70 (1483), Late Corinthian.

(1) ΜΟƷᒣΥΟϘϘ (2) . . / ΔΑΜ (3) ΔΑΣΓΥΓΟΜ (4) ΒVΡVΤϚΟͶ
(5) ΑϜΦᒧΤΟΛ.

As the original publication shows,[3] the break in the fragment occurs just before the delta of the second name, and though the photograph does not show the preceding letter clearly, it evidently crosses the break, so that it seems hardly justifiable to assume a complete letter here. It may be part of an iota Ϛ, or possibly of upsilon V.

It is therefore claimed that the evidence given by these vases does not offer any valid support to the case for the use of straight iota in normal Corinthian epichoric during this period. The vase-painters, whose standards of literacy varied here as elsewhere, evidently copied letters sometimes from non-Corinthian models; and against these six doubtful witnesses must be set the formidable total of fifty-nine Middle and Late Corinthian vases in Payne's catalogue, all showing the form Σ, or much more rarely Ϛ, wherever the iota is used.[4]

2. Clay sima-fragments from the sixth-century temple at Calydon, with instructions incised (some before firing) on the undersides, noting their respective positions to East or West along the roof:[5]

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[1] *NC.* 160, n. 1.

[2] Examples in Payne's catalogue of Σ and Ϛ on the same vase are nos. 1408, 1410, 1412, 1443, 1446–7, 1471–2 (both assigned to the Amphiaraos painter), 1477, 1483; on the vases assigned to the Tydeus painter, we find both Σ (1399), and Ϛ (1436–7, 1481), but 1399 is a nonsense-inscription. Cf. further Lejeune, *REA* xlvii, 1945, 106, n. 3.

[3] *AA* 1923–4, 75 ff., figs. 14–15.

[4] R. J. Hopper pointed out to me that no. 74 in Payne's inscription-list (krater-fragment in Bonn; not included in the vase-catalogue) was later published in *AA* 1936, 359 and fig. 15. In the badly-defaced names (Διομέδες, ΑἶϜας), the iotas were read by Payne as (*a*) Σ and (*b*) defaced. In the *AA* drawing, they appear rather to be straight, but at an acute angle, like the lower stroke of a crooked iota.

[5] Poulsen-Rhomaios, *Erster Bericht*, 22 ff; Dyggve-Poulsen-Rhomaios, *Kalydon*, 4; Payne, *NC*, 235 ff., 249 f., 255 f.; *IG* ix², i, 152; Rhomaios, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1937, 301 and 314, n. 2; Rhomaios, *Korkyra* i, 123. The revetments were dated by Payne in the first quarter of the sixth century, but Rhomaios now believes that they should be brought down to the middle of the century (see above, p. 201, n. 2).

(*a*) MIABΠIFIKATIΠOBMΠBPAM (*b*) - - - VFBKAIFIKAT - - - (*c*) - - - OTBMΠBPAM (*d*) - - - AΠOTAFOM (*e*) - - - PIT - - - (*f*) - - - ΓAF - - - (*g*) - - - ⅂≤ΔBKA.

(Nos. (*e*) to (*g*) are from the text copy, *Das Heroon von Kalydon*, 4.)

The stylistic connexion of these fragments with Corinthian work was well demonstrated by the excavators, and confirmed by Payne. The clay, however, is local,[1] proving that they were made on the spot, and not, as was at first thought, actually imported from Corinth. The alphabet, with its B = ε, I = ι,[2] is identical with that used further north at Dodona (see no. 5 below), but not the type found elsewhere in Aetolia in the sixth century and earlier, which appears to be the same as that used in the Achaean area along the opposite shore of the Gulf (E = ε and η, ϛ = ι, X = ξ, M = σ, Ψ = χ; cf., for examples, the Thermon metopes [3] and the archaic grave-stele found near Vlachomandra).[4] One inscription does show the Corinthian iota ≤, according to the preliminary publication, thereby adding yet another minor complication to the problem. If they are all written by Corinthian workmen imported for the work, why should one surviving set of directions be written with the proper Corinthian iota, as against three with the straight form? If they are inscribed by local workmen working after a Corinthian pattern, why are they not in the same script as that used at Thermon and Vlachomandra? Enough is now known from the scattered examples of inscriptions preserved in this north-west coastal area to show that, once beyond the western boundaries of Locris, a variety of different alphabets co-existed throughout the region without any one kind achieving complete supremacy; thus, in addition to the known examples of Achaean (Aetolia, Ithaca) and Corinthian (Corcyra, Leucas, Acarnania (?)[5]; though the iota used invariably in Corcyrean epichoric is the ᛊ type, also regular in Achaean, but less common in Corinthian),[1] there are the examples from Calydon and Dodona (no. 5 below), and also the variation on the bronze disc now in the British Museum [2] (ᛒ = ε and η, Ι = ι, Μ = σ, Ψ = χ), which commemorates a victory in an athletic contest over the Cephallenians. Its exact provenance is not known, but is presumably somewhere in this area.

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[1] *Corinth* iv, i, p. 8; Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1937, 314, n. 2. This fact had not been realised when Payne made his remarks on the provenance of the revetment (*NC*, 250).

[2] In the four other published archaic inscriptions from Calydon, the Troilos metope (7th c.; *IG* ix², i, 153; *Erster Bericht*, pl. xxiv, fig. 30) shows half an iota, generally read as ʓ; the boundary-stone of Apollo Laphrios (Ἀρχ. Δελτ. x, 1926, Παράρτ. 39 and fig. 14; *IG* ix², i, 149) shows I = ι, M = σ, as on the revetments. The other two, both 5th c., show already the later forms I = ι, Σ = σ, H and ⊙ (*Erster Bericht*, pl. III, fig. 3 (= *IG* ix², i, 150) and *Kalydon*, fig. 3).

[3] *AD* ii, pls. 49–53a; Rhomaios, Ἀρχ. Δελτ, ii, 1916, 186 ff.; Payne, *NC*, 96, n. 3, and 160 ff.; *IG* ix², i, 86. In spite of the usual interpretation of these metope-inscriptions as Corinthian, it seems at least possible that they are all good local Aetolian, *i.e.*, in the Achaean alphabet. The E = ε, ϛ = ι, M = σ, Ψ = χ, are all normal Achaean forms; the two non-Achaean letters would be the B = ε, occurring once (Ἀρχ. Δελτ. ii, 1916, 188), and X = χ in Chelidon's name. Of these two, the first was read provisionally in the preliminary report, but I have seen no confirmation of the reading, or facsimile copy; the text copy of Ἀρχ. Δελτ., *loc. cit.*, was reproduced without comment in *IG* ix², i, 86, 5. In the second case, the first reproduction (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1903, pl. 5) appears to show the defaced form V, overpainted in the reproduction to X. The metopes are all of local clay (Koch, *AM* xxxix, 1914, 238), and Payne admitted the local workmanship of the Charites painting (*NC*, 160 f., *s.v.* chi).

[4] Ἀρχ. Δελτ. ii, 1916, Παράρτ. 46, fig. 1; Klaffenbach, *Sitz. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 1935, 714 and n. 2. For a further discussion of the Aetolian alphabet, and list of examples, cf. Lejeune, *REA* xlvii, 1945, 110 ff.

[5] The archaic inscription from Stratos reported by Kirsten (*N. Jahrb.* 1940, 304, Pl. XII, 6; *AA* 1941, 102) will, when fully published, provide valuable evidence for the early epichoric script of Acarnania. From the only illustration at present available (*N. Jahrb.*, *loc. cit.*) it appears to be part of a stele, inscribed

In the same way, certain of the states near Corinth, while using alphabets similar to hers in many ways, show non-Corinthian variations: as Sicyon (⧗ = ε and η, Ι = ι, Μ = σ, sixth century); [3] Phlius (ᛒ = ε and η, ᛊ = ι, Μ = σ, sixth century; [4] Nemea, Cleonae and Tiryns (ᛒ = ε and ει, Β = η, Ι = ι, Μ = σ, sixth century); [5] Megara (Β = ε and η, Ι = ι, Σ = σ, sixth century).[6]

3. On an architectural block from the Corinthian Treasury at Delphi: [7]

ΚΟRΙΝ - - -

This inscription is dated in the second half of the sixth century by the French excavators; Payne, taking the higher dating for the fall of the Cypselids, assigned it tentatively to the end of the first quarter of the century,[8] a date which appears to some scholars to be too high on historical as well as on epigraphical grounds.[9] For our immediate purpose, however, the important point is that this inscription is not in the Corinthian alphabet at all, since it is hard to believe that a Corinthian official inscription of the sixth century, early or late, would show kappa here instead of the normal qoppa; the tailed rho would also be abnormal.[10]

4. Circular bronze weight, obverse showing a bull's head frontally, in relief:

ΠΒΝΠΤΑΙΟΝ [Ϙ]ΟRΙΝ⦶ΙΟΝ Ι

There seems to be nothing markedly archaic about the shape of this weight

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vertically βουστροφηδόν, but in such a way that the lines all read from left to right. The script is reported to be Corinthian; to draw different conclusions from the photograph alone would obviously be unjustified, but according to the latter it appears rather to be Achaean (Ε = ε, ᛊ = ι, Μ = σ). The lost epitaph believed to be from N. Acarnania (Röhl, *Imag.*^{3}, p. 45, no. 14) shows according to the copy Ϻ = β, Β = ε, Ι = ι, Σ = σ, and appears to be early fifth century, its closest parallel being the Megarian alphabet.

[1] For examples, see pp. 203, n. 2 and 207, n. 8.

[2] *BM. Inscr.* iv, 117, no. 952.

[3] Röhl, *Imag.*^{3}, p. 49, nos. 1–2; *BCH* lxi, 1937, 57 ff., Pl. VII; Payne, *NC* catalogue no. 1170 (*Korkyra* ii, 119 and fig. 106); cf. Lejeune, *REA* xlv, 1943, 183 ff.

[4] *Hesperia* v, 1936, 235 ff.

[5] Nemea: Blegen, *AJA* xxxi, 1927, 432 f., fig. 10 (McGregor, *Tr. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxxii, 1941, 275); Cleonae: *IG* iv, 1607; Tiryns: Peek, *AM* lxvi, 1941, 198 ff., Pl. 70; cf. also the seventh-century cup from the Argive Heraion (Prosymna), *AJA* xliii, 1939, 425, fig. 13, which bears a graffito in the same alphabet.

[6] Röhl, *Imag.*^{3} 52 f.; Peek, *AM* lix, 1934, 52 ff., no. 10, Beil. IV, 3 (end of the sixth or early fifth century). For an undoubtedly sixth-century example, cf. the graffito on a sherd from the Athenian Agora, to be published in *Hesperia*.

[7] *FD* III, 3, p. 128, no. 153, fig. 16: de Miré and de La Coste-Messelière, *Delphes*, p. 28, fig. 18, and p. 312.

[8] *NC*, 160, n. 2.

[9] Cf. H. R. W. Smith, *The Hearst Hydria*, Part II, *passim*; Lenschau, *Philologus* xci, 1936–7, 278 ff.

[10] *NC*, 160, *s.v.* rho, where Payne noted it once on a Late Corinthian vase together with the usual form Ρ. It also occurs on the bronze weight no. 4, and on a bronze bowl-fragment from Corinth (p. 208), both of which are here assigned to the fifth century. The Delphi inscription was probably cut by a local stonemason, as the forms would be normal in Phocian.

or the rendering of the bull's head, and Payne himself expressed doubt as to its date (see above, p. 201). The comparatively neat, well-proportioned and well-spaced letters suggest rather a date in the first half of the fifth century, for which the straight iota would be normal.

5. Bronze statuette of a kouros (end of sixth century?), from the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona, inscribed on plinth:

T◇IΔIBTVM◇ | KN EΔAM | ANE◇EKE

Although this inscription was not included by Payne in his remarks on the straight iota, he described it elsewhere as Corinthian, following the general interpretation.[1] But the B = ε, I = ι, M = σ are characteristic of the epichoric alphabet of Dodona, as shown by the lead pinakes containing questions to the oracle, which were found at the sanctuary.[2] The great majority of those published are late inscriptions in the Ionic alphabet; but one, written βουστροφηδόν, is dateable in the second half of the sixth century.[3] Another appears to be early fifth century.[4] By the mid-fifth century it is evident that the local alphabet was adopting more common characteristics; ≷ or ϟ = σ, E = ε, appear beside the epichoric forms.[5] It seems a fair inference that these pinakes were inscribed by the local officials of the cult, not by private suppliants from different states; and if so, the dedication of the kouros was also inscribed locally.[6] To this it may be answered that, even if these points are granted, the presence of the B = ε and M = σ show that the alphabet in this area was borrowed from Corinth, *via* the Corinthian trading posts and colonies which marked her trade-route up the coastline and across to Magna Graecia. That the B and M may well have come from this source is undeniable, and were it not for the βουστροφηδόν pinax it might be concluded on the fifth-century evidence that the whole alphabet is Corinthian; but unless we can show good evidence that the straight iota was used in the sixth-century Corinthian alphabet, we cannot claim that its appearance in the sixth-century script of Dodona also reflects a contemporary Corinthian usage.

Turning now to those inscriptions which were found actually in the Corinth area, we find that the evidence for the second half of the sixth century, though scanty, is nevertheless significant. The best dateable examples come from the series of inscribed clay votive pinakes from Penteskouphia. In all the examples listed by Payne as belonging stylistically to the period after *c.* 550, where an iota is used it is the Σ type;[1] and two of these at least are to be dated late in the sixth century, one with a dedication incised on the frame of a frontal four-horse chariot scene,[2] and the other showing the frequently-portrayed Poseidon and Amphitrite pair, with their names painted beside them.[3] Further evidence is given by a black-glazed oinochoe from a well at Corinth, with the name ʼΑνθεσίλας incised on it in Corinthian characters, again with the Σ iota. The pottery from this deposit is all dated within the second half of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries.[4]

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[1] Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, 88; Neugebauer, *Cat. Bronz. Berlin*, 107, 111; Langlotz, *Frühgriech. Bild.* i, 82, pl. 42*a* (inscription described *opp. citt.* as Corinthian); Payne, *NC*, 238, n. 5 (straight iota noted as sign of late date), and 245, pl. 46, 2.

[2] Carapanos, *Dodone* i, 68 ff.; Hoffmann, *GDI*, 1557–1598; Evangelides, Πρακτικά, 1929, 104 ff.; 1930, 52 ff.; 1931, 83 ff.; Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικά, 1935, 252 ff.

[3] Πρακτ. 1931, 89 f.

[4] Ἠπειρ. Χρον., *loc. cit.*, 257, no. 22.

[5] Cf. Röhl, *Imag.*^{3} p. 45, no. 15 (*IGA* 77, no. 332); Ἠπειρ. Χρον. *loc. cit.*, 253 ff., nos. 10, 12, 16–17, 19, 33, 35 (where the vacillation between B and E occurs, as in the kouros inscription), and 40.

[6] The origin of the statuette itself is, of course, another matter. It may still be Corinthian, if it can be proved so by appearance and technique; but the inscription should not be used to support the claim for a Corinthian origin.

The exact dating of the surviving archaic inscriptions on stone from the Corinth area is made hazardous by several factors. Their condition is in all cases sadly fragmentary; all are on local poros or sandstone, which appears to have been used generally until the fifth century at least, and occasionally later,[5] and none has any additional feature of sculpture or architecture which could provide a corroborative date. Some may well be earlier than the mid-sixth century,[6] others may equally well be later;[7] but, early or late, where an iota occurs it is either the Σ or the S type.[8]

At what point then did the straight iota replace the crooked in the Corinthian alphabet? That it was definitely established before the middle of the fifth century is well attested. The best dateable example is the gravestone of the Corinthians who fell in the battle of Salamis and were buried on the island;[9] on historical grounds this may reasonably be dated *c.* 480–475. To the other fifth-century examples quoted by Payne[1] may be added a bronze bowl-fragment from the Corinth area,[2] a black-glazed cup in the National Museum at Athens,[3] and a poros boundary-stone.[4]

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[1] *AD* i, pl. 7, 25 and 28; ii, pl. 24, 9, pl. 29, 22 and 23, pl. 39, 12; *NC* 112 ff. and 160.

[2] *AD* ii, pl. 29, 23; *NC*, 113. This pinax has on the other side a gigantomachy fragment which is to be dated *c.* 510–500 (*NC, loc. cit.*), or even the beginning of the fifth century (Rumpf, *Chalk. Vasen* i, 149). Pfuhl (*M u Z* i, 212) and Payne both regarded the two pictures as contemporary, though the chariot-scene with the inscription is the more archaic in general appearance.

[3] *AD* i, pl. 7, 25; last quarter of the sixth century? (shows the influence of early Attic red-figure, Rumpf, *op. cit.* 148 f.; Payne, *NC* 112). In this connexion, it may also be observed that on one of the wooden pinakes from Pitsa (unpublished; preliminary notices in *AJA* xxxix, 1935, 5 and 134), the iota where it occurs is the Σ type; T. J. Dunbabin informs me that stylistically it can hardly antedate the last decade of the sixth century. A reproduction by M. Gilliéron fils of the pinax was displayed in the National Museum in September 1947, and I am indebted to Ch. Karouzos and A. Orlandos for permission to mention it here.

[4] *Hesperia* vii, 1938, 584, no. 63, fig. 11. The iota is not clear in the photograph, but an examination of the oinochoe itself confirmed it as Σ.

[5] For examples of fifth-century and later inscriptions on local stone, cf. *Corinth* VIII, i, nos. 7, 22, 28, 32, 35, 69, 128, 224, 225, 242 (?—possibly earlier).

[6] *Perachora* i, 256 ff., nos. 1–3 (spit dedications); *IG* iv, 358 (Deinias grave-stele).

[7] *Corinth* VIII, i, 1 ff., no. 1 (fragment of a sacral calendar, found on the terrace of the temple of Apollo, 25 m. SE of the SE corner of the temple, and usually dated on general grounds to the first half of the sixth century. This is possible only if it can be assigned to an earlier temple than the existing one, which is now dated to the third quarter of the sixth century; cf. *Hesperia* viii, 1939, 1 ff.); 34 f., nos. 26–7; 49, no. 61; *AM* lix, 1934, 44 f., fig. 1 and Beil, IV, 4. The script in all these examples is considerably more advanced than that of the Deinias stele.

[8] Σ type, *IG* iv, 358; *Corinth* VIII, 1, nos. 26 and 61; *AM* lix, *loc. cit.*; *Perachora* i, 262, no. 2 (?—reading uncertain; cf. *ibid.*, n. 6). S type, *Corinth* VIII, 1, no. 1; *Perachora* i, 261 ff., nos. 1 and 3.

[9] *IG* I², 927. The same late forms of iota, rho and upsilon (I, ▷, V) occur on a bronze mirror-handle from the temenos of Hera Limenia at Perachora (*Perachora* i, 180, pl. 80, 13); T. J. Dunbabin informs me that the shape is not early, and may well be fifth century.

If the crooked iota was still in use in the last decade of the sixth century, and the straight form established by *c.* 475 B.C., a half-way date seems the best compromise for our answer. It is therefore suggested that, whereas the straight iota was undoubtedly used during the sixth century by various states whose alphabets were kindred to that of Corinth, it did not appear in Corinthian epichoric until the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

L. H. JEFFERY

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[1] *IG* iv, 352–3, and the Tanagra inscription at Olympia (*Ol.* v, no. 253). The traditional view of the latter as Corinthian script (Kirchhoff, *Studien* 4, 105) would imply the loss of the characteristic B = ε by the mid-fifth century. It has been suggested that it is more likely to be in a form of koine, deliberately used in this offering at 'international' Olympia in preference to the epichoric Laconian or Corinthian (Wolters, *Philologus* lxxxiv, 1928, 134).

[2] *AJA* xxxv, 1931, 1 f., fig. 1 (dated there to the first half of the sixth century, which would make it a near contemporary of the Cypselid bowl (*Bull. Mus. Boston* xxiv, 1926, 50; cf. Smith, *The Hearst Hydria*, 258 f.); but the wide spacing of the letters, the almost tailless E, tailed Ꝛ, and straight iota all point to a later date).

[3] *IG* iv, 351.

[4] *Corinth* VIII, i, 30 f., no. 22. This example may be slightly later than the rest (mid-fifth century?), since the epichoric M has given way to sigma Σ; but the B = ε is still used. Cf. with this the inscription ΚΑΦΙΣΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΑΙΣΧᛚΑႢΙΟΙ on a bronze statuette of Polycleitan type found at Bologna, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Babelon-Blanchet, *Cat. des Bronzes*, pp. 45 f., no. 98; Thraemer in *RE s.v.* Asklepios, col. 1642; Jantzen, *Bronzewerkstätten in Grossgriechenland u. Sizilien*, 1937, 64, no. 9, pl. XVII, 67–8; Lehmann, *Statues on Coins*, 1946, 21, pl. IV, fig. 7). The statuette is attributed to Tarentum by Jantzen, and to Selinus by Miss Lehmann. As the latter points out (*loc. cit.*), there is nothing Tarentine about the inscription. It partly corresponds with examples of fifth-century Selinuntine, the exceptions being the Ⴂ, Δ and P, where the Selinus examples show N, ▷ and Ꝛ (cf. the victory inscription, Röhl *Imag.*[3] p. 55, no. 12; the defixiones from the Malophoros sanctuary, *MA* xxxii, 1927, 385 ff. and *SEG* iv, 37–8; the stelai from the same area, *MA ibid.*, 379 ff., nos. 2, 6 and 7; no. 3, an exception, has P). On the whole, therefore, it seems most likely to be Corinthian.

INSCRIPTIONES GRAECAE, V. 1: SOME AFTERTHOUGHTS

The miscellaneous notes on Spartan inscriptions, mainly of the Imperial age, which I have put together in the following pages deal chiefly with texts already published in the Laconian volume of the *Corpus* (*IG* V. 1) which record the *Cursus Honorum* of individuals or lists of magistrates or other officials. For many of these I suggest textual improvements, and for some an approximate date based on prosopographical evidence. Moreover, in a few cases, I have been able to unite fragments published separately in the *Corpus*, or to recognise the nature of lists hitherto classed as uncertain. I should be the last person to claim that these notes are of general interest, but they will, I trust, be thought to deserve publication as a postscript to my earlier publications of Spartan inscriptions, for two reasons: firstly, as contributing to an exacter knowledge, both as regards persons and dates, of the Spartan magistracies during the second century of our era, and secondly, as affording some necessary corrections to the texts which are to be incorporated in the Laconian section of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* now in preparation.

It will be recalled that the Laconian (and Messenian) inscriptions known up to that date were published in *IG* V. 1 in 1913, and that those discovered during the excavations at Sparta in 1924–28 were published in the *Annual* (vols. XXVI–XXX). The latter material enabled several improvements to be made in the lists of magistrates, etc., published in the *Corpus* (Nos. 48–212), but the full implications of the new lists could not all be discussed, or even realised at the time, and it is the fruits of a fuller study both of the old and the fresh material that I now venture to publish. I have, however, tried to avoid merely re-stating the views and suggestions put forward in my articles in the above-mentioned volumes of the *Annual*; but where I have fresh evidence to offer for texts discussed there I have inevitably had to re-capitulate them to some extent.[1]

§ 1. *IG* V. 1, 1–30 (*Documenta Publica: Decreta, Epistulae*)

IG V. 1, 3. This fragmentary record of an alliance, for which only Fourmont's copy is available, defies full restoration, but I would suggest that the lines may have been longer than is implied by the restoration proposed in the *Corpus* for ll. 1–2, and that ll. 3–6 refer to a stipulation for reciprocal assistance, even if the formula is not identical in the two clauses. Otherwise it would not be easy to account for the appearance of κὰτ τὸ δυνατόν both in ll. 3–4 and in l. 6. In l. 3 no obvious sense can be made of the first six letters ΑΝΔΡΑΙ, but if the *delta* is a mis-reading of *alpha*, - - ανᾶραι κὰτ τὸ | [δυνατόν] would be the obvious restoration.[1]

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[1] I have found it necessary, to my genuine regret, to criticise or reject many of the suggestions and restorations put forward by the late Professor Walther Kolbe in his comments on texts in *IG* V. 1. His lamented death has deprived me of the opportunity, and the privilege, of submitting my notes to his critical judgment; but even when compelled to disagree with his views on points of detail, I have never ceased to be grateful for the services which he rendered to learning by his careful editing of the Laconian inscriptions in the *Corpus*. I wish to acknowledge my profound indebtedness to Mr. M. N. Tod, who has read the proofs of this article and, in addition to eliminating an unpardonably large number of inaccuracies, has provided some most helpful suggestions, of which I have gratefully availed myself.

In l. 4 after στρατ̣εύ[σ]η̣ we may restore (ἐ)[πὶ | - - - τοὺς Λακεδαι]μονίους, followed by βοηθεῖν πα̣[ν | τὶ σθένει τοὺς - - - ο]υς κὰτ τὸ δυν[ατόν].[2] Fourmont's copy, which shows that the stone was by no means easy to read, gives the last six letters of l. 4 as ΓΕΥΕ̣Η≤, for which I accept Kolbe's reading τ̣εύ[σ]η̣, but I would alter the final ≤ to Ε and read (ἐ)[πὶ]; I suspect also that after Η an *iota* adscript has been omitted, since we should expect to find it used at the date implied by the use of ≤ for *sigma*. In l. 5 it gives after [Λακεδαι]μονίους the letters Ω.Ι..ΕΙΛΙΠΛ, which, I feel sure, conceal ΒΟΗΘΕΙΝΠΑ, *i.e.*, (β)[ο](η)[θ]εῖ(ν) πα̣[ν | τὶ σθένει].

In l. 7 the future indicative - σσονται followed by το -, which Kolbe restores as ἕ]σσονται, seems to point to a relative clause in a resolution to nominate representatives to take and receive the oath of alliance. If the width of the stone permitted, one might expect, *e.g.*, ἄνδρας δὲ ἑλέσθαι οἵτινες δώσουσι καὶ δ](έξ)ονται τὸ[ν ὅρκον].[3] This would justify the restoration in l. 8 of ἡιρέθησαν] or perhaps ὤμνυον] ο(ἵ)δε, where the copy gives merely ΟΝΔΕ.

In l. 9, at the head of the list of Spartan nominees, I would prefer to restore Hαγησιλά(ο) in place of - η 'Αγησίλα, Θ - -, as in the *Corpus*, for there is no difficulty regarding the use of Η both for the aspirate and for *eta*, and the irregularity in the use of the aspirate in names beginning with Agesi- is well known.[4] This would denote a fourth-century date for the document, whereas the accusative plurals in - ους imply a date scarcely before the second century B.C.; but it is not impossible that Fourmont's copy is inaccurate in this respect.[5]

If, however, he has copied them correctly, we must accept a much later date for this document, and reject the interpretation of Η as an aspirate.

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[1] For αἱρειν, especially in the aorist tense, meaning 'to march out', it will suffice to cite Thuc. ii. 12, ἄραι τῷ στρατῷ.

[2] Before στρατ̣εύ[σ]η̣ I would prefer αἴ τ(ι)ς κα στ̣ρ. to Kolbe's ἅ]ς κα στρ. In the gap between (ἐ)[πὶ] and τοὺς Λακεδαι]μονιόυς I would suggest πολέμωι ἐπὶ, or perhaps πημονῆι ἐπὶ, as in Thuc. v. 18. 4 and 47. 2, though these are both in Attic treaties.

[3] The alteration of ΣΣ to ΕΞ seems fully justified, as all the other eight *sigmas* found on the stone are shown as ≤ and not Σ.

[4] Cf. Hαγηhίσσ(τ)[ρατος, *BSA* xxix. p. 54, No. 81, l. 7, where the Η serves also for the intervocalic *sigma*; and for other examples, E. Bourguet, *Le Dialecte Laconien*, 42, 63.

[5] As Wilamowitz points out (quoted by Kolbe *ad loc.*). The use of κα is not decisive either way. If we accept the fourth-century date, the son of Agesilaos might be in fact King Archidamos III., and the date would be earlier than his departure from Greece to help Tarentum (*ca.* 343?). I find that Poralla, *Prosopographie der Lakedaimonier* [1913], p. 9, accepts the restoration 'Αγησιλά(ου) without suggesting that it might be the King of that name.

If so, is it possible that Agesilaos here, who may be assumed to have been a prominent Spartan citizen, was the unscrupulous uncle of King Agis IV? And further, might this in fact be the text of the historic alliance with Achaia (Plutarch, *Agis*, c. 13)? In this case it would be tempting to correct Fourmont's H to N, and restore [Ἱππομέδω](ν) Ἀγησιλάο̣[υ], identifying the bearer of the name with Agesilaos' son, εὐδόκιμος ἐν πολλοῖς πολέμοις ἀνήρ (Plut., *op. cit.*, c. 6).

22. In this fragmentary decree, which seems to have attracted little attention, although it is impossible to restore any passage exactly and in full, and so to determine the length of the lines, we may recognise certain expressions typical of honorary decrees in favour of envoys, and, more particularly, of judges or arbitrators sent to a foreign state. These give us a valuable clue to the general purport of the document. Thus we find [ἐπιδ]α̣μήσαν[τες] in ll. 3–4, and may confidently restore [ἐγχειρι]σθεῖσαν, followed by πε̣ in l. 6; and in l. 8 instead of [π]όνου or [μ]όνου ἀναστ[α | - -, as Kolbe suggests, I should prefer [διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρ]όνου ἀναστ[ρα | φέντες]; and δὲ καὶ τοῦ δ[ά | μου] in l. 10 would naturally be preceded by ἀξίως. So far we are clearly dealing with a recital of services rendered, and we should expect the formal resolution to confer the honours on the recipients to begin somewhere before l. 15, where [πε]ποιηκέναι shows that a change of construction has taken place. The needful clue is afforded by l. 12, where [τ]οὺς περὶ Ἀρι |[στο - -] must be the object of the missing ἐπαινέσαι, which presumably followed [δεδόχθαι τῶι δάμωι]; and the infinitives in ll. 15 and 16 must have been preceded by ἐπὶ τῷ̣, a common formula in such decrees, for which a typical instance is found in *IG* V. 1, 26, l. 8 f. ἐπαινέσαι - - ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς τὰν ἀρχὰν διεξαγνηκέναι.[1] In fact we may recognise the remains of these two words in the letters Ω̣Ι, followed by δόντας αὐ̣- at the end of l. 13.

Having thus established the general purpose of the decree, it remains to see, if possible, what was the occasion for it. The only clue is that afforded by l. 1, where Kolbe, rightly I think, restores the few surviving letters as [πε]ριω[ρ]ισ[μέ | ν -]. This naturally suggests the expression περιωρισμένοι τόποι,[2] of which we may perhaps find confirmation in ll. 7–8 where it is tempting to restore [περὶ τῶν - -]ων τε καὶ τό |[πων τῶν διαμφισβητουμένων (?)]; and we might conclude that, as a result of alleged trespass on to some demarcated territory, Sparta decided, or was invited, to intervene.

If this interpretation is correct, it remains to enquire whether Sparta sent representatives in the capacity of δικασταί, in a dispute between two other cities, or as delegates to uphold her interests in a dispute between herself and a neighbouring city. In the former event, the resolution to honour the persons named would have been voted by one of the cities concerned in the dispute, presumably the successful party; and our text would record a copy of their resolution, communicated to Sparta.[1] But the other, and perhaps simpler, explanation seems preferable, for the formulae, as far as they can be recognised, do not include a motion praising Sparta for sending a body of her citizens as judges, such as we should expect to precede the resolution commending the men themselves. We need not stop to discuss the functions of such representatives,[2] but may appropriately refer to another Laconian example, *IG* V. 1, 931, which relates to similar services rendered by citizens of Epidauros Limera, in a dispute with Zarax.[3]

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[1] This usage is found perhaps more frequently in commendation of a state for sending judges, *e.g.*, ἐπαινέσαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Μιλησίων - - - ἐπὶ τῶι ἐξαποστεῖλαι τοὺς δικαστάς, *Milet*, i. 3, *Delphinion*, No. 154, ll. 8–9, and *BSA* xxix. 62 f., in identical terms (both being decrees passed by Eretria).

[2] Cf. *CIG* 3777 for the same phrase at Nicomedia, and the technical use of περιορισμοί in the Itanos-Hierapytna boundary-award, *SIG*³ 685, ll. 57, 65.

Whatever is the exact purport of this inscription, it is clear that several lines are lost from before l. 1, in which would have been recorded the circumstances of the dispute and of the Spartan decision to send representatives; and it is no less clear that a good deal is lost from below. Nevertheless, in spite of these many grounds for uncertainty, we may tentatively suggest that the general sense of the text should be restored somewhat as follows:

[- περὶ τῶν π]ε̣ριωρ̣ι̣σ̣[μέ -]
[νων χωρίων τε (?) καὶ τόπων, ἐπειδὴ ᾿Αριστο - - Κλεοφ]άντου̣, Λυ -
[κοῦργος - -, - ἐπι]δ̣α̣μήσαν-
[τες εἰς τὰν πόλιν τῶν - - - - - - κατὰ τὰν πρόσκλη]σιν αὐτᾶς
5 [- καὶ συ]ν̣τηρήσαν-
[τες *e.g.* τὰν ἐξ ἀρχᾶς ὁμόνοιαν (?) διεξήγαγον τὰν ἐγχειρι]σθεῖσαν πε̣ -
[ρὶ - - - - - αὐτοῖς πίστιν, μαρτυροῦντες (?) περὶ τῶν χωρί]ων τε καὶ τό -
[πων τῶν διαμφισβητουμένων, - - - - - διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρ]όνου ἀναστ[ρα -]
[φέντες ἀξίως τᾶς ἁμετέρας πόλεως - - - - ἀξίως] δὲ καὶ τοῦ δ[ά -]
10 [μου τῶν - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - τοῦ προσκαλέ]σαντος αὐτοὺς
[- ν τῶν ἀμπαι (?)
[- - - - - - - - - δεδόχθαι τῶι δάμωι ἐπαινέσαι πρέσβεις] τ̣οὺς περὶ ᾿Αρι -
[στο - - *e.g.* ἀρετᾶς καὶ φιλοπονίας ἕνεκα - - καὶ ἐπὶ τ]ῶ̣ι δόντας αὐ̣ -
[τοὺς - - *e.g.* ἐμ παντὶ καιρῶι προθύμως καὶ ἀπροφασίσ]τ̣ως εἰς τὰ[ν]
15 [*e.g.* περὶ τῶν διαμφισβητουμένων τόπων διαδικασίαν, πε]ποιηκέναι τὰ̣[ν]
[ἀναστροφὰν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου - - - - - - - - - καὶ συντε]τηρηκέναι
[τὰν ἐξ ἀρχᾶς ὁμόνοιαν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ ᾿Αριστο - - καὶ Λ]υ̣κούργωι κα[ὶ]
[(?) - - - - τῶι γραμματεῖ αὐτῶν - - - - - - - - - - -] εἶχεν ἀντο̣ -

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[1] As in the Eretrian decree quoted above.

[2] Cf. M. N. Tod, *Greek International Arbitration*, 116 ff.

[3] Epidauros Limera is Kolbe's suggestion; Tod, *op. cit.* 8, No. III, had previously suggested Kotyrta.

I add a few notes in further elucidation of the text as restored above. L. 4. [Κατὰ τὰν πρόσκλη] σιν αὐτᾶς would imply, as we might expect, that the Spartan representatives were summoned to attend, in the legal sense of the word, presumably as witnesses (cf. Dem. 750, 14; Plato, *Legg*. 936E) by the city which had undertaken to decide the dispute.

L. 6. In similar contexts the almost invariable expression is ἐγχειρισθεῖσα αὐτοῖς πίστις, but the letters πε - following the participle here point to a variant, for which the word πε|[ρὶ introducing some phrase defining the matter in dispute seems the likeliest explanation.

L. 8. For διαμφισβητούμενοι τόποι cf. the Itanos-Hieraptyna arbitration *SIG*³ 685, ll. 69, 72.

L. 11. τῶν ἀμπαι is meaningless, so I would suggest, with no small diffidence, that we should read ἄμπαξ, in view of the use of περιάμπαξ in the same Cretan inscription, l. 60; it is an unusual variant for περιαμπέτιξ in ll. 63, 67, *ibid.*, but not, apparently, a mere engraver's error. Note also that in another Cretan text of similar contents (*CIG* 2554, ll. 109 ff.) we find one example of ἀμπέτιξ and four of the form περιαμπέτιξ, so the omission of περι from our adverb here is not by itself a vital objection. [περὶ] τῶν ἄμπαξ [κειμένων τόπων (?)] would well suit the present context in a final definition of the envoys' task, now accomplished.

L. 13. We should have expected ἐπιδόντας αὐτούς, rather than δόντας, but seeing that the Ω is indicated as doubtful, we might suggest that it has been mistaken for Π, in which case we could restore the participle with its correct preposition, and read [ἐπὶ τῶι ἐ]πιδόντας αὐ|[τοὺς - -].[1]

L. 14. The second letter preserved is shown as a doubtful *omikron*, and an adverb in - τως, *e.g.*, ἀπροφασίστως, is much more likely to have stood here.

L. 18. In his publication of this stone, Tod (*SMC* 446) gives these letters as εἶχεν ἂν το -, and Kolbe as εἶχεν Ἀντο -, implying a proper name, but neither version seems to promise an intelligible phrase in this, or perhaps in any other, context. I am inclined, again with considerable hesitation, to complete the word as ἀντο[φθαλμήσει], which is to be found in a decree from Geronthrai (V. 1, 1114, l. 17), in the expression φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ἀντοφθάλμησιν ποιεῖσθαι.[2] I can see no objection to the use of ἔχειν with this noun, on the analogy of the common expression εὔνοιαν ἔχειν, and assuming the simple attraction of the relative into the dative case, I would suggest that the whole phrase ran somehow in the form [ἐπαινέσαι τὸν γραμματέα - - ἐφ' ᾇι] εἶχεν ἀντο[φ|θαλμήσει καὶ φιλοπονίαι(?)].[3]

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[1] Cf. ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδέδωκαν εἰς τὸ εὐεργετεῖν, *IG* V. 1, 1144, l. 16.

[2] In V. 1, 952, l. 13, from Kyparissia, the restoration [ἀντοφθαλμ]ήσει is too speculative to quote in further support of my conjecture.

[3] The use of the singular, εἶχεν, shows that this expression is applied to an individual, and not to the envoys; presumably, therefore, to the secretary.

25. It seems by no means impossible that this is a hasty and imperfect copy of the last six lines of V. 1, 37, which was found built into the Byzantine wall round the Acropolis, near its north-east angle, in 1906. The letters of these lines are fainter and less regular than is indicated by the copy in the *Corpus*, in which I suggest some corrections below; and Fourmont may well have found them hard to read.[1] We may note in particular that his copy indicates an uncertainty about the position of the opening letters of each line, where in fact V. 1, 37 is somewhat damaged; and that his last line, as in the latter, is much shorter than the others. Moreover, so many of his letters cannot be made to yield sense as they stand, that his copy must be condemned as very inaccurate. Thus I can see no insuperable difficulty in identifying his l. 3, which gives ΝΛΙϹ//..ΤΗϹΤΑΙϹΚΑΤΑ with 37, l. 14, which reads Τ̣Α̣ΡΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΤЄΙΜΗΘЄΙϹΤΑΙϹΜЄΓΙϹΤΑ.

27. This decree (= *SMC* 446) defies all attempts at continuous restoration, but it may be suggested that ΤΡΕΩ - in l. 24, for which Hiller tentatively suggested the restoration [τοῦ 'Α]τρέως, should be read as ΥΡΕΩΣ̣ and completed as [παναγ]ύρεως̣, in reference to proclaiming the honours conferred on the recipient on the first (?) day of the festival, especially as ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς π. might be paralleled, in another context, in V. 1, 18B, l. 11.[2] This gains further support from the reference, immediately following, to setting up a stele recording the honours conferred in the words ἀναγραφήσον[ται - - - - - - - -] καὶ ἀνατ[εθή]σονται.

§ 2. *IG* V. 1, 31–47 (*Cursus Honorum*)

31. The date given for this text by Kolbe seems a little too early, for we now have fuller evidence for the patronomate of [G. Julius] Kleandros (l. 4), namely, lists of the Ephors and Biduoi of his year, in *BSA* xxvi. p. 171, 1, E 5, and xxvii. p. 221, 1, E 35 respectively. The second name in the latter list is Δαμοκλῆς Φιλοκράτους, whom we must identify with Δαμοκλῆς Δαμοκλέους τοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους, the subject of the *cursus* recorded in V. 1, 32B, though his tenure of the post of Biduos is not there mentioned. This *cursus* covers approximately the years 120–134, and, as we shall see below, there is no possibility of putting the year of Kleandros after 134, so we must put it somewhat earlier than 120, but hardly as early as 110.

A further indication comes from *BSA* xxix. p. 11 f., 2 (H 1), where a list of the Nomophylakes of the year of Kleandros (duplicating V. 1, 79) is followed on the same block by lists of those of the years of M. Ulpius Sosikrates and G. Julius Antipatros. The former was Patronomos in a year that fell between those of Polyeuktos and Pasikrates (νεώτερος),[1] and from *BSA* xxvi. p. 170, 1, D 3, we learn that Polyeuktos held office not long before Hadrian, perhaps *ca.* 115–18. Kleandros thus seems to be dated towards the end of the reign of Trajan, and consequently Damokratidas son of Agiadas, the last-named in the list of Nomophylakes of his year, is much more likely to be son than father of Agiadas Damokratida, who was γερουσίας τὸ γʹ under G. Julius Philokleidas; the latter's date seems to fall, at latest, early in the reign of Trajan.[2]

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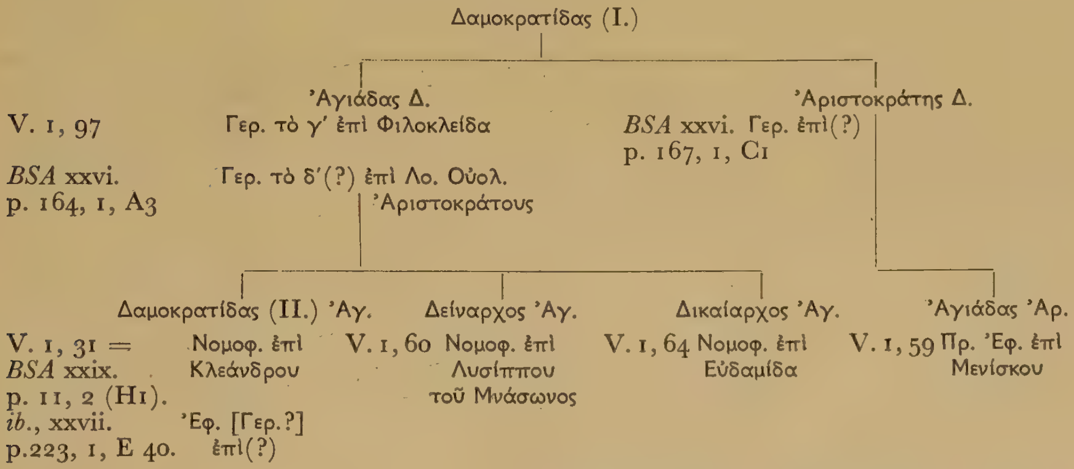
[1] V. 1, 17 is another example of a text where practically no sense can be extracted from Fourmont's copy. (Did he perhaps rely on the copy made by an unskilled assistant?) Little importance need be attached to F.'s statement that this stone (V. 1, 25) was found 'sur une tour au dela du pont'. The finding-place of V. 1, 37 overlooks the river and the bridge, but cannot be said to be beyond it.

[2] ἐν ταῖς τῆς πανηγύρεως ἡμέραις.

This enables us to re-model the *stemma* proposed by Kolbe (*ad loc.*), but we should, I believe, also include in it, as a second son of Damokratidas I., Ἀριστοκράτης Δαμοκρατίδα, a member of the Gerousia in an unidentified year (*BSA* xxvi. p. 167, 1, C 1), and recognise as his son Ἀγι(ά)δας Ἀριστοκράτους, πρέσβυς ἐφόρων ἐπὶ Γ. Ἰουλίου Μενίσκου (V. 1, 59, cf. *BSA* xxix. p. 13, 2(L)). In its amended form it should appear thus:—


Δαμοκρατίδας (I.)
Ἀγιάδας Δ.
Ἀριστοκράτης Δ.
V. 1, 97
Γερ. τὸ γʹ ἐπὶ Φιλοκλείδα
BSA xxvi. Γερ. ἐπὶ(?)
p. 167, 1, C1
BSA xxvi.
p. 164, 1, A3
Γερ. τὸ δʹ(?) ἐπὶ Λο. Οὐολ.
Ἀριστοκράτους
Δαμοκρατίδας (II.) Ἀγ.
Δείναρχος Ἀγ.
Δικαίαρχος Ἀγ.
Ἀγιάδας Ἀρ.
V. 1, 31 =
BSA xxix.
p. 11, 2 (H1).
ib., xxvii.
p.223, 1, E 40.
Νομοφ. ἐπὶ
Κλεάνδρου
Ἐφ. [Γερ.?]
ἐπὶ(?)
V. 1, 60 Νομοφ. ἐπὶ
Λυσίππου
τοῦ Μνάσωνος
V. 1, 64 Νομοφ. ἐπὶ
Εὐδαμίδα
V. 1, 59 Πρ. Ἐφ. ἐπὶ
Μενίσκου

32B. The punctuation in ll. 3–5 should clearly be altered so as to read βουαγός, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν [ὑ]ὸν Δαμονείκη διαβέτης, κ.τ.λ., since it seems unbelievable that Damokles could have acted as Boagos on behalf of his son, as is indicated by the punctuation given in the *Corpus*.

33. The restoration proposed by Kolbe is most uncertain, as I have already had occasion to point out,[3] for his conjecture that this records the *cursus* of G. Julius Charixenos rests on the assumption that in V. 1, 59, Charixenos was Nomophylax in the year of Hadrian. Now, however, that this list

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[1] V. 1, 40, ll. 13–19.

[2] *BSA* xxvi. 177.

[3] *BSA* xxvii. 217[1].

has been proved to belong to the year of G. Julius Meniskos, his argument breaks down, and it is unsafe to attempt to complete the name in ll. 1–2 after [Γά. Ἰο]ύλιος. Moreover, in place of Kolbe's [ἐπὶ Κληνικ]ίδα, I prefer to restore [ἐπὶ Δαμονικ]ίδα, now that we have learned that an Eponymos of that name closely precedes Hadrian (in a *cursus* published in *BSA* xxvi. p. 170, 1, D 3).[1] In the circumstances, we must content ourselves with restoring this text to read:—

[Γά. Ἰο]ύλιος - - - - - -
[. . . ἱ]π̣πάρχη̣[ς ἐπὶ Δαμο-]
[νικ]ίδα, γερο[υσίας]
[ἐπ̣ὶ Λ]άμπιδος, ν[ομο-]
[φύλ]α̣ξ ἐπὶ Καίσ[αρος.]

34. In the *cursus* of Sex. Ulpius Severus Phoibou, we may restore ll. 2–4 as:—

[διαβέτης Λι -]
μναέων ἐ[πὶ Πείου, γραμ-]
ματοφύλα[ξ, κ.τ.λ.

There is room for only a very short name in l. 3, and Pius is an obvious choice as he held office shortly before Eurykles (V. 1, 32B, l. 22 f.). In l. 6 the *nomen* Φλάβιος is puzzling, as Flavius Charixenos is otherwise unknown as an Eponymos in the reign of Hadrian. If, as would seem probable, he is to be identified with the Fl. Charixenos who was Athlothetes in A.D. 97 (V. 1, 667), it would be strange that he should not have become Patronomos until nearly thirty years later. If, however, his *nomen* is wrongly given, it might well be due to a confusion with G. Julius Charixenos, whose patronomate is already known from V. 1, 32 and 1314; in the former, he held that office between Sidektas and Sitimos; and in the present text his appearance just before S[idektas?] might be due to a further error, for such transpositions in the order of Eponymoi are not unknown.

36. Kolbe is in error in stating that this stone has been re-found. I must add that I feel very doubtful about some of the restorations which he proposes in ll. 11–15, as they imply lines of surprisingly uneven length, and I am not sure if it is necessary to insert the name of an Eponymos for every one of the posts which are recorded.

Instead of:—

l. 10 νομοφύλ[αξ ἐπὶ]
Καλλικρ[άτους τοῦ Ῥούφου],

---

[1] In my commentary on this stone, *op. cit.* 195, I suggested that Polyeuktos and Aristokles seem to have held office in the short period between the years of Damonikidas and Hadrian.

σύνδικος [ἐπὶ - -, ἔφορος ἐπὶ]
[Λυ]σίππου το̣[ῦ Μνάσωνος],
(κ.τ.λ.)

I would prefer to read:—

l. 10 νομοφύλ[αξ ἐπὶ]
Καλλικρ[άτους],
σύνδικος, [ἔφορος ἐπὶ]
[Λυ]σίππου το̣[ῦ Μνάσωνος],
γερουσία[ς ἐπὶ - -],
15 ἐπιμελητ[ής - -, βί -]
δεος ἐπ(ὶ) Πο. - - - -.

Kolbe's restorations involve a line of twenty letters in l. 11 followed by one of not less than twenty-five, allowing for an exceptionally short name for the Eponoymos in l. 12, *e.g.*, Πείου, whereas l. 10 seems not to have exceeded twelve letters.[1]

In col. B, l. 35 f. we should probably restore νομοφυλά[κων πρ. ἐπὶ] Κλ. Περ[ικλέους] instead of νομοφύλα[ξ], as we know from *BSA* xxvi. p. 166, 1, B 7 that Aristonikidas, whose *cursus* is in part recorded here, was πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων in the year of Perikles.

37. The version printed in the *Corpus* is misleading in several particulars: Kolbe, following the original publication (*BSA* xii. p. 463 f., No. 17) omits the first line, consisting of the name [᾿Επάγ]αθος Διονυσίου, who is of course the [γρ]αμματεὺς βουλᾶς κε′ in l. 2. Further, his assumption that ll. 2–5 were in reality longer than indicated in the *Annual* is entirely mistaken, and it seems worth while to reprint the correct version, thus:—

[᾿Επάγ]αθος Διονυσίου
[γρ]αμματεὺς βουλᾶς κε′·
Φιλοκράτης ᾿Ονησιφόρο[υ γ]ερ[ουσί -]
ας ἐπὶ Δαμοκλέους, λοχαγὸς ἐπ[ὶ]
5 ᾿Αριστοκλέους, σύν̣δικος ἐπὶ (*vacat*),
καὶ εἰς Παννονίαν κ.τ.λ.

Epagathos, of whose career this is the first indication, was presumably father of Διονύσιος ᾿Επαγάθου, whose name is found towards the end of a fragmentary list (of Gerontes?), V. 1, 115, perhaps to be dated early in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The omission of πρεσβευτής, *vel sim.*, from l. 6 is no doubt due to the informal, not to say illiterate, nature of the whole inscription.

[1] The Eponymos Kallikrates, in l. 11, is, I still believe, to be distinguished from K. ῾Ρούφου, whom Kolbe ascribes to the reign of Trajan, whilst I would date him in about the middle of the second century. [Cf. *BSA* xxvi. 186.]

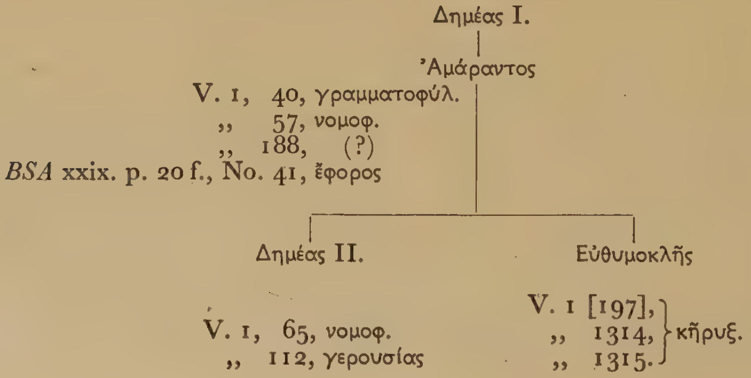
It is not obvious which of the two Eponymoi of the name of Damokles is referred to in l. 4. I am inclined to suggest that it is the later of the two, Damokles IV (cf. *BSA* xxvi. p. 201, 2(β), and p. 203), who held office in about A.D. 140, or slightly earlier, for it would be unlikely that the office of λοχαγός should be held by a man who had already been a member of the Gerousia; in other words, Philokrates is recording his most recent post first, and his tenure of those of λοχαγός and σύνδικος must be placed earlier than his mission to Pannonia, to Aelius Caesar, in 136. This would fit in well with the date suggested for Aristokles as Eponymos, *ca.* A.D. 120; and from the allusion to an embassy to the Emperor Antoninus Pius we see that the text cannot have been engraved before 138, the year of his accession.

I have suggested above that *IG* V. 1, 25 may be a blundered copy of the last six lines of this inscription.

39. For a note on the dating and the identity of some of the Eponymoi recorded in this text, see below, pp. 257 ff.

40. This needs correction, not only in two points of detail, but also in the chronology of the Eponymoi concerned. In ll. 2–5, instead of Kolbe's ʼẠμμαῖọ[ς γραμματο]| φύλαξ· ʼΑμά | ραντος Δη | μέα, we must read [- - - γρ]αμματο | φύλαξ ʼΑμά | ραντος Δη | μέα. The letters in l. 1 are distinctly larger than in l. 2, and spread right across the stele; and in turn, those in ll. 2–4 are larger than those in ll. 5–6.

In l. 14 (= l. 15 acc. to Kolbe's numbering) the *nomen* of Sosikrates is to be read as Οὐλ(πίου), not ʼΙου(λί)ου. For his patronomate cf. also *BSA* xxix. pp. 12 and 16, 2 (H 2), where it is suggested that his date was *ca.* A.D. 115–120. This entirely upsets my original view, followed by Kolbe in commenting on V. 1, 40, that the Eponymoi in this list belonged to the middle of the second century; and his *stemma* of the family of ʼΑμάραντος Δημέα must be re-constructed, and in fact simplified, as follows:—



41. Here also the restoration is misleading, for it implies much longer lines than the stone could possibly have contained. Actually it seems to be preserved for its whole width, though perhaps two letters at most are lost on the left. Kolbe restores the text thus:—

[ὁ δεῖνα - - -] ἐπὶ Περικλέους,
[- - - - - -, βί]δυος ἐπὶ Νεικιππίδα, στ - -
[ἐπὶ - -, - - φύλα]ξ ἐπὶ Πασικράτους νεωτέρ(ου).

I would suggest instead:—

[. .] ἐπὶ Περικλέους,
[βί]δυος ἐπὶ Νεικιππίδα, σ(ε)[ιτώ -]
[νη]ṣ ἐπὶ Πασικράτους νεωτέρ(ου).

I assume this to be a continuation of the *cursus* of Δαμοκρατίδας ’Αγιάδα, for which see above, V. 1, 31.

43. I question the accuracy of the restoration proposed for ll. 4–6, since ἐφόρω[ν ἐπὶ Πασὶ] | κράτου[ς νεωτέρου] gives us only thirteen letters in l. 4 as against seventeen, sixteen and fifteen in ll. 2, 3 and 5. In any case, there are several possible alternatives to [Πασι]κράτους, *e.g.* [’Αριστο]κράτους, [Λυσι]κράτους, [’Ιουλ. Σω]κράτους, and [Σωσι]κράτους, with or without his Roman names. There can be no absolute certainty, as there seem to have been two Eponymoi of the name of Agis,[1] neither of whom can be very exactly dated.

In l. 6 I feel doubtful about Kolbe's restoration of KAIT as καὶ π̣[ρέσβυς γερόντων], and, assuming the accuracy of the copy, which is otherwise free from mistakes, I would suggest:—

ἐφόρω[ν ἐπὶ - - - -]
l. 5 κράτου[ς, ἄρξας δὲ]
καὶ τ[ὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς]
[πάσας.]

This formula is in fact found in V. 1, 358 and 359 (?), of which the former records the tenure of presidency of the Gerousia τὸν ἐπὶ ῎Αγιδος [ἐνιαυτόν], affording good reason for attributing our present text to the same Agis, whom I would date, with Kolbe, to the reign of Antoninus Pius (or just later).

44. This is a particularly obscure and tantalising record of a long *cursus*, which if complete would afford most valuable chronological data, but in any case repays further study; to facilitate reference I transcribe the version printed in the *Corpus*, in full:—

[1] For the earlier of the two, cf. *BSA* xxix. p. 26, 46 (late Flavian or early Trajanic period?); for the other, *IG* V. 1, 358, who may have been G. Pomponius Agis, son of the well known G. Pomponius Alkastos (cf. V. 1, 494).

Λυκεῖνος Στ Ι [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
συνέφηβ̣ος, Ι [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ἐπὶ]
Μνάσωνος το̣[ῦ Λυσίππου, - - - - - ἐπὶ Εὐ -]
ρυκλέους, Σι̣[- - - - - - - - - - στρατευ -]
5 σάμενος τὰς εὐ[τυχεστάτας καὶ - - στρα -]
τείας ἐπὶ Κλ. Ι [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
τειμηθεὶς τα[ῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς, ἐπιμελητὴς]
[Κορ]ωνεία̣[ς], λοχα̣γ̣ὸ̣[ς ἐπὶ - - - - - - - - -,]
[γ]ε̣ρουσ[ί]ας ἐπὶ [- - - - - - - - - - - - -]
10 . σωτερισμωι [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[νομ]οφύλαξ [ἐπὶ - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[ἐπὶ] πατρο[ν]όμω [- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
Μαρκω ΕΓ . Ο̣ΙΛΗ [- - - - - - - - - - - - -, υἱὸς]
τῆς πόλε[ως - - - - - - - - - - - - - πρέσβυς]
15 τῆς γερου[σίας - - - - - - - - - - - - - -, ἐπὶ]
τῶν δικῶν [ἐπὶ - - - - - - - - - - - -, σύναρ -]
χος πατρο[νόμων ? - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
Τειμ[ο]μέν[ους - - - - - - - - - - - - βί -]
δεος [ἐ̣πὶ] Ιι [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

I have already drawn attention to the phrase [ἐπὶ τῶν ν](ε)ωτερισμῶν in l. 10, as conjecturally restored by Hiller and Wilhelm,[1] in discussing a second example of the phrase, found in the *cursus* of G. Julius Arion, *BSA* xxvii. p. 235 f., and note 4; and the suggestion that the date for these νεωτερισμοί falls in the reign of M. Aurelius seems beyond dispute. But we may reach a more precise date by further study of the present text. The allusion to 'most fortunate campaigns' in ll. 4 ff., coming not long before the νεωτερισμοί in the reign of M. Aurelius, could only refer to the campaigns of Lucius Verus against the Parthians in 163–6, though we need not suppose that the subject of this *cursus* served 'for the duration'; but it certainly looks as if there was room for the names of two Eponymoi in l. 6. For the first of these (if there were two), it is permissible to suggest ἐπὶ Κλ. [Β]ρ̣[ασίδα], whose patronomate is recorded in V. 1, 46, l. 6.[2]

In l. 7 for τειμηθεὶς ΤΑΛ I would prefer to restore τειμηθεὶς (φ)αλ[άροις, στρεπτοῖς (?)] as I doubt whether a young Spartan would have been awarded 'the highest honours' for his military services.[3] Then follow three more posts, ἐπιμελητὴς Κορωνείας, λοχαγὸς and γερουσίας, before that held ἐπὶ τῶν νεωτερισμῶν; and even if these were held in successive years, following, say, two campaigns against the Parthians, it would bring the νεωτερισμοί to the year 168 at the very earliest.

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[1] Who suggested [ἐπὶ τῶν γενομένων ν]εωτερισμῶν?

[2] Kolbe dates this list 'exeunte II vel ineunte III saeculo', which is, I am sure, too late.

[3] The only other instance of φάλαρα known to me in a Greek inscription is to be found in *IGR* iii. 1432 at Amastris; only the *lambda* has survived, but the restoration seems certain, since the Greek text is an exact translation of the Latin text which precedes it (*ILS* 2663). I owe to Mr. Tod the suggestion στρεπτοῖς after (φ)αλ[άροις] as equivalent to *torquibus*, *armillis* which precede *phaleris* in that inscription. For other examples see *ILS*, *Index* VII–K, pp. 483–5.

There is, however, another clue to be followed up in l. 13, which Fourmont copied as ΜΑΡΚΩΕΓ.ΟΙΛΗ, and Kolbe leaves untouched. There is only one letter which could possibly stand in the gap, assuming the rest is copied correctly, namely, *kappa*, and ἐγ [Κ]οίλῃ can only have been followed by Συρίᾳ, and must thus refer to the campaign following the overthrow of Avidius Cassius in ‘Hollow Syria’ in 175–6.[1] Μάρκω thus becomes the name of the Emperor, and not of an Eponymos, and I would propose for ll. 11–14:—

> [νομ]οφύλαξ [ἐπὶ - - -, - - - - - - - - - -]
> [ἐπὶ] πατρο[ν]όμω [- - -, στρατευσάμενος (?) σὺν Καίσαρι]
> Μάρκῳ ἐγ [Κ]οίλῃ [Συρίᾳ ἐπὶ - -, ἐπιμελητὴς]
> τῆς πόλε[ως ἐπὶ - -

As, moreover, the subject of this *cursus* held three offices between the year of the νεωτερισμοί and his second period of eastern campaigning in 175–6, the *terminus ad quem* for the former must be put in 171–2. In other words, the possible date for the νεωτερισμοί has been narrowed down to the period 168–171/2. Even now the meaning of the term eludes us, but if we seek to bring it into connexion with any exceptional occurrence in the Greek world in that period, we must not overlook the invasion of the Costoboci in A.D. 170. The scattered evidence for this episode is collected and fully discussed by A. von Premerstein in his *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Marcus* (*Klio*, xii. 145 ff.), but there is no indication that the invaders reached the Peloponnese, though their destructive raid on Eleusis brought them dangerously near. In the same article the possibility is fully examined that this invasion may have included sea-raids, and in this event Spartan territory may have at least been threatened. But even if Sparta put herself into a state of defence, this would not explain the term νεωτερισμοί, surely an unlikely word to express ‘emergency’; and it is hard to believe that the military measures taken, on this assumption, would preclude the appointment of a Patronomos to give his name to the year. We cannot, I think, safely go beyond a suggestion that the Costobocian invasion *may* have had some untraceable effect on the political situation at Sparta, giving rise to what is described as the νεωτερισμοί.

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[1] Cf. *CAH* xi. 360–362.

There is, however, an alternative possibility, namely, that ἐπὶ τῶν νεωτερισμῶν might be the name of an office, ‘ in charge of the reforms ’, analogous to ἐπὶ τῶν δικῶν; and possibly the reference to it contained in the inscription found at the theatre (*BSA* xxvii. p. 235, F 4) might be read, not as ἔφορος ἐπὶ τῶν ν. but as two distinct posts. In our present text the words preceding ἐπὶ are lost, so we can draw no conclusion on this point. I must admit that the existence of such an office at Sparta in the Imperial period seems highly improbable, and it is significant that we find no trace or hint of it in any *cursus* earlier than the reign of M. Aurelius, to which both the known instances of the expression clearly belong.

So much for the chronology of ‘ the reforms ’. It remains to suggest a few possible improvements in some of the rest of the text.

L. 1. The patronymic of Lykeinos, ΣΤΙ has an improbable look. Simple alterations would give us Στε̣[φάνου] or, *e.g.*, Στρ̣[άτωνος], but I believe that the first letter is misread, and that we should restore Λυκεῖνος 〈 Τι[β. Κλαυδίο̣υ - -]συνέφηβος. There are many possible alternatives among the Claudii, and Tib. Claudius Brasidas, who seems to have been a close contemporary of Lykinos, would be a reasonable conjecture. In l. 2, ἱ[ππάρχης ἐπὶ - -, διαβέτης (?) ἐπὶ] Μνάσωνος, κ.τ.λ. would restore posts likely to have been held early in a Spartan *cursus*.[1] In l. 4, if we are to retain [ἐπὶ Εὐ]ρυκλέους, we must assume the existence of a second Eponymos of this name, as the only known one held office under Hadrian (V. 1, 32 B, l. 24). I would much prefer to restore [πράκτωρ τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐ]ρυκλέους, as in *BSA* xxvi. p. 166, 1, B 9. For his next post, σι points clearly to σι[τώνης], which we should expect to be spelt with σει -, in view of τειμηθείς in l. 7.

I have no further suggestions for ll. 5–13, but before τῆς πόλεως at the beginning of l. 14 I would substitute ἐπιμελητὴς] for Kolbe’s υἱὸς], and I am not convinced that he is justified in altering TEIMAMEN so as to read [ἐπὶ] Τειμ[ο]μένους, for the only known Eponymos of this name held office in the reign of Antoninus Pius (V. 1, 109), and we know of no other man of that name at Sparta. I should prefer to restore [τε] | τειμαμέν[ος, in the belief that after his long career of public service Lykinos was suitably honoured, presumably with a statue.[2]

My revised version of the text would run as follows:—

Λυκεῖνος (Λυκείνου) Τι[β. Κλαυδίου Βρασίδα (?)]
συνέφηβ̣ος, ἱ[ππάρχης ἐπὶ - -, διαβέτης (?) ἐπὶ]

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[1] For other posts held by Μνάσων Λυσίππου see below, notes on V. 1, 90.

[2] A quite possible alternative for l. 18 would be [τε] | τειμαμέν[ος ταῖς τῆς ἀριστοπολιτείας τιμαῖς].

Μνάσωνος το[ῦ Λυσίππου, πράκτωρ τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐ -]
ρυκλέους, σι[τώνης ἐπὶ - -, στρατευ -]
σάμενος τὰς εὐ[τυχεστάτας - - - - - - στρα -]
τείας ἐπὶ Κλ. [Β]ρ̣[ασίδα (?) καὶ - - - -, καὶ]
τειμηθεὶς (φ)αλ[άροις, στρεπτοῖς (?), ἐπιμελητὴς]
[Κορ]ωνεία̣ς, λοχα̣γ̣ὸ̣[ς ἐπὶ - -, - - - - - - - - -],
[γ]ε̣ρουσ[ί]ας ἐπὶ [- -, - - - - - - - - - - - ἐπὶ τῶν]
[ν](ε)ωτερισμῶν̣ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[νομ]οφύλαξ [ἐπὶ - -, - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[ἐπὶ] πατρο[ν]όμω [- - -, στρατευσάμενος σὺν (?) Καίσαρι]
Μάρκῳ ἐγ [Κ]οιλῇ [Συρίᾳ ἐπὶ - -, ἐπιμελητὴς]
τῆς πόλε[ως ἐπὶ - -, - - - - - - - - - -, πρέσβυς]
τῆς γερου[σίας ἐπὶ - -, - - - - - - - - - - -, ἐπὶ]
τῶν δικῶν [ἐπὶ - -, - - - - - - - - - - σύναρ -]
χος πατρο[νόμων (?) - - - - - - - - - - - - καὶ τε -]
τειμαμέν[ος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀνδριάντι (?) - -, βί -]
δεος [ἐ̣πὶ] Ιι - - - - - - - - - -.

§ 3. *IG* V. 1, 48–91 (*Catalogi : Patronomi, Ephori, Nomophylaces*)

56. Kolbe's suggestion (*add.* p. 301) that this fragment should be restored to read:—

[Ἔφορ]οι ἐ̣[πὶ]
[Σε]ιπόμ̣[που·]
[Ξ]ενοκλ[ῆς]
[Κ]λεά[νδρου]

is unconvincing, in the first place as implying a very narrow stele, and also by reason of ignoring the indication of the copy that two letters are lost before the *lambda* in l. 4; nor is it necessarily a list of Ephors. I would suggest for the last name [Χα]λέα[ς Δαμοκλείδα], whom it would be natural to identify with the Ephor of that name in V. 1, 72, l. 5; as his colleagues there are not the same as on our present fragment, it points to some other board having been named in l. 1, perhaps Biduoi. I would suggest as preferable:—

[Βίδε]οι ἐ̣[πὶ - -]
[Σε]ίπομ[πος Κλέωνος· (?)]
[Ξ]ενοκλ[ῆς Λυσίππου· (?)]
[Χα]λέα[ς Δαμοκλείδα·]

I assume that Sipompos is the man known as Eponymos in V. 1, 32 and 34, and as Nomophylax in *BSA* xxvi. p. 202, 2(ε). We find a Ξενοκλῆς Λυσίππου as γερουσίας (*ca.* A.D. 90–100?), *BSA* xxvi. p. 167, 1, C 1, but in spite of Xenokles being a comparatively rare name at Sparta I feel doubtful about the restoration of Λυσίπ̣που here, for our fragment may be nearly a generation later than the list just mentioned, if my identification of Sipompos is accepted.

57. As this stele seems to have been broken above, we may perhaps recognise in the letters ΚΟΣΙ in l. 1 the name [Νει]κοστ̣[ράτου], presumably the patronymic of the last name in the list (of Ephors?) lost from above. A possible name for his son would be Νικηφόρος, who is known to have filled the post of κῆρυξ at least once early in the second century (*BSA* xxvi. p. 171, 1, E 3).[1] In l. 3 I would prefer to restore Πό. Μέμμιος [Πεῖ]|ος for [Πρατόλα]|ος, as the space available seems to require a shorter name, and consequently we must omit the word οἱ after Σειδέκτας in l. 6.[2]

58. The name of the Eponymos might, with equal probability, be restored as [Ἀγη̣σι]λ̣άου, for the Gerousia of whose year see *BSA* xxvi. p. 170, 1, E 2.

59. I have already pointed out (*BSA* xxvi. pp. 187 ff.) that this list belongs to the year of G. Julius Meniskos, and not of Hadrian, as Kolbe tried to prove, and that in l. 1 υἱὸς Αὐτοκράτορος Ἁδρια̣[νοῦ] must refer either to L. Aelius Caesar or to Antoninus Pius. The absence of the word θεοῦ before Hadrian's name seems almost decisive in favour of the former alternative, and the reference must be either to the adoption or to the death of Aelius. In other words the year of Meniskos as Eponymos comprised the twelve months in which took place either the adoption of Aelius in the summer of 136 or his death on January 1st, 138. I am inclined to suggest that the adoption would not be so likely to be mentioned as the death of the Emperor's adopted son, and that the three missing lines may have read:—

[Ἔφοροι ἐπὶ Γα. Ἰου. Μενίσκου],
[ἐφ' οὗ ἀπεβίωσεν (?) - - -]
[Λούκιος Αἴλιος Καῖσαρ]
υἱὸς Αὐτοκράτορος Ἁδρια̣[νοῦ].

In l. 13 I question the soundness of Kolbe's alteration of Χαριξένου into Χαρίξενο[ς], as Fourmont's copy is in all other respects very exact. To retain and account for the genitive we should either read [ἐπὶ Γα. Ἰου.] Χαριξένου γραμματοφύ(λαξ), indicating that Νεικάσιππος Εὐημέρου (l. 12) had served in that capacity under Charixenos, in this case several years before, or we should regard Charixenos' name here as a patronymic, indicating that his son served in the year of Meniskos in that capacity, which would furnish a rather unusual insertion into the middle of the names of the Nomophylakes. The former alternative would certainly seem preferable, and we have a parallel for a Nomophylax recording previous tenure of the office of Grammatophylax in *BSA* xxvii. p. 218, 1, E 32.[1]

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[1] The other occurrence of his name, *BSA* xxvi. p. 165, 1, B 1 (α), indicates that his name has overflowed (but without his title) from an adjoining block.

[2] I do not understand why Kolbe accepts Boeckh's restoration [Πρατόλα]ος, in spite of his comment 'quod spatio non convenit'. For further evidence of Pius acting as Eponymos, see below, V. 1, 121.

In l. 14 we may confidently restore [Φίλιππος ⟨] Σιδέκτα συνέφηβος from V. 1, 114, l. 6, in which his name appears as γερουσίας τὸ β′; I suggest below in discussing this list that it dates from the second half of Hadrian's reign, though Kolbe put it appreciably later.

For the last five lines, which are given in the *Corpus* as follows:—

> [Γ. Ἰού. Νεικ]ηφόρος Μάρκου.
> [Ἔνσιτο (?)]ς·
> [γερουσίας Δα]μοκλῆς (Δαμοκλέους) τοῦ [καὶ]
> [Φιλοκράτο]υς.
> 20 [- - - Ἀρι]στονεικί[δα]

I would suggest:—

> [Γα. Ἰού. Νεικ]ηφόρος Μάρκου
> [ὁ ἀγαθό]ς.
> [Ἔνσιτος· Δα]μοκλῆς (Δαμοκλέους) τοῦ [καὶ]
> [Φιλοκράτο]υς.
> 20 [Σπονδοφ. Ἀρι]στονεικί[δας]
> [Νεικηφόρου.]

Kolbe's natural proposal to restore [ἔνσιτο]ς in l. 17 left a blank before the name of Damokles, in which he inserted γερουσίας; this fitted admirably with his view that the Eponymos of this year was Hadrian, since we know from the *cursus* of Damokles (V. 1, 32 B, ll. 12–14) that he was γερουσίας in Hadrian's year: but now that we see that Damokles is ἔνσιτος ἐπὶ Μενίσκου, this proves a false clue. For the consequent gap in l. 17 I would suggest ὁ ἀγαθός, as a distinction borne by Nikephoros. This title was apparently bestowed for some particular services on one of the Ephors, but we have two clear examples of its occurrence in lists other than those of Ephors, which would seem to indicate that it was retained for life, even if not invariably added to the name of a holder after the end of his Ephorate.[2]

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[1] By a curious coincidence this occurred in the year of the earlier Eponymos of the name of G. Julius Charixenos.

[2] It is attached to the name of the last Ephor in the three following lists: V. 1, 61, l. 6; 64, l. 6; 68, l. 19; in 71, III. l. 58 f. we find the last name of the five νομοφύλακες followed by the words ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἔφορος, and in 167, l. 5 the bearer of the title is apparently a member of a board of ἐπιστάται for the erection of a statue.

The name which I would restore as that of the σπονδοφόρος is taken from V. 1, 116, ll. 6 ff., where Ἀριστονεικίδας Νεικηφόρου appears as γραμματεὺς Βουλᾶς at a date shortly after the Eastern campaigns of L. Verus, and died during his year of office. A Spondophoros of *ca.* A.D. 137 might well have served some thirty years later as Secretary to the Boule, and as son of one of the Nomophylakes, G. Julius Nikephoros, he would have been an appropriate choice for the former position.

61. Fourmont's copy of this list indicates that the contents were not easy to decipher, and we cannot hope to restore it in full. In l. 4, however, I would suggest [Δαμαίνετος Ξενα]ρχίδα, κ.τ.λ., who cannot be identical with, but might be grandfather of, Γά. Ἰού. Δαμαί[νετος Ξ]εναρχίδα, σπονδοφόρος in V. 1, 167, l. 6 f.; the latter might be son of the Xenarchidas who is Eponymos in V. 1, 39. In l. 5, - - - Ἀρ]ι(στ)οκ[ράτ]ους involves a minimum of change in the meaningless - - ΙΛΥΟΚ . . . . ΟΥΣ of Fourmont's copy, but the name is too common at Sparta to permit us to restore his son's name.

The list of Nomophylakes of this year, which begins in l. 7, can be restored from the complete copy found in 1925 (*BSA* xxvi. p. 201, 2(γ), which in turn enables us to identify V. 1, 157, ll. 1–4 as an incomplete copy).[1] We need only note here that the restoration printed in the *Corpus* is incorrect, and that for πρέσ]β̣υ̣ς Σ - - we should presumably read πρ]έ(σβ)[υ]ς [Γά. Ἰούλιος | Λύσιππος, whose name will thus account for the letters ΙΠ in l. 8; and in l. 9 the same letters will form part of the name Νεικ]ιπ[πίδας, the fifth of the νομοφύλακες.

62. I find it hard to believe that ll. 14 ff., with their different style of lettering from the preceding lines, can be connected, or contemporary, with the rest of the inscription. In l. 15 I would prefer to substitute Ε̣[ὐ]τ̣ύ̣χ[ο]υ for [Σ]ω̣τίχ[ο]υ.

65. For the identification of the Eponymos, whose name is missing from the beginning of this list, as Δαμοκλῆς (Δαμοκλέους) cf. *BSA* xxvi. p. 201, 2(β) = xxix. p. 11, 2 (D) (list of Nomophylakes), and xxix. p. 13, 2 (K) (list of Ephors). In l. 29 for Ζωσᾶς read Σωʒᾶς (cf. xxix. p. 20).

66. Though it is not yet possible to supply the missing name of the Eponymos in l. 1, who held office shortly (and perhaps directly) before (θεὸς) Λυκοῦργος (l. 13), something can be done towards completing some of the fragmentary names. In l. 4, - κτήτου is surely to be restored as [Ἐπι]κτήτου, and it is tempting to suggest that the name was [Ἀριστομένης ⟨ τοῦ Ἐπι]κτήτου, whom I would also restore as a member of the board of Agoranomoi under Alkastos (*ca.* A.D. 140) in V. 1, 128, l. 7, where we have - - Σ ⟨ τοῦ Ἐπικ - -.

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[1] This copy is further discussed below, p. 242 f.

He would thus be son of 'Αριστομένης 'Επικτήτου, σφαιρεύς, in V. 1, 674 and γερουσίας ἐπὶ Φιλοκλείδα, V. 1, 97, l. 4.[1]

L. 10. Probably [Γά. 'Ιού]λιος Β[ροῦτ]ος Δαμάρους, in whom we may recognise a kinsman of Δαμάρης Βρούτου, to whom Εὔτυχος < is συνέφηβος in V. 1, 39, ll. 20 ff., and whose name is no doubt correctly restored as [Δαμάρ]ης Βρούτου in a list of the Gerousia (?), V. 1, 162, l. 14.[2]

In l. 16 six letters, not three as Kolbe indicates, are lost from before ΗΣ; this is presumably the same συνέφηβος of Sidektas whose name is lost from V. 1, 59, l. 15, where he is fourth in the list of νομοφύλακες ἐπὶ Μενίσκου. In l. 18 we likewise require a longer name than K. indicates, as six letters, not three, are to be supplied before - κρ]άτης. In l. 20, it seems that eight letters are lost from before - νων <, and ten each from the next three lines; for the first name I can only suggest ['Επιτυγχά]νων, whom we may conjecture to have been son of 'Επιτυγχάνων Κλεωνύμου V. 1, 71, I (= 147, ll. 7–9), a list of Nomophylakes (?) belonging to the early second century.

69. For the *nomen* of the Eponymos here, as also in 70 and 71, III, which we now know to have been not Κάσ(σιος) but Κασ(κέλλιος), see *BSA* xxvi. p. 171, 1, E 7, and also my note below (p. 257 f.) on *Foreigners as Eponymoi.*

71. In addition to the correction of col. II, ll. 7–8, where, as I have already pointed out (*BSA* xxix. p. 23 f., No. 43, l. 5 f.) we must read:—

Νηδύμῳ κάσεν, Γά. 'Ιού.
Φίλιππος νεανισκ[ά]ρχ(ης),

I would suggest that the first symbols in l. 1 of col III. may be the remains of the abbreviation ΓΡΦ̌ for γραμματοφύλαξ; and that in ll. 35–6 we need not hesitate to read τῶι ἑξῆς | νομοφύ(λαξ), indicating that the subject of this entry was νομοφύλαξ in the year immediately following that in which he was γραμματοφύλαξ, a valuable chronological datum for the sequence of two Eponymoi, Areton and Cascellius Aristoteles.[3]

74. It is clear that this cannot be a list either of Ephors or of Nomophylakes, since the third name on the list recurs as πρέσβυς ἐφόρων ἐπὶ Καλλικράτους (V. 1, 71), and three of the other members are known to have been Nomophylakes in other years. The presence of the name of the γραμματεύς in l. 8 would accord better with a list of Bideoi, and I believe that it should be restored accordingly (and transferred to a place after V. 1, 136, to join the other lists of this class). We should thus read:—

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[1] 'Αριστομένης < Εὐρυκλεῖ κάσεν, a member of the Gerousia in V. 1, 103, l. 8, is of too early a date to be identified with the man whose name I restore here.

[2] Γά. 'Ιούλιος Βροῦτος is more likely to be son than father of Δ. Βρούτου, for he might well have been a νομοφύλαξ *before* a contemporary of his father's held the responsible post of γραμματεὺς Βουλῆς.

[3] For another example of these two posts being held in direct succession cf. *BSA* xxvii. p. 218 f., 1, E 32; and *supra*, p. 225, n. 1.

[Βίδυοι ἐπὶ . . . . . .ο]υς[1]
- - - - - - - - - - - - - ους
Μ. Βέττιος Δαμοκράτης, κ.τ.λ.

75*A* + 78. The date proposed by Kolbe for this list, which is based on the restoration of the name of the Eponymos as Με[νε | κλέους], is surely much too early, in view of the ligatures and abbreviations, such as ΠΑΡΟΝ̊ΜΕ = πατρονό(μου) Με - - in l. 3, which are typical of the middle of the second century of our era, or later, and not of the end of the first.[2] In any case ΜΕ is more likely to stand for Με(μμίου), though the name following is lost, and is not to be restored with confidence.

There is, however, a valuable clue towards a restoration, for I feel certain that V. 1, 81 is a fragment missing from the upper left-hand corner of this list. It will be observed that in 75 ΝΟΜΟΦΥΛΑΚΕΣ in l. 2 is reproduced from Fourmont's copy with the first seven letters between horizontal lines, clearly indicating a restoration, as otherwise the broken edge of the left side of the stele would present a quite incredible shape. Ignoring the uncertain remains of l. 1 on each portion of the stone, and omitting the restored letters of Νομοφύλακες, we obtain the following result by putting the two pieces together:—

(Col. A.)	(Col. B.)
ΜΟΦΥΛ^ΚΕΣΟΙΓΕΡΙΓ	
⁊ ΙΠΠΟ` ΟΙΕΠΙΠΑΡΟΝ̊ΜΕ	
ΩΝΠΡΕΣΒΥΣ	ΕΦ[οροι
- ιΠΟΣΓΟΡΓΙΠΠϽΥ	Ω[ν πρέσβυς

which we may restore thus:—

2 [Νο]μοφύλα̣κες οἱ περὶ Γ[όργιππον]
[Γορ]γ̣ίππου̣ οἱ ἐπὶ πατρονό(μου) Με(μμίου) - -
ῶν π̣ρέσβυς
5 [Γ̇όρ]γ̣ι̣π̣πος Γοργίππου,
κ.τ.λ.

This shows that there could be only three spaces available before ῶν in l. 4 for the name of the Eponymos, which must therefore have continued across the top of col. *B*, if the spacing is correctly reproduced, and the same must be true of the name Γόργιππον in l. 2.[3] That the Ephors in *B*, ll. 4 ff.

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[1] I agree with Kolbe in attributing this to the reign of Pius, but I cannot supply a probable name for the Eponymos.

[2] V. 1, 71, coll. II. and III. are full of typical examples; cf. for a statue-base with similarly plentiful ligatures, V. 1, 533 (last quarter of second century).

[3] The remains of the first letter in l. 3 look definitely like part of Ξ, but this must be a mistake by the copyist. Kolbe naturally restored [Ζευ]ξίππου, but the join seems certain and the patronymic in l. 5 is obviously copied correctly.

belong to the same year is surely implied by the extension of the name of the Eponymos across the head of the second column.

In col. *A*, l. 6 I prefer my original suggestion [Νι]κανδρίδας < βουα | [γό]ς, and would identify him with the son of Πό. Αἴλ. Νικανδρίδας, whose *cursus* we have in V. 1, 71, col. II. As he was γραμματοφύλαξ ἐπὶ Εὐδαμίδα and νομοφύλαξ ἐπὶ Ἀριστοκράτους (*ca.* A.D. 150), his son's tenure of the latter post would bring his date down to *ca.* A.D. 180, which would enable us to identify Gorgippos the πρέσβυς of his year with his namesake who is found as Agoranomos in V. 1, 129, l. 3, and ἔνσιτος in V. 1, 89, l. 7; moreover, he may be identical with the Eponymos of the three records of victors at the Sanctuary of Orthia, V. 1, 307, 308, 309. This conclusion would be in close agreement with Kolbe's view of the date of Gorgippos.[1] If we now venture to restore the name of the Eponymos in l. 3, an obvious choice would be Πό. Μέμμιος Λογγεῖνος, whose date seems to fall in the decade 180–190.[2]

The last name may be confidently restored as [Ἐπιτευ]κτικὸς Σω - -, who was very possibly a grandson of Ἐπιτευκτικὸς Δημ - -, a member of the Gerousia in the reign of Hadrian.[3]

82. A good deal can be done towards the fuller restoration of this list. In l. 2 ΕΟΝΕΙΚΟΥ is probably not the end of a title like Καρνεονείκου or Νεμεονείκου, as Kolbe suggests, but a patronymic, and it is tempting to restore here [Σείπομπος Κλ]εονείκου, whose name is found in a list of the Gerousia that seems to date early in the reign of Trajan, *BSA* xxix. p. 3 f., 1, E 26*. In l. 3, the man who is κάσεν to Aristokrates must be Θεογένης <, as in *BSA* xxvi. p. 172, 1, E 10, where he is βίδυος ἐπὶ Δεξιμάχου (also Trajanic). I cannot suggest any likely patronymic for Ἀριστεύς, *ibid.*, but we may confidently supply the lost name of the fifth member of the Board, as Δαμοκλῆς < τοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους, for he records in his *cursus*, V. 1, 32 B, ll. 11–12, that he was νομοφύλαξ ἐπὶ Διονυσίου. In its amended form this list will therefore read:—

[Νομοφύλα]κες ἐπὶ Πο. Αἰλίου Διονυσ(ί)ου, [ὧν πρέσβυς]
[Σείπομπος Κλ]εονείκου· Ἄρχιππο[ς - - -·]
[Θεογένης <] Ἀριστοκράτει κά(σεν)· Ἀριστεὺ[ς - - -·]
[Δαμοκλῆς < τοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους.]

87. For the incomplete name of the Eponymos in l. 2, where not more than two letters are lost from before a probable Ε, I would confidently suggest [Κλ]έωνος. The existence of an Eponymos of this name was not known until the discovery of the *cursus* of [Ἰσόχρυ]σος < in 1924, *BSA*

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[1] In his commentary on V. 1, 89.

[2] V. 1, 45, l. 14 and 89, l. 16.

[3] Cf. *BSA* xxvi. p. 237, 29, l. 6.

xxvi. p. 165, 1, A 12 (and p. 180 f.). In publishing that text I did not suggest a date for Kleon, assuming that the *cursus* was recorded in chronological order. If, however, we conclude, as indeed we must, that the membership of the Gerousia followed many years after the tenure of the youthful post of διαβέτης, we may feel certain he was γερουσίας ἐπὶ Κλέωνος at the time of recording his career.[1]

Moreover, we have at last another fixed date established in our series of Eponymoi, for the Nomophylakes of the year of Kleon erected a statue to T. Aurelius Verus, the infant son of Antoninus Pius, in 147 (V. 1, 446); and we can also establish another contact between Kleon and other Eponymoi of the reign of Pius, by reference to the *cursus* of G. Julius Boiotios (*BSA* xxvi. p. 208, No. 6), where the sequence is Kleon, (G. Jul.) Lysikrates, Titianos, and Ulpius Sosikrates.[2]

88. May we not restore this fragment (seen only by Fourmont) from the beginning of a list of Nomophylakes, so as to read:—

[᾿Αγ]αθῇ Τύχῃ·
[Νομ]οφύλακες [ἐπὶ]
[᾿Αβι]δέου Βιά[δα]?
- - - - - - - -

Whether the spelling ᾿Αβίδεος for ᾿Αβίδιος is due to the engraver or the copyist need not be discussed. The leaf-ornament between the two names need not, of course, be intended for a mark of punctuation. We have already the lists of the Gerousia and Ephors of his year, in *BSA* xxvi. p. 169, 1, C 9 + 10 and C 11, respectively.

89. In ll. 3–4 I would prefer to read:—

Εὐδαίμων 〈 Π̣ο̣(πλίῳ) [Μεμμίῳ Σω(?) -]
σικράτει κάσεν.

Kolbe's restoration, implying the entry of a second name, to which Πόπλιος is the *praenomen*, requires an exceptionally long line compared with any of the others (except l. 16), and it seems unlikely that the names of two Ephors should have been crowded into one line. Nor is it at all likely that a man possessing Roman citizenship, as shown by his *praenomen*, would have been κάσεν to another man who did not possess it.[3] We know of no member of the large number of Spartans who bore the *nomen* Memmius whose name can be recognised here.

90. In this list of Ephors (?) and Nomophylakes of an unknown year,

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[1] In the same way Χάρης 〈 records at the beginning of his *cursus* his post as πρέσβυς συναρχίας τὸ β′, *op. cit.* p. 166, 1, B 8.

[2] For the identity and approximate date of Titianos, v. *infra*, p. 258.

[3] See No. 138, note 3, *infra*, p. 241.

we may perhaps restore ΙΚΑΣ in l. 2 as [Ν]ικασ[ίων Ἐπιγόνου], a member of the Gerousia in V. 1, 114, l. 12 (apparently *temp.* Hadrian), and in l. 4 Μνάσω[ν Λυσίππου], who was νομοφύλαξ ἐπὶ [Κλ]έωνος (V. 1, 87, above), and γερουσίας ἐπὶ Βιάδα (*BSA* xxvi. p. 169, 1, C 10).[1] In l. 6, probably Εὐβαβε[ρίσκος Διογένους], (ἐφόρων πρέσβυς ἐπὶ Ἀβ. Βιάδα, *BSA* xxvi. p. 170, 1, C 11 and p. 194); but we must reject Kolbe's suggestion in l. 8 Σωσι[κράτης Ἐπαφροδείτου], as we now know that he was νομοφύλαξ ἐπὶ Δαμοκλέους (V. 1, 65, l. 17). It would appear, therefore, that the date of this list will fall somewhere between the years of Kleon (A.D. 147) and Biadas, if we assume that Mnason, in l. 4, was Ephor after being Nomophylax, *i.e.*, not far from A.D. 150–155.

§ 4. *IG* V. 1, 92–122 (*Gerontes*, i.e., *Senatores*)

96. In l. 11 I would restore Γ(ρ)α(μματεὺς) Πραξιμένης· μάγ(ειρος) Θε - -.

97. The principal corrections made possible by the discovery of a second copy of this list have been already pointed out (*BSA* xxvi. p. 170, 1, E 1 and xxvii. p. 211, 1, E 1 *). I would, however, prefer to withdraw my suggestion that we should read [Νο | μοδείκτης Σωσίδαμ]ος in l. 26, and would assume that ΑΣ ‹ is the end of the name of the μάγιρος, with the implication that the name of the νομοδείκτης was omitted from the list. The meaning of Μ̄ preceding the name Ἐπαφρόδιτος, written vertically upwards in the right margin, can hardly be Μᾶρκος; I prefer to see in him the cook's assistant, and would restore [ὑπ](ηρέτης) μ(αγίρου) Ἐπαφρόδιτος.

99. Kolbe's view that this fragmentary list of Γέροντες is to be dated later than the year of Lampis (shortly before the patronomate of Hadrian) rests on the mistaken idea that it was always to an Eponymos that a Spartan was κάσεν.[2] It is, however, possible to arrive at an approximate relative date for it, since Φιλοξενίδας Ἀριστοδάμαντος (l. 2) appears as seventh in the list of the Gerousia in the year of L. Volussenus Aristokrates (*BSA* xxvi. p. 164, 1, A 4, l. 3), having already served in an unidentified year (*ib.* xxix. p. 5, 1, E 26*, l. 5 (restored)). As there is no mention on the present fragment of his serving for a third or later term of office, I conclude that this may be his second term, and thus that V. 1, 99 falls between the two other lists just mentioned. This is confirmed to some extent by l. 3, for Νικίας Τεταρτίωνος is also known as γερουσίας ἐπὶ Φιλοκλείδα (V. 1, 97, etc.), where he is 21st on the list. Our fragment thus belongs to a year between those of Philokleidas and L. Vol. Aristokrates. As, unfortunately, the former's name is

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[1] His year as Eponymos is mentioned in V. 1, 44, l. 3, above.

[2] I have shown that this view is untenable (*The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*, 290).

never found as Eponymos in any of the numerous *cursus honorum* relating to this period, we cannot tell what was the length of the interval between these two years.

100. Here I would suggest:—

[Γέ]ροντες [ἐπὶ ʼΑριστο -]
[κλ]έος, ἐφʼ ὧν [πρέσβυς]
[Λ]ύ̣σιππος Γ[αΐου]·

For the name of the Eponymos cf. V. 1, 37, l. 4 and *BSA* xxvi. p. 163, 1, A 9 (where Aristokles follows Polyeuktos, who held office very shortly before Hadrian).

102. It is possible to add at any rate three more names, derived from other sources, to the twelve that are preserved on this incomplete list, namely, ʼΑγίων ʼΑρτεμισίου τὸ δʹ, from *BSA* xxvi. p. 163, 1, A 9; ʼΑγαθοκλῆς Στεφάνου, from V. 1, 32 A, ll. 6–7; and, completing the final name ΚΣΟΣ in the last line from *BSA* xxix. p. 12, 2 (H), Κ. Σόσ[σιος Νικοκράτης]. It is worth noting also that not only do ʼΑγίων ʼΑρτεμισίου and Κ. Σόσσιος Νικοκράτης appear together as νομοφύλακες in the last-named list (ἐπὶ Γ. ʼΙουλ. ʼΑντιπάτρου), but another member of that board is ʼΑριστομενίδας Κλεομάχου, whom we may safely identify with ʼΑριστομεν[εί]δας - - in l. 6 of the list under discussion.

It is not worth while setting out the whole text so as to incorporate these additions, but I might suggest that ll. 1–2 may be restored thus: [Γέροντες ἐπὶ πα]τρονόμου Τιβ. Κλαυδίου ʼΑρισ[τοβούλου, ὧν πρέσβυς - - - - τὸ εʹ(?), ʼΑγίων | ʼΑρτεμισίου τὸ δʹ, Κ]αλλικράτης ʼΑριστοκλέους τὸ γʹ - - -.

This implies a line of upwards of seventy letters in length, which is by no means impossible for a long slab, and is in fact considerably exceeded in V. 1, 60, where the names of the Ephors and Nomophylakes in the year of Lysippos, son of Mnason, occupy lines of about ninety letters each. In l. 3, Σωσίβιος < ʼΑριστο - - should, I feel sure, be read as one entry, and not two (as Kolbe regards it); and I would suggest Σωσίβιος (Σωσιβίου) ʼΑριστο-[κράτει (?) κάσεν τὸ βʹ (?)]. Kolbe, regarding ʼΑριστο - - as the name of another member of the Gerousia, would identify Sosibios here with Σωσίβιος < Τεισαμενῷ κάσεν, in V. 1, 103, l. 12,[1] but that list can hardly be later than the first decade of the second century. There would be no difficulty in regarding the Sosibios of our present list as son of the Sosibios in the earlier one. There is no evidence to show whether the name of ʼΑγαθοκλῆς Στεφάνου, which is to be added to this list, as was stated above, should be restored as following that of Κ. Σόσ[σιος Νικοκράτης] in l. 8, or placed in the following line, if we may assume that one is lost from below.

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[1] In the Index only.

Before leaving this list, I would venture the suggestion that in its unusual dimensions it bears a strong resemblance to the style of the inscribed blocks of the east Parodos-wall of the theatre. These as a rule contain seven or eight, but occasionally nine, lines, and the average size of the letters would enable a list, with lines of about seventy letters, to be engraved on a block of about two metres in length. There are some blocks of about this length *in situ* on the wall,[1] and it seems quite possible that the present list had been removed from the theatre, at some date before Fourmont's visit, to the position where he saw it.[2] This suggestion gains support from the consideration that a block of this shape is an inconvenient and unnatural one to use for a single free-standing list.

103. Two necessary corrections, in ll. 3 and 5, were proposed in *BSA* xxvii. p. 219, [Ἀριστοκ]ράτης (Ἀριστοκράτους) γόνῳ Λυσίπ[που]; and p. 217, [Λουιά]δας Ἀριστοκράτους (for Kolbe's [Εὐτελί]δας).

104. A small fragment which joins the upper right corner of this incomplete list is published separately in the *Corpus* (V. 1, 166).[3] The conjoined pieces give us the following text (the letters of V. 1, 166 are underlined):—

Γέροντες ἐπὶ Μ. Οὐ̣λπί[ου]
Ἀφθονήτου, ὧν πρέσβυ[ς]
Σωσίπολις Εὐδάμου·
Πεισίδαμος Τειμοσθε[νίδα·]
5 Ν̣ε̣ι̣κ̣ί̣α̣ς̣ Τ̣ετ̣α(ρ)τίω̣[νος·]

Kolbe's natural assumption that each name was followed by an indication of each member's year of office (τὸ γ′, τὸ β′, κ.τ.λ.) proves to be mistaken. In l. 4 we now see that the patronymic of Peisidamos was not Τειμοκ- but Τειμοσθεν-; and in restoring his name as Τειμοσθε[νίδα] I assume that he was father of [Τιμ]οσθενίδας Πεισιδ[άμου] (restored by Kolbe as [Δαμ]οσθενίδας Πεισία) in V. 1, 113, which seems to date from about the middle of the second century.

105, 106. We may confidently combine these two fragments, which were both copied by Fourmont near the spring at Mistra; neither has been rediscovered. It is to be observed that 106 is indicated in his copy as incomplete above; in fact l. 1 joins l. 4 of 105. This join yields the following:—

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[1] See *BSA* xxvi. Pl. XVI. 1, which shows blocks 1, 4 and 8 in course 'B' to be approximately two metres in length.

[2] For the uncertainty as to where Fourmont saw this stone, see Kolbe's *lemma*.

[3] This occurred to me only after I had left Sparta, and Messrs. C. Bradford Welles and R. D. Barnett kindly verified the join for me in the Sparta Museum in 1931.

(105) [Γ]ΕΡΟΝΤΕΣ [ἐπὶ Δαμοκλέους]
ΤΟΥ<ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ Φ[ιλοκράτους]
ΜΟΥΛ(Π)ΙΟΣΣ(Ω)[σικράτης (?) - -]
ΛΕΟΣ(Γ)ΕΡΟ[ντ]ΕΥΩΝΤΟ[ε′ (?)] (106)
ΜΕΝΕΜΑΧΟΣ[<Τ]ΟΕ
[Σέξτος Οὔλπι]ΟΣ ΣΕΒΗ[ρος]
[Φοίβου τὸ δ′(?)]· *vac.*
ΤΟΝΟΣ
[. . *ca.* 8 . . . Εὐδ]ΑΜΙΔΑΤΟΓ̣
ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑ . . .
ΑΡΙΩΝΤΟ .
ΤΟΒ
ΕΙΛΟΥΤΟ[β′(?)]

This combination shows that my original suggestion (adopted by Kolbe) for ll. 3–4 of 105, [υἱὸς πό]λε(ω)ς περ(ι)ο[δονίκης], was ludicrously wide of the mark. Little can be made of the names after l. 7, though - - τονος in l. 8 is probably an error for τωνος, in which case a possible choice, to suit the fact that about eleven letters are missing, would be [Δαμόλας Ἀρίσ]τ(ω)νος, suggested by Kolbe as the name of the πρέσβυς ἐφόρων in V. 1, 72, l. 2. In l. 9 we seem to require a name of not more than about eight letters before [Εὐδ]αμίδα, but I have no suggestion. In l. 11, I am not convinced by Kolbe's [Δαμ]αρίων, a name otherwise unknown at Sparta, and would prefer to read [Γά. Ἰούλιος] Ἀρίων (cf. Ἰούλιος Ἀρίων, V. 1, 1314). In l. 13, I feel that Kolbe's - είδου for ΕΙΛΟΥ is less likely than - ε(ν)ου, and a possible choice would be [Ὀνάσιμος Ἑλ]έ(ν)ου, who appears as an Ephor in V. 1, 68, l. 20 (ἐπὶ Τιβ. Κλ. Ἀριστοτέλους).

The name of the Eponymos raises a problem which cannot be ignored. He appears at first sight to be the same Δαμοκλῆς (Δαμοκλέους) τοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους whose *cursus* is recorded in V. 1, 32 B, ll. 1–15, and whose tenure of the Patronomate is recorded in 36 B, ll. 32–34 (as ἐπὶ Δαμοκλέους τοῦ Φιλοκράτους), where it precedes that of Cl. Perikles, whose date is not far from the end of Trajan's reign. But this date will not fit in with the career of Σέξ. Οὔλπιος Σεβῆρος Φοίβου, the third name on our list, for we know from V. 1, 34 that he had already been a member of the Gerousia under Sidektas (*ca.* 125, cf. V. 1, 34) and again under Tib. Cl. Aristoboulos (*ca.* 135, cf. V. 1, 102), which would require a date towards the end of the reign of Hadrian for his third year of membership. This date would in fact suit the Patronomate of Damokles IV, whom I assume to be son of the earlier Eponymos of the same name; and it would appear that the engraver has confused the two, and that his mistake consisted in inserting the word καὶ before Φιλοκράτους. The heading to the list should have read, on this view, Γέροντες ἐπὶ Δαμοκλέους τοῦ < τοῦ Φιλοκράτους, which would correctly describe the descent of Damokles IV. (The alternative explanation that Damokles III. officiated as Eponymos twice, at more than twenty years' interval, is most improbable.)

109. In l. 14 for ΘΥΛΙΑΡΧΟΥ I would much prefer Θ(α)λιάρχου to Θυ[ν]άρχου as proposed by Kolbe. The same name (and most likely the same man) is found in V. 1, 154, l. 7.[1]

110. In l. 2 we may confidently restore Ἕλενος Σω[τηρίδα], as in V. 1, 68, l. 18; the last letter, of which only I survives, must have been an angular *omega* (W). The last two lines have been completely misunderstood by Kolbe, and I feel sure, although I have not seen the stone, that they need extensive correction. They appear thus in the *Corpus* :—

ΧΑΡΙΙ□Κ ʹ Χαρμ̣οκλ [- - -]
ΓΠΠΙΛΠΦΓ ˈ Π̣ό̣π(λιος) Σ̣απφ̣(ί)ω̣ν̣

Misled by the square forms of the letters, which seem to be somewhat damaged in the last line, Kolbe has not distinguished between □Π and ⊏. I have no doubt whatsoever that we should read them as:—

Χάρη̣ς < ̈Α̣
σ̣πο̣ν̣δ̣ο̣φ̣ό̣ρ̣[ος(?)]

and, combining them with l. 5, we obtain:—

5 γρ̣αμμα̣τε̣[ὺς Βουλᾶς]·
Χάρη̣ς (Χάρητος) ʼΑ̣[λκάστω̣ κά(σεν)·]
σ̣πο̣ν̣δ̣ο̣φ̣ό̣ρ̣[ος - - - -]

We thus confirm that this is from the end of a list of the Gerousia, with Chares as γραμματεὺς Βουλᾶς, a post of which his tenure is recorded in *BSA* xxvi. p. 166, 1, B 8, l. 4. The mention of one or more Spondophoroi at the end of a list of the Gerousia is unusual, but is paralleled in V. 1, 112, ll. 12 ff. (where they are described as σπονδοποιοί). The only two names which have survived from the list, Ἕλενος Σω[τηρίδα] and Μητρόδωρ[ος ʼΑπολλωνίου] are also known from V. 1, 68 and 64 respectively (lists of Ephors in the years of Cl. Aristoteles and Eudamidas), and each of their names is there followed by the title ὁ ἀγαθός.[2]

111. I have already drawn attention to the striking similarity between this list of the Gerousia in the year of Claudius Sejanus and that of the year

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[1] Εὐδαμίδας Θαλιάρχου here may well be brother of Καλλικράτης Θ(α)λιάρχου in V. 1, 109; they seem to have been close contemporaries.

[2] See above, p. 225, V. 1, 59, l. 17 and note.

of (Avidius) Biadas, *BSA* xxvi. p. 169, 1, C 9 + 10, but two further points that have since occurred to me may justify a return to the subject. The inconsistency between the two lists from the third name onwards may be seen by comparing the transcripts, as follows:—

V. 1, 111.	*BSA* xxvi. 1, C 9 + 10.
l. 6 Σωσικράτης Σ̣ώ̣το̣υ·	l. 4 Σωσικρά-
Ἰού. Νέας [Σ]ωσικρ̣ά̣τ̣ο̣υ̣ς̣·	της Ἐπαφροδείτου· Ἰούλιος Νεασμός·
Κα̣λλικρά̣της Σ[ωκ]ρ̣άτ[ους·]	Νεικιππίδας Μενεμάχου· Ἰούλιος Λύκος·
Σπαρτιάτης Σωσιδ(ά)μ̣ου·	Καλλικράτης Σωσικράτους· Σπαρτιάτης
	Σωσιδάμου.

The confusion in ll. 7–8 seems due to the engraver's carelessness, for it looks as if the faint remains of Σωκράτους in l. 8 had been erased, and the correct patronymic Σωσικράτους inserted in the line above, in the vacant space after the name of Ἰούλιος Νέας, who has no patronymic in the parallel list (*BSA*, *l.c.*). Presumably, on finding that he had omitted the letters ΣΙ, he preferred to insert the correct name above. This explanation will not so easily account for the difference between the patronymic of Sosikrates in the line above, 'Σώτου,' as against 'Ἐπαφροδείτου' in the other list, nor for the difference between Νέας and Νεασμός, of which the former is surely right, and no doubt the bearer is to be identified with the Ephor of this name in V. 1, 68, l. 17.[1]

In drawing attention to the differences between V. 1, 111 and the list dating from the year of Biadas, I assumed (*BSA* xxvi. 193) that the omission of the two names Νικιππίδας Μενεμάχου and Ἰούλιος Λύκος from the former was likewise due to the engraver's carelessness. Here I must offer a belated apology, for it now seems more than possible that their omission was deliberate, and that in fact they were not members of the Gerousia in the year of Sejanus, but only in that of Biadas. In attempting to show that there was perhaps no change of membership of the Gerousia between these two years I had also overlooked a pertinent piece of evidence, namely, that in V. 1, 71, col. II. ll. 11–13 Γά(ϊος) Νερβίνιος Νόητος is recorded as ἐπὶ Σηϊανοῦ γερ(ουσίας), ἐπὶ Ἀριστοτέλους ἔφ(ορος).[2] As his name does not appear in the list of the Gerousia of the year of Biadas, he had presumably ceased to be a member at the end of Sejanus's year, and in his place and that of another retiring member Nikippidas and Julius Lykos were elected, though it is somewhat puzzling to find their names entered as sixth and seventh on the roll. That this was deliberate is now confirmed by the identification of a portion of another copy of the list of Biadas's year, which calls for comment. It appears among the unclassified fragments, and bears the number V. 1, 182, but there can be no doubt of its identity; and it is to be restored as follows:—

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[1] This records the Ephors of the year of Claudius Aristoteles, which seems to have been somewhat later than that of Biadas; but the evidence is scanty, as we have only V. 1, 109, where Claudius Aristoteles is Ephor ἐπὶ Τιμομένου[ς], in addition to V. 1, 68.

[2] His name must have come towards the end of the list in Sejanus's year, as it is not included among the seventeen names wholly or partly preserved in V. 1, 111.

Φιλού̣[μενος Σωτηρίδα·]
Φιλωνί[δας Εὐκρίνους·]
Σ̣ωσικρ̣[άτης Ἐπαφροδείτου·]
Ἰούλι[ος Νέας (?)·]
Νεικι[ππίδας Μενεμάχου·]
Ἰούλ[ιος Λύκος·]

This gives us the names of Nos. 2 to 7 of the list of Gerontes, only the heading, with the names of the Eponymos and the president, being lost from above.

113. It is doubtful whether this should be identified as part of a list of the Gerousia, for the following reason: Φιλούμενος Σωτηρίδα, in l. 2, is known to have been a member of that body three times (V. 1, 112, in the year of an unknown Eponymos; 111, in that of Cl. Sejanus; and *BSA* xxvi. 1, C 9 + 10, in that of Av. Biadas, discussed above). In the last-named he appears as second on the list, and if he is again a member in V. 1, 113 we should have to assume that he was this time πρέσβυς Γερουσίας, and that the fragmentary remains of l. 1 contained the name of the Eponymos. We should thus have to restore them as [Γέροντες ἐπὶ] . Λ̣ΙΛ, and both by their position and by the surviving remains we might restore the name as [Χ]ά̣ρ̣α̣[κος], which would suit chronological requirements, for we know from V. 1, 71, col. III, ll. 4–5 that Charax followed Sejanus, perhaps almost directly. This is admittedly very tempting as a restoration, but far from certain, and the doubtful letters in l. 1 may after all belong to a patronymic. If so, this cannot belong to a list of the Gerousia, but might be a list of Bideoi, whose usual number was six.

For the restoration of l. 3, [Τιμ]οσθενίδας Πεισι(δ)[άμου], see above, V. 1, 104.

114. Kolbe's date for this 'Imperatore Antonino Pio vel M. Aurelio' is surely too late, for on prosopographical grounds it can scarcely be put later than the last years of Hadrian's reign. Three of the members here listed as (presumably) members of the Gerousia, in ll. 2, 3 and 5, had been Nomophylakes together in the year of Damokles (III), *BSA* xxvii. p. 220, 1, E 33; and two others (ll. 8 and 10) served on that board in the year of M. Ulpius Sosikrates, *BSA* xxix. p. 12, 2, H (2), in each case not later, and perhaps slightly earlier, than A.D. 120. Moreover, it is tempting to recognise

in l. 1 the same Seitimos (Σε[ί]τε[ιμ]ος is no doubt correctly restored here) who was Eponymos in about the year 128, cf. V. 1, 32 B, l. 28; and in l. 6 Φίλιππος ⟨ is κάσεν to, and consequently co-eval with, Seidektas, the Eponymos of *ca.* A.D. 125.

There is, however, the further possibility, unfortunately incapable of proof as the stone was destroyed by fire a century ago, that this list formed the upper half of V. 1, 112. Both lists were engraved on a column, not a stele or slab, itself rather an exceptional practice; moreover, the total number of Gerontes (twelve on No. 114 and ten on No. 112) is only one less than the total of twenty-three that we might expect. Obviously 114 is incomplete above, and either the heading as well as the name of the President is lost, or perhaps, if Seitimos was in fact President, a line may be lost from below. Not only does no name occur in both lists, but the evidence of the names as a whole points to their being closely contemporary,[1] and, as a possibly significant detail of orthography, the Νικο - and - νικος names are all spelt without *epsilon*. The only observable difference between the writing of the two fragments as shown in the *Corpus* is that the sign indicating that father and son had the same name is given as ⟨ in 112, and as ɜ in 114; but this cannot be verified for the latter; and if it was so in fact, this inconsistency between the presumed upper and lower halves of the column is not by itself a fatal objection to their being combined. But it remains a conjecture, and more must not be claimed for it.

115. In l. 1 we should perhaps restore - - - ων̣[τος · Πρ]α̣τ̣όνε̣(ικ)[ος - -·].

116. The greater portion of this list depends solely on a copy by Cyriac of Ancona, made in the fifteenth century, which Kolbe has emended in several details; but I question whether he has recognised all the errors in Cyriac's copy. In l. 11 I cannot believe that Πρευκλητία is a possible name, though I cannot emend it satisfactorily; in l. 13 for the name of the third σπονδοφόρος I would substitute 'Ιούλιος Φιλ(ο)κρατίδα. for Kolbe's 'Ιούλιος Φιλ[η]ρατίδα[ς]. ; and in l. 14 I should similarly alter Φιληρατίδας into Φιλ(οκ)ρατίδας.

117. In l. 6 the upper portions of ten letters are preserved, in which we might without much difficulty recognise the name 'Επάγαθος . . .

118. In l. 5 one might restore ['Επάγα]θος ⟨ and in l. 6, [Βακ]χύλος rather than [Αἰσ]χύλος 'Α -.[2]

120. This may, with some confidence, be restored as the list of Γέροντες ἐπὶ 'Ονασικλείδα, in view of l. 4, where we can recognise the name [Νει]κάρων [Ζήλου], from whose *cursus* (*BSA* xxvi. p. 166 f., 1, B 9) we learn that he was

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[1] My own first idea 'not much, if at all, earlier than 150' (*BSA* xxvii. 220), put it, I am sure, at least ten years too late.

[2] Cf. T. Κλα. Βακχύλος ⟨, *BSA* xxvii. p. 216, 1, E 30.

γερουσίας τὸ β′ ἐπὶ Ὀνασικλείδα. It seems reasonably certain that he was serving for the second time in the present list, as τὸ β′ is appended to one of the preceding names, at the beginning of l. 2, and again in l. 7, though it is omitted in l. 5. We may accordingly transcribe it thus:—

[Γέροντες ἐπὶ Ὀνασικλείδα, ὧν πρέσβυς]
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

ΔΑṂ [- - - - τὸ (?)· - - - - - - - - τὸ]
β′· Σεί[τειμος ⟨ τὸ β′· - - - - · Ἐπαφρό -]
δειτος[- - τὸ β′· - - - - - - - - - · Νει -]
κάρων [Ζήλου τὸ β′· - - - - - - - - - - - ω -]
νος· ΚΛ̣[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Ὀνη -]
σιφόρο̣[ς (or - ο̣υ) τὸ β′· - - - - - - - - -]
·ος τὸ β′· (κ.τ.λ.)

121. Here again I think we may recognise the name of the Eponymos, for the first line preserved seems to offer no other intelligible reading than -ΜΠ̣ΕΙΟ̣[Υ]. Though the stone is said to be ‘undique mutilum’, I take this to be the first line of the text. Obviously it must be very near the top, since a member of the Board is recorded in l. 6 as serving τὸ γ′; and we seem to have a probable confirmation in the same line, for the letters copied as ΑΠ̣ may very likely be a mistake for ΑΓΙ, which I would complete as Ἀγί[ων Ἀρτεμισίου], whom we know from his *cursus* (*BSA* xxvi. p. 163, 1, A 9) to have been γερουσίας τὸ γ′ ἐπὶ Πείου. Two other inscriptions make mention of the Patronomate of Memmius Pius, namely, V. 1, 33 B, l. 22 and 65, l. 21; in the former his year falls between those of Lysippos son of Philocharinos and Julius Eurykles, and in the latter between the same Lysippos and Hermogenes. His year seems to have been not far from 122,[1] and this will help us to suggest some possible restorations for some of the other names in the list. In l. 2 -τος Νυ- must surely be [Εὔκλη]τος Νυ[μφοδότου], whom I take to be the πρέσβυς; he is known as having been Ephor in the year of Meniskos (V. 1, 59, l. 5), apparently some sixteen years later. In ll. 3–4 a likely suggestion would be [Φίλιππος Δαμον]είκου and [Ἑρμογένης Ἀσ]κλαπου̑ who appear, obviously as new members, towards the end of the roll of Gerontes under L. Volussenus Aristokrates (*BSA* xxvi. p. 164, 1, A 3–5). In the interval, of which we do not know the exact length in years, they must, on this view, have been members of the Gerousia more than once, if they were serving perhaps for the fourth time in the year of Pius. I cannot supply the name of the son of Timokles

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[1] Cf. *BSA* xiii. 201, 207; xxvi. 178.

in l. 5,[1] and it would be rash to complete the name in l. 8 as [Λύσιππος Φιλοχαρεί]νου, though the date would suit if we assumed also that in V. 1, 114, l. 3 we might restore [τὸ γ′] after his name; this list, as we saw above, cannot be more than about fifteen years, at most, later than the year of Pius.[2] For the last two names possible choices would be [Σωκλείδας Κ]λεων[ύμου τὸ β′] and [Ἐπιτυγχάνων] Κλε[ωνύμου τὸ β′], for this pair of brothers are found serving together as Γέροντες for the first time in *BSA* xxvi. p. 168, 1, C 6(β) (= V. 1, 20 B, l. 1), of which the date seems to be *ca.* A.D. 110.

Incorporating these suggestions, we may read the list as follows:—

[Γέροντες ἐπὶ Μεμ]μ. Π̣εί ο̣[υ],
[ὧν πρέσβυς Εὔκλη]τος Νυ[μφοδότου τὸ δ′ (?)·]
[Φίλιππος Δαμον]είκου τὸ [γ′ (or δ′)·]
[Ἑρμογένης Ἀσ]κλαποῦ τὸ [γ′ (or δ′)·]
5 [- - *ca.* 10 - Τ]ειμοκλέ[ους τὸ γ′·]
[. . . . . . . τὸ] γ′· Ἀγι̣[ων Ἀρτεμισίου τὸ γ′·]
- - *ca.* 10 - - ετος τὸ [β′(?)· - - - - - -]
- - ,, - - νου τὸ β′· - - - - - - - - -
[Σωκλείδας Κ]λεων[ύμου τὸ β′·] *vacat* (?)
10 [Ἐπιτυγχάνων] Κλε[ωνύμου τὸ β′·]

§ 5. *IG* V. 1, 123–144 (*Catalogi Ceterorum Magistratuum et Sacerdotum*)

128. I should prefer to restore ll. 1–3 so as to read:—

[Εὐδα]μίδας Σω[κράτιδα (?)]
[ἄρξας τ]ὰ̣ν ἀγοραν̣[ομίαν τὸν]
[ἐπὶ Ἀλκ]άστου ἐ̣[νιαυτόν·]

In l. 7 we may have [Ἀριστομένη]ς ⟨ τοῦ Ἐπικ[τήτου], as suggested above, under No. 66 (though this would require the letters to be rather closely spaced), and in l. 8 [Ἀγαθοκ]λῆς Εὐδαιμονίδα, whom we find as Bideos in an unidentified year, *BSA* xxvi. p. 166, 1, B 3. This would imply that Agathokles had been πρέσβυς βιδέων several years before he served as Agoranomos, which makes the identification rather uncertain;[3] but we find in the same list that Lysippos son of Philochareinos is now serving as Agoranomos after an interval of about twenty years since his year as Eponymos.[4]

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[1] Very possibly the same name is lost from before Τειμοκλέους in V. 1, 162, l. 15.

[2] P. 237. Another possible name for l. 8 would be [Σωσικράτης Φιλουμέ]νου, whom we know as νομοφύλαξ in V. 1, 40, ll. 21–2; this is slightly earlier than the year of Pius.

[3] I was perhaps too confident in making this suggestion, *BSA*, *loc. cit.*

[4] Alkastos's year was very close to 140, and that of Lysippos *ca.* 120, cf. V. 1, 32 B, ll. 15 and 19 f. and 65, ll. 19 f.

130. The expression in l. 3, συ[ν]μμαχήσας [Αὐτοκράτορι Ἀντωνεί] | νῳ, which is no doubt correctly attributed to Caracalla's Eastern campaigns, is followed by a passage which has hitherto remained unintelligible, namely the letters ἐν τοῖς ΦΛ - -. The use of the plural seems to rule out any possible interpretation of Φλ - as a place-name, but may we not recognise here a reference to service in the levy referred to by Herodian,[1] and assume that the Spartan formation serving alongside Caracalla's 'Macedonian phalanx' was also called by this name? If so, it is very tempting to suggest that the term was ἐν τοῖς φα[λαγγίταις],[2] in spite of the fact that this yields a considerably longer line (thirty-five letters, as against twenty-nine in l. 3 and twenty-two(?) in l. 5); but I see no other explanation, and the length of line on this stone is conspicuously irregular.

137. In l. 19 Πλάκωνος should, I am sure, be corrected to (Φι)λάκωνος, and Σωσικράτης his son may be identified as a brother of Δαμοκράτης Φ. in an almost contemporary list of Nomophylakes, *BSA* xxix. p. 12, 2 (H 2).

138. It is possible that for the name of the Πρέσβυς βιδέων in l. 3 we should restore the name of [Φιλοξενίδας Ἀ]ρι[στοδάμαν]τ[ος] τὸ β'. This would suit the few letters surviving from the patronymic and the position would be a suitable one for a man whom we know to have been three times (at least) a member of the Gerousia (V. 1, 99; *BSA* xxvi. p. 164, 1, A 4, l. 3; and xxix. p. 3, 1, E 26, l. 4). In l. 7 I can make no suggestion for the restoration of the name or names represented by Γά. Ἰούλιος Καλ . . . . ΤΙΚΕΛΩ, but in any case Kolbe's τικελῳ [κάσεν] (or Τι[β . Κ]λω[δίῳ - - - κάσεν]) is unconvincing, as it is extremely unusual for a man possessing Roman citizenship to be κάσεν to anybody.[3]

139. I should prefer to recognise in l. 3 Ἀριστότειμ[ος Ἀριστοτείμου], who was in turn President of the boards of Nomophylakes (V. 1, 65, l. 13) and Ephors (V. 1, 66, l. 14; 67, l. 3) within perhaps a dozen years after the date of the present list. Kolbe's suggestion Ἀρ. Εὐδαιμοκλέους (taken from V. 1, 109) would imply a somewhat later date.

141. In l. 26 we may confidently restore the patronymic of Λυσίνικος as [Σωτηρίδα] from *BSA* xxvii. p. 248, 36, where a man of this name, whom I would identify with his namesake in the present list, makes a dedication to the Dioscuri.

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[1] *Ab Excessu Divi Marci*, iv. 8, §§ 2–3: ἐπιλεξάμενός τε νεανίας καὶ στρατεύσας Μακεδονικὴν ἐκάλει φάλαγγα . . . ἀπό τε Σπάρτης μεταπεμψάμενος νεανίας Λακωνικὸν καὶ Πιτανάτην λόχον ἐκάλει; and iv. 9, § 4 (at a parade at Alexandria) φήσας ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τιμὴν φάλαγγα βούλεσθαι συστήσασθαι, ὥσπερ Μακεδονικὴν καὶ Σπαρτιᾶτιν.

[2] I cannot trace an epigraphical parallel for φαλαγγῖται, but it is used by Polybius and Diodorus for 'Legionaries', cf. *LS*^{9}, *s.v.*

[3] The only example, among upwards of sixty instances, of a Spartan, possessing Roman citizenship and, after reaching manhood, recording that he was κάσεν to another man, is T. Κλαύ(διος) Ἀγαθοκλῆς ⟨ Ἀντιπάτρῳ κάσεν, *BSA* xxvi. p. 167, 1, C 3 (α). In V. 1, 281, a boy-victor, who records his name as Δαμίων, Ἀνθεστίου Φιλοκράτους ὑός, Ἄγιδι Κλεάνδρου κάσεν is no doubt son of a Roman citizen.

144. This should surely be dated, as regards *b* and *c*, after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, in view of the absence of *praenomina* before the *nomen* Αὐρήλιος. There seems no reason to prevent our dating the patronomate of P. Aelius Damokratidas as late as this, though Kolbe (in his commentary on V. 1, 554) puts his *floruit* at about the end of the second century.

§ 6. *IG* V. 1, 145–212 (*Catalogi Collegiorum incerti*)

It is possible to identify the nature of a few of the fragments (Nos. 145–212) grouped together under this heading; and for convenience I add references to volumes of the *BSA* where such identifications have been already published.

148. For corrections in ll. 1–4 of this list of the Nomophylakes and certain other officials in the year of G. Julius Charixenos, see *BSA* xxvii. p. 216 f., 1, E 31. In ll. 5–8, where Kolbe's version appears to indicate that there were no less than five κάρυ(κες), of whom the third was a woman, there seems no hope of recovering the correct reading; but I would suggest that [Ε]ὐ[ρύκ]λεια in l. 7 is not a woman's name but an allusion to a victory gained in the festival of that name by the man recorded in l. 6 (cf. [Νικ]ασίων Ἐπιγόνου Ἴσθμια, V. 1, 114, l. 12).

157. For the identification of this text as the list of νομοφύλακες ἐπὶ Μ. Οὐλπίου Ἀφθονήτου, see *BSA* xxvi. pp. 202, 2(γ) and 204. Moreover, when publishing the new example of this list (*loc. cit.*), I had not realised the undoubted fact that a fragment broken off from the top left-hand corner, before Fourmont copied the remainder, is represented by V. 1, 187.[1] We may thus restore ll. 1–3 as follows:—

[Γά. Ἰούλιος] Λ̣ύσιππο[ς·] Π̣[ό.] Μέμμιος [Λάκων·]
[Ἀγαθοκλ]ῆς Στεφάνου· Νεικόμαχ[ος Ἁρμονείκου·]
[Νεικίππ]ίδας Μ̣ε̣νεμάχου· (κ.τ.λ.)

The remainder of the names I believe to record the Ephors of the year of G. Julius Theophrastos, for whose career we have his own account, engraved on the wall of the Theatre (*BSA* xxvii. pp. 227 ff., 1, F 3). When it is observed that in ll. 9–13 of this record he mentions his own tenure of the patronomate immediately after his munificent activities as Gymnasiarch ἐπὶ Ἀφθονήτου, we may reasonably infer that these two offices were held in quick succession, possibly in consecutive years. In the latter event it would not be unprecedented to inscribe the lists of the Ephors and Nomophylakes of these two years on one stele. In fact V. 1, 66 contains a similar pair of lists, dating from only a few years later.[1]

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[1] This fragment, found in 1908, was published in *BSA* xiv. p. 133, 57; my tentative suggestion that in l. 2 we might restore [Ἀγαθοκλ]ῆς Στεφ[άνου], which evoked Kolbe's comment 'res incertissima', receives gratifying confirmation after many years. The main portion, V. 1, 157 has not been rediscovered.

For ll. 5–10 I would accordingly propose:—

5 [Ἔφοροι ἐπὶ Γα. Ἰουλί]ου Θεοφράστου, [ὧν πρ(έσβυς)]
[Γά. Ἰούλιος Νεικηφόρ]ος Μάρκου·
- - - - - - - - - - ς·
[Γά. Ἰούλιος (?) Σωσί]βιος Κλεοδάμου·
[- - - - - - - - - κρα]τ(ί)δα·
10 [- - - - - - - - - - - κ]λείδας.

I would identify the πρέσβυς with the man of the same name who is known as Nomophylax in the year of Meniskos, V. 1, 59, l. 16; and I have suggested above that it must have been a brother of the Sosibios son of Kleodamos, whose name I restore in l. 8, who was πρέσβυς ἐφόρων just before this year, *i.e.*, under Aphthonetos. In l. 10 [Ὀνασικ]λείδας, preceded by a Roman *praenomen* and *nomen*, would be a possible name, but he should not be identified with G. Julius Onasikleidas, who was Nomophylax in the year of G. Julius Eukleidas (?), *BSA* xxix. p. 11, 2 (B) and appears to belong to an earlier generation; nor, of course, with Ὀνασικλείδας Φιλοστράτου, who was Ephor in the year of Lysippos son of Mnason, V. 1, 36A, ll. 12–13.

158. This list is known only from a particularly untrustworthy copy, which I reproduce, together with Kolbe's version of the text, before putting forward some rather bold suggestions for its improvement.

	ΟΥΟΥΟ	- - - - ου Οὐο[λοσσηνὸς - -
	ΣΓΡΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ	- - ς (Ἱ)π[π]οκράτου[ς],
	ΓΌΣΥΠΕΡ	- - πος Ὑπερ - -,
	ΥΣΕΙΔΚΙ	[- - ο]υ Σειδ(έ)κτ[ạ κάσεν],
5	ΟΥΔΙΟΣ	[- - Ἰ]ού[λ]ιος - -,
	ΔΕΙΖ	[- - κλ]είδ̣ - - -,

I do not find either l. 2 or l. 3 convincing, especially as I can find no name in the Spartan inscriptions of the Imperial age, or earlier, beginning with Ὑπερ -. If, however, we interpret ὑπέρ as a preposition, and recall its fairly frequent use at Sparta in describing the post of deputy-patronomos, we will find in l. 4 the man who deputised for his colleague, and the latter's name in ll. 1–2. I would propose, therefore:—

[Ἔφοροι (?) ἐπὶ Λ]ου. Οὐο[λοσση -]
[νοῦ Ἀρι]σ(τ)οκράτου[ς, πατρο -]

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[1] See above, No. 66; the second of the two identifiable.
Eponymoi is (θεὸς) Λυκοῦργος, but the first is not

[νομοῦν](τ)ος ὑπὲρ [αὐτὸν Πο.]
[Μεμμίο]υ Σειδ(έ)κτ̣[α, ὧν πρέσ -]
5 [βυς Γά. Ἰ]ού(λ)ιος - - - -
[- - - - κ](λ)είδ[α - - - - -,]

This appears less speculative when we recall the existence of a list of Nomophylakes of the year in which Seidektas acted as deputy for an Eponymos with the same Roman names as here. In restoring the full name as (ἐπὶ) Λου. Οὐολοσσηνοῦ [Δαμάρους] (*BSA* xxvi. p. 202, 2 (ε)), I assumed that there was not room for a name as long as Ἀριστοκράτους. If, however, we are ready to assume that the letters may have been somewhat compressed, it is most tempting to substitute the longer name, and to believe that the two lists belong to the same year. In this case Seidektas will be brother-in-law, and not son-in-law, of the Eponymos for whom he acted. We are still left in uncertainty as to whether this represents a different year from that in which Aristokrates appears as Eponymos without mention of his deputy.[1] It is, I assume, in any case to be distinguished from the year to which Seidektas gave his name.[2]

162. I have no doubt that the last letters in l. 1, ͰΡΒΟΥ, are to be interpreted as γρ(αμματεὺς) Βου(λᾶς), and not as - -ηρ βου(αγός), with Kolbe. It is therefore to be ascribed to the same type of list as V. 1, 110, which, as I have shown above, represents the latter part of a list of names followed by those of the Secretary of the Boule and of one or more Spondophoroi. I suspect, in view of the presence of at least eight names, likewise followed by that of the γραμματεὺς Βουλᾶς, on the reverse face of the stele, that it contained on each side a list of the Gerousia. In l. 13 on face *B* I see no objection to restoring the patronymic Λυκο - - as Λυκούργου, now that we have more than one instance of a Spartan citizen bearing this name.[3]

164. There is an obvious confusion in Fourmont's copy of this fragmentary text. In ll. 3–5 his copy gives:—

\ΑΘΗΝΑΙǑΕΓ
ΣΕΩΣ. ΤΗΣΑΙΙ
5 ΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ

for which I would substitute:—

\ΑΘΗΝΑΙǑΕΠ[Ι]
ΣΤΑΤΑΙΤΗΣΑΝ[ΑΘΕ]
5 ΣΕΩΣ.
[Π]ΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ

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[1] *BSA* xxvi. p. 164, 1, A 3–5; V. 1, 32 B, ll. 6–7.
[2] V. 1, 32 A, l. 3 f.
[3] *BSA* xxvi. p. 164, 1, A 3–5, l. 1; xxvii. p. 220, 1, E 33. These, perhaps, refer to the same man.

I assume that after l. 3 his eye missed the beginning of l. 4, by a confusion with l. 5, also beginning with a *sigma*, but that he put in the last five letters of l. 4 without otherwise correcting his omission. I suspect also that his version of l. 2, ΣΙΟ̆Λ̄ΑΡΕΤΩΟ, is not entirely trustworthy. Kolbe restores this as [Γάϊο]ς Ἰούλ. Ἀρέτω[ν], but I think he is wrong in assuming that there would be room for four more letters before the Σ, as the stele was narrower than he believed; and ΙΟ̆Λ̄ is a less usual abbreviation for Ἰούλιος than is ΙΟΥ. Since, moreover, we should expect Ἀπολλώνιος in l. 1 to be followed by a patronymic, I would suggest that the ending of it is represented by ΣΙΟ̆, and that, as there is scarcely room in l. 1 for [Διονυ]|σίου which would be an obvious restoration, the name should be restored as [Ἐρά] | σ(τ)ου, substituting Τ for Fourmont's Ι. This would enable us to identify the bearer with Ἀπολλώνιος Ἐράστου in V. 1, 71, col. III, ll. 20–22 (ἐπὶ Βρασίδα γερ(ουσίας), ἐπὶ Ἀριστοτέλους ἔφορ(ος)); and Λ̄ would thus be the *praenomen* of Ἀρέτω[ν], presumably the Eponymos mentioned *ibid.*, ll. 32/3.[1] I would accordingly restore the text as follows:—

Ἀπολλώνιο[ς Ἐρά -]
σ(τ)ου· Λ̄. Ἀρέτω[ν] Φ̣[ι -]
λ̣αθηναίου ἐπ̣[ι -]
στάται τῆς ἀν̣[αθέ -]
5 σεως·
[Π]ανέλληνες·
[Ξ]εναγόρ[ας·]
[Π]ασικρ[άτης·]
[πρ]ε̣σ[βυς (?)φει -]
10 [δι]τ̣[ίου - -.]

166. This joins V. 1, 104, as shown above.

167. There is little to add to this text as published by Kolbe, but it may be suggested that the letters ΝΟΣ, alone preserved in l. 1, are the end of the name of the Eponymos, *e.g.*, [Κλέω]νος, [Ἀρέτω]νος, *vel sim.*; and, moreover, that in l. 5 we should read [Φιλ]ωνίδας ⟨ for Kolbe's [Λε]ωνίδας⟨. The date is not easy to determine, for the long career of G. Julius Theophrastos (l. 4) lasted through the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and Philonidas the younger is found in the list of the Gerousia in the year of Biadas (*ca.* 150), *BSA* xxvi. p. 169, 1, C 10, l. 3; and, probably, as Nomophylax in that of

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[1] His patronymic raises a further difficulty. The Ο at the end of l. 2 can hardly be an error for the Ν which we require, and the remains of a *lambda* (?) at the beginning of l. 3 cannot be ignored. Is it not possible that Fourmont omitted the final Ν and read Ο for Φ, which would enable us to complete the patronymic as Φ[ι] | λαθηναίου? In any case Areton here may very possibly be identified with, or more probably the father of, the Areton who appears as ἀγωνοθέτης in V. 1, 666, l. 4, which I discuss below, p. 255.

Claudius Aristoteles, V. 1, 68, l. 26.[1] The additional title, ὁ ἀγαθός, indicates that he may have been an Ephor at the time of the dedication (or possibly shortly before). For other examples see above, p. 225 and note 2.

Assuming that the Spondophoroi were boys at the time, Γά. Ἰούλιος Δαμαίνετος Ξεναρχίδα cannot be identified with the man of the same name whom I suggested as one of the Ephors in the year of Aphthonetos, in V. 1, 61, above; but in view of the rarity of the names he might well have been his grandson, and presumably son of the Eponymos Xenarchidas, whom we find in V. 1, 39 (= 71, col. I.), l. 30. For the letters ΡΟΣ which follow the name of [Γά(ϊος) Ἰού]λιος Λυσικράτης, in l. 9, I would suggest [νεώτε̣]ρος, as more likely than as forming the end of a patronymic. The bearer would thus be son of the man of the same name who is found as Eponymos in V. 1, 55 and *BSA* xxvi. p. 208, 6, and should be dated to about the middle of the second century, which the general trend of the evidence from the names in this list indicates as its most probable date.

169. As the name Menippos is rare at Sparta, we should perhaps restore l. 1 as [Γά. Ἰούλι]ος Μένιππ̣[ος], who might well be identified with his namesake, Biduos in an uncertain year, *BSA* xxvi. p. 166, 1, B 3. This seems to date from about the beginning of Trajan's reign, and would entitle us to restore the name of [Τιβ. Κλαύδι]ος Ἁρμόνει[κος], a contemporary, in l. 2. In l. 3 I would prefer to interpret Ā as τα(μίας) or even γρα(μματεύς) rather than Γά(ϊος), for we should expect a *nomen*, and, moreover, Kallistos suggests the name of a *libertus* rather than of a free-born citizen. In l. 4, [Σαρα]πίων is possible. I can shed no light on the last three (or four) letters, but I think it most improbable that ΤΚΔ could represent a date reckoned from 146 B.C.[2]

172–175. Kolbe is surely correct in recognising No. 173 as a fragment surviving from 172, ll. 1–4, but it is strange that he failed to see also that 172 and 174 can be convincingly united to form one stele, of which both margins are preserved; as Fourmont even copied both on the same page of his diary (f. 106) we need feel no doubt about the join. Putting them together, we may read ll. 1–7 as follows:—

[Μᾶρκ](ο)ς Πόρκιο̣[ς Λογ]γ̣ε̣ῖνος
[Σω]ζᾶ· Αὐρ. Ἀρίων ʒ· Αὐρ. Διονύ-
[σ]ιος Εὐτυχᾶ· Αὐρ. Ἀπολλώ-
νιος Καμεινᾶ· [Α]ὐρ. Ἀρίστων
5 Δαμονίκου· Α̣[ὐρ.] Εὐτυχίων
Ῥωμανοῦ· Αὐ[ρ. Πα (?)]σικλῆς
Ζωσιμᾶ· Αὐ̣[ρ. - - -]ᾶ̣ς·

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[1] The patronymic given in the *Corpus, ad loc.*, must be corrected to Φιλωνίδα, as I pointed out in *BSA* xxix. 22, in publishing another list in which his name is found in its correct form.

[2] As Kolbe implies, following a suggestion of M. Fraenkel.

The exact significance of this list, which is not likely to date from before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, is not indicated in the opening portion, but a clue is afforded by l. 8 as completed below.

For the interpretation of ll. 8–11 I am indebted to Mr. M. N. Tod for some valuable suggestions, of which I have gladly made use. In l. 8, as he kindly informed me, ΥΠΟΑΛⱵ - - - - ΗΛΙΟΥΣ should be restored as ὑπὸ ἀλε̣[ίπτας Αὐρ]ηλίους instead of Kolbe's ὑπὸ 'Αλε̣ - - - - ηλίους, and the names in ll. 9–10, to be completed as accusatives, will be the *cognomina* of the two ἀλεῖπται, each of whom had the *nomen* Αὐρήλιος (here put in the plural to avoid repetition), *i.e.* Φίλητ̣[ον - - -]δος and Σω | σθ[ένην]. At the end of l. 10 in - - την δὲ τῆς, restored by Kolbe as ὑπηρέ]την δὲ τῆς, we have clearly the termination of a noun in the accusative, also governed by ὑπὸ in l. 8. For this use of the preposition with this case we may instructively compare ὑπὸ ἐπ[ισ]τάτην τὸν δεῖνα, V. 1, 659, l. 8, likewise used in an athletic context.

It remains to mention a further discovery. Mr. Tod's clue ἀλε̣[ίπτας] has enabled me to recognise that V. 1, 175, a fragment containing portions of six lines which is preserved at Copenhagen,[1] must be another piece of our stele, for we must clearly read in l. 2 ΙΠΤΑΣΑ̣ instead of ΙΠΓΑΣΑ̣, as given in l. 2 of the *Corpus*, for which Hiller suggested ['Αγρ]ίπ̣π̣ας 'Α - -. This fragment thus joins exactly with 172, ll. 7 ff. and enables us to complete l. 9 as ΦΙΛΗΤ̣Ο̣Ν ΑΓΑΘΟΠ̣[Ο]ΔΟΣ, only one letter being lost at this point on the right between 175 and the Δ in 174, l. 9. Fitting our three pieces together we may now read ll. 7–12 as follows:—

Ζωσιμᾶ· Αὐρ. Ε̣ι . . . ᾶς·
ὑπὸ ἀλε̣ίπτας Α̣[ὐρ]ηλίους
Φίλητ̣ο̣ν 'Αγαθόπ̣[ο]δος· Σω -
10 σθ[ένη]ν 3· ΠΓ̣ - - - την δὲ τῆς
[. . . . . . Α]ὐ̣ρ. 'Απο[λλών]ιον 3
. . . . Ο̣Ρ̣ . . . . ΠΟ.

In l. 7 it seems scarcely possible to decide between 'Ε̣π̣[ικτ]ᾶς and Ε̣ὐ̣[τυχ]ᾶς, for both names are found at Sparta and are of the required length.[2] In ll. 8–9 Αὐρ. Φίλητος 'Αγαθόπ̣[ο]δος is surely to be identified with M. Αὐρ. Φίλητος 'Αγαθόποδος, who received a statue from the city, at his brother's expense, ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἅπαντας αἰδοῦς ἕνεκα (V. 1, 565), in terms well suited to a distinguished athlete and trainer. Αὐρ. Σωσθένης I cannot trace elsewhere, but I have no doubt that Αὐρ. Ἀπο[λλών]ιος 3 in l. 11 is identical with Αὐρ. Ἀπο[λλ - - in a σφαιρεῖς-inscription, V. 1, 682, l. 5. His title is there restored as [ἐπιμελη] | τοῦ δὲ τῆς φ[υλῆς καὶ γυμνασιάρ] | χου, which may give us a helpful clue to the restoration of his title in ll. 10–11 of our reconstructed stele, where we have ΠΓ̣ - - - την, with not more than four letters, at the very most, lost in the middle, presumably πρ̣[οστά]την.

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[1] In reply to my enquiry, Dr. P. J. Riis, Keeper of the Department of Antiquities in the National Museum at Copenhagen, informs me that this fragment, which was brought from Sparta by C. T. Falbe, was acquired in 1844 from King Christian VIII's collection. A photograph, which he has most kindly supplied, shows that the reading in l. 2 is quite distinctly ΙΠΤΑΣΑ and that, as he confirms in writing, the last letter in l. 4 *might* be Ρ.

[2] For 'Επικτᾶς, V. 1, 159, l. 34, 479, l. 2; for Εὐτυχᾶς, l. 2 above, 159, l. 8, 529, l. 15. The photograph indicates that the letter after Ε̣ was probably Υ̣ rather than Π̣.

It must be observed that [ἐπιμελη] | τοῦ in V. 1, 682 is only a conjecture, made less certain by the facts that no other mention of such an official is to be found at Sparta, and that the number of letters available is not exactly known, as we cannot restore the patronymic Σ - - - which precedes it. Thus [ἐπιστά]του or [προστά]του would be equally permissible as alternatives, though neither of these titles is to be found in Spartan inscriptions in relation to a φυλή. Clearly, a post coupled with the distinguished office of Gymnasiarch was likely to be an important one, and [προστά]του seems the more likely conjecture, in view of the importance attached to the honorary position of προστάτης τῆς πόλεως, of which we know of two holders, V. 1, 547, l. 17 f. (and 683, l. 7 f., the same man) and *BSA* xxix. p. 35, 58, l. 8; and moreover at Methone in Messenia we find a man described as γυ̣μ̣νασιάρχου καὶ προσ[[τ]]τάτ̣ο̣υ κα̣ὶ πατρὸς τῆς πόλεως. I should therefore prefer to restore [προστά]του τῆς φ[υλῆς] in V. 1, 682, and would suggest that this tells definitely in favour of completing the title in 175 + 174 as π(ρ)[οστά]την δὲ τῆς | [φυλῆς] rather than [πόλεως], on account of the presumed identity of Aur. Apollonios in the two lists.

I have nothing to propose for ll. 12–15, though in l. 15 I willingly accept M. Fraenkel's simple conjecture [μάγε]ιρος. In conclusion, we cannot claim to recognise the exact nature of this list, containing the names of eight athletes, two trainers, a ' president ' of the φυλή, as well as a secretary (l. 13) and a cook, for we have no near parallel, but that it relates to an athletic organisation seems beyond doubt. It is to be noted that Fourmont's copy of 172 indicates that it was complete above, but that of 174 indicates that it was not, so it is possible that other names are missing from above. In that case our stele might perhaps represent an incomplete list of victorious σφαιρεῖς,[1] admittedly in an entirely different form from the usual type of list, V. 1, 674–687.

177. In l. 1, surely [Μου]σαῖος Ἀγίωνος; and in l. 2 [Ἀγη]τ̣ορίδας, a suggestion by Preger, is, to my mind, quite certain to be right.

179. In ll. 2–3 we may confidently complete the name as [Ἀρισ] | τοκλῆς; in l. 6 ΣΤΡΩΜΝΩΙ seems incurably corrupt, and Kolbe's [Ἱε]ρω[νύμ]ῳ̣

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[1] The only complete list (V. 1, 674) contains the names of fourteen σφαιρεῖς.

κ̣[άσεν - -], which savours of desperation, can hardly be possible, especially if it is implied that the Roman citizen in the previous line is κάσεν to the man here named.[1] Σ(ιπό)μ(που) would be nearer the letters of the copy, but at best only a guess; and ΣΤΡωμ(αί)ων̣ would be closer still.[2]

180. In l. 14 I would suggest [Τυν]δ̣αρε̣[ύ̣ς].

181. In l. 3, possibly Τελ[εσφόρος 'Ανθεσφόρου], as in V. I, 65, l. I.

182. This is from a second copy of the list of Gerontes in the year of Biadas, as stated above (*vide* No. 111).

187. This joins No. 157, above, *q.v.*

191. A small additional fragment, which joins the lower right-hand corner of the two pieces surviving from this stele, was found in 1924, at the Theatre, about 200 yards away from the finding-place of the other pieces. It gives us two additional letters, ΤΟ, in l. 5, and the end of one name in l. 6, -ιππος. The combined fragments now read as follows:—

[Γέροντες] ἐπ[ὶ - - - -]
[......, ὢν] πρέσσ̣[βυς - -]
........ς 'Αγησί[λαος τὸ ·]
- - - - ος Θεο - - - - -
5 [- - - κ]λῆς τὸ[· - - - - -]
[- - - - (?) Λύσ]ιππος - -

We cannot identify the Eponymos, for whose name there seem to be fully twelve spaces available. If the first letter in l. 3 is the end of the *nomen* of Agesilaos, we might identify the bearer with Γάϊος 'Ιούλιος 'Αγησίλαος, who is known also as ἀθλοθέτης in V. I, 667, and as Eponymos in *BSA* xxvi. p. 170, I, E 2, and p. 195 f.[3] If we assume that ll. 4 and 5 each began with a fresh name, we might suggest [Θεόδωρ]ος Θεο[κλέους] and ['Αγαθοκ]λῆς as suitable, both for the space available and for the presumed date.[4] The former would in this case be holding office as member of the Gerousia for the third (or fourth?) time, as he is γερουσίας τὸ β′ in the list cited in the note. Our present list might therefore be assigned to the latter half of Trajan's reign.

193. The presence of the rare name Ἔννυχος in l. 2 permits us to restore the missing name of his son as Πρατόνεικος, in the light of *BSA* xxvii. p. 217, I, E 31, l. 2. This indicates that about eleven letters are missing on the left

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[1] See my note on No. 135, above.

[2] Could this possibly be an abbreviation for στ(ρατηγὸς)?; or the remains of [ἱππ]εὺς 'Ρωμαίων?

[3] If Agesilaos was ἀθλοθέτης in A.D. 97 (±) and Eponymos not many years later, he might very well have been President of the Gerousia *ca.* 110–115.

[4] Θεόδωρος Θεοκλέους was γερουσίας τὸ β′ in *BSA* xxvi. p. 168, I, C 6 (α), and 'Αγαθοκλῆς ⟨ is γερουσίας in V. I, 99, l. 4 and Ephor ἐπὶ [Λο. Οὐολ.] 'Αριστοκράτους, *BSA* xxix. p. 14, 2 (N).

in each line, and limits our choice for the names in the other lines, where I would suggest the following:—

[Μενεκλῆς Κλε]οδάμου·
[Πρατόνεικος] Ἐννύχο[υ·]
[. . . . . . . Καλλ]ικρατίδα·
[Σείπομπος Κλ]εονίκου.

For l. 1, cf. *BSA* xxvi. p. 167, 1, C 3; and for l. 4, *op. cit.* xxix. p. 3, 1, E 26. Here, too, we have an incomplete list of magistrates of Trajanic date, who cannot be either Nomophylakes, since Pratoneikos was President of that body in the list which enables us to restore his name here; or Ephors, as Menekles held that post in the year of Nikokrates (*BSA* xxvi., *loc. cit.*). As, moreover, the stone is complete above, and there is no indication of an Eponymos, we may reasonably regard it as coming from the second column of a list of the Gerousia, engraved in two columns.

197. This fragment from near the foot of a list must be restored to read:—

- - - - - - - - - -
Πό(πλιος) Μέ(μμιος) - - ·
κᾶρυ[ξ]
[Εὐ]θυμοκ[λῆς]
[Ἀμα]ράν[του].

The name of the Herald is taken from V. 1, 1314, l. 14 (without his patronymic), and 1315, l. 28, where the patronymic is added. This enables us to date the present list to the reign of Hadrian.

§ 7. *IG* V. 1, 213–698 (*Res Sacrae, Tituli Honorarii*, etc.)

219. Hiller's suggestion that V. 1, 219 might be combined with 239 *a* and *b* is definitely ruled out by the difference in the lettering, both as regards size and style.

239, 253. As No. 239*a* has not been re-discovered since Le Bas saw it, more than a century ago, it is impossible to verify the truth of Hiller's conjecture that it might be combined with 239*b*, which at first sight appears quite possible. On the other hand, I am quite sure that the latter belongs to the same stele as No. 253, as Tillyard stated in his original publication of these two pieces.[1]

Kolbe restores No. 253 (which he includes among the inscriptions from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia) as reading:—

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[1] *BSA* xii. 440, Nos. 2 and 3.

- - - κ̣έται δα -
[- - ᾿Ορ]θ̣ίας ἐνίκ -
[η - - - - - - - - -]

He is, however, mistaken about the finding-place of 239*b*, which was not the Altar of Artemis Orthia but the 'Great Altar', situated on the bank of the Eurotas some 650 yards above the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.[1] Thus there is no ground for restoring ο̣ιας in l. 2 as [᾿Ορ]θ̣ίας. We may also question his version of l. 1, for which I would propose an easy and in fact obvious alteration, namely:—

[- - - - ἀνέθε]κε τᾶι Δά -
[ματρι, κ.τ.λ.]

This would in fact be a dedication to Demeter, perhaps, in view of the word ἐνίκ[ε], by an athletic victor; but it does not help us towards a restoration of the mutilated remains of eight lines in No. 239*b*, unless possibly the letters IIKE in l. 1 should be read as [ἐ](ν)ίκε.[2] On this view Hiller's suggestion that the combination of 239*a* + *b* might have reference to Lysander's victory at Aegospotami becomes hardly tenable.

There would be nothing improbable in a dedication to Demeter at Sparta, for we know from Pausanias of two sanctuaries where she was worshipped, namely those of D. Chthonia (iii. 14, 5, with no clear topographical indication), and of D. Eleusinia, which has been definitely located south-west of Sparta, at Kalyvia Sokhas (iii. 20, 5; cf. *BSA* xvi. 12–14; also *AM* xxix. 1 ff., H. von Prott's original identification of the site). From the latter we have also an inscription recording a dedication to Demeter and Kore, V. 1, 229. We might conjecture that the 'Great Altar' by the Eurotas was the centre of the other worship of Demeter mentioned by Pausanias, but only if we bear in mind that he does not mention any sanctuary or building of any kind in a position corresponding to this altar; and, moreover, that he only mentions parenthetically the sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia, apparently as if he had not actually seen it.

468. I have no doubt that we must correct both the date of this statue-base and the restoration of the last two lines. We have no evidence from prosopography for the date or identity of the recipient of the statue, but the epithet τὸν εὐγενέστατον has no parallel among inscriptions of the early second century, to which Kolbe would assign it; and I would suggest that it might more convincingly be placed about a century later, at least.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, 295 ff.

[2] For ἐνίκε (imperfect) cf. the Damonon inscription,

V. 1, 213, l. 13 and *passim*.

The last two lines, restored in the *Corpus* as ἀριστοπολεί | την ἐπιφαν[έστατον], are unsatisfactory, for we have no certain example at Sparta of the use of ἀριστοπολείτης for ἀριστοπολειτευτής, and in fact there seems room for the letters ΤΕΥ at the end of l. 8. Ἐπιφαν[έστατον] raises even more doubts, for it is unknown at Sparta as applied to an individual citizen, and indeed is only found as an element in Imperial titles, and seldom before the late third century.[1] I have no hesitation in restoring these two lines as ἀριστοπολει[τευ] | τήν, ἐπιφαν[ῶς | καρτερήσαντα], for which we may compare ἐπιφανῶρ καρτερήαντα in V. 1, 653*a*, and ascribing this to a statue erected to one who had in his youth won the καρτερίας ἀγών at the sanctuary of Orthia; we should consequently add it to the group of similar statue-bases, published in the *Corpus* under Nos. 652, 653, 653 *a* and *b*, 654, and *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*, p. 358, No. 144. It may be noted that the epithet τὸν εὐγενέστατον in l. 2 is used also in V. 1, 653 and in the inscription from the Sanctuary of Orthia.

473. Kolbe's tentative suggestion in l. 4 f., Ἀρχιάδα τοῦ [Νε] | όλα is now fully confirmed by the appearance of Νεόλας Ἀρχιάδα (his father or his son?) in a list of Nomophylakes, *BSA* xxvi. p. 166, 1, B 7.

495. I do not feel satisfied with the restoration of l. 6 as given by Kolbe, [ἐπίτροπον Αὐτοκράτο]ρ̣ο̣[ς Τ̣.] Ἀ̣ντωνέινου, as it requires about four letters more than the available space permits. Groag's ingenious suggestion [τιμηθέντα ὑπὸ Αὐτοκράτο]ρο[ς Τ.] Ἀντωνείνου [Σεβαστου] ἵπ[πῳ δημοσίῳ][2] must be ruled out, as it requires seven letters too many. In any case it is strange that the *nomen* Αἰλίου does not follow the Emperor's *praenomen*; but if Le Bas has copied the letters Ρ̣Ο̣ · Ι̣ accurately, I would prefer to read [ἐπίτροπον Καίσα]ρ̣ο̣[ς]τ̣ Ἀντωνείνου | [Σεβασ̣τοῦ]. I prefer not to touch the three letters ΓΙΠ which alone survive from the last line, though I do not fully endorse Kolbe in his condemnation of Le Bas's suggestion [προσδεξαμένου τὸ ἀνάλωμα Γορ]γίπ[που] ('*quae restitutio plane inanis est*'), for it at least would supply the right number of letters to fill the gap approximately.

517. In ll. 5–8 we may confidently restore [τῆς τε περὶ τῶν Λυκουργ | είω]ν̣ ἐθῶν π̣[ροστασίας] | καὶ τῆς ἄλλη̣[ς συμ]π̣ά | [ση]ς ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν, exactly as found in V. 1, 560. For ll. 10–13 I hesitate to follow Kolbe's restoration [τ]ῶ̣ν γ̣[ονέων] | . . ο̣π̣α̣τ̣ρ̣ου / [τ]οῦ Δ̣α̣ικράτ[ους], as the latter name is hitherto unknown at Sparta; and, moreover, I cannot readily believe that a distinguished upholder of the Lycurgan traditions would be likely to receive the honour of a statue during the lifetime of his parents. Moreover, if we were

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[1] *E.g.*, *BSA* xxx. 214 and n. 2.

[2] *Die Römische Reichsbeamten von Achaia*, 144. This restoration is even less suitable for l. 7, as it would leave a gap of nearly twenty letters after Σεβαστοῦ, if I am interpreting him rightly.

to substitute τέκνων for γονέων we could keep closer to the evidence of the surviving letters, assuming that Ο̣ΝΙ Ι at the end of l. 10 are the remains of [τ]ῶν τ̣έ̣, and that ΟΓΙ in l. 11 represent ΩΝ. This will enable us to recognise in ΛΤΙΘΥ the word ΑΥΤΟΥ, and thus do away with Kolbe's . ο̣π̣ά̣τρ̣ου.

In l. 12, rather than restore [τ]οῦ Δ̣α̣ικράτ[ους], I would prefer to think that Fourmont (who obviously had difficulty in reading the stone) had omitted the letters ΚΑ from the familiar name Καλλικράτους, and that the ΟΥ belong to the end of his *nomen*. My amended version of ll. 4–12 will accordingly read thus:—

[- - - - - - - - - τῆς]
5 [τε περὶ τῶν Λυκουργ -]
[είω]ν̣ ἐθῶν π̣[ροστασίας]
καὶ τῆς ἄλλη̣[ς συμ]π̣ά-
[ση]ς ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν,
προσδεξαμέν(ω)ν
10 [τὸ ἀ]ν[άλ](ω)[μα τ]ῶ̣ν̣ τ̣έ̣-
[κν](ων) α̣(ὐ)τ̣(ο)ῦ . . . λ̣(π ?)-
[ί]ου (Κα)λλικράτ[ους καὶ]
. . . . Ο . . . . Ι̣ΕΝΗ (?) - - - -

519. This I believe to be the lower portion of V. 1, 582, *q.v.*

537. A small fragment of this base, which was complete when copied by Fourmont but subsequently broken up before the time of Ludwig Ross's visit to Sparta, when he copied a fragment from ll. 1–3, to which Lenormant's copy of part of ll. 9–11 was added later, is to be recognised in V. 1, 634, *q.v.* For some proposed improvements in the *stemma* of the Memmii, which Kolbe appends to this text, see below, No. 582.

555*a*. For another fragment of this base, which was still complete when copied first by Cyriac and then by Fourmont, see below, No. 641.

582. It seems certain that we may combine 519 with this stone. Both were copied by Fourmont at Slavokhori, the former 'prope templum Minervae', the latter 'in templo Apollinis'. Neither has been re-discovered, but seeing that the last two lines of his copy of 582 read:—

ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΟ\
ΤΟΑΝΑΔΓ,

and that 519 reads:—

ΩΜΑ
ΔΙΩΝΑΝΤ ΠΑ.
ΚΑΙΠΡΑΤΟΛΑΤ . .
ΥΙΩΝ,

the join ΑΝΑ(Λ̣)ΩΜΑ must be correct. As, however, the cost of the statue is defrayed by two sons we must correct the participle-ending to read -αμέν(ων), and thus complete the text as:—

ʽΑ Πόλις
Μεμμίαν ʼΑγήταν
[Πρα]τόλα θυγατέρα
[ἀρε]τᾶς χάριν,
5 προσδεξαμέν(ων)
τὸ ἀνά(λ)ωμα [ἐκ τῶν ἰ-]
δίων ʼΑντ[ι]πά[τρου]
καὶ Πρατόλα τ[ῶν]
υἱῶν.

This restoration enables us to amplify the *stemma* of the Memmii appended by Kolbe to V. 1, 537, for Claudia Ageta daughter of Antipatros, whose name is found on one of the 'Aberdeen Marbles' (V. 1, 249) originally copied by Fourmont in a chapel near Slavokhori, is no doubt daughter of the same Antipatros who helps to pay for his mother's statue here. Thus Claudia Ageta was granddaughter of Memmia Ageta, and I would suggest that Pratolas, her great-grandfather, was identical with Pratolas I. in Kolbe's *stemma*. We should accordingly insert the name of Memmia Ageta as sister to P. Memmius Deximachos I. and Memmia Timosthenis II.; and we may further suggest that Κλέων ἐξ ʼΑγήτας, in V. 1, 212, l. 46, was manumitted by the grandmother of the younger Ageta, who did the same for Θεόδωρος ἐξ ʼΑγήτας, in V. 1, 177.[1] It would appear, moreover, that Kolbe dates Pratolas I too early, in ascribing V. 1, 580, in which he and his wife erect a statue to their daughter Memmia Timosthenis, to the first century B.C. This text derives from a somewhat untrustworthy copy by Pouqueville,[2] which gives him the *praenomen* Πό(πλιος), but omits the Μέ(μμιος) which we should expect, in view of the natural assumption that his Roman citizenship derived from the authority of P. Memmius Regulus.[3]

600. Since this stone has been re-discovered, and is quite undamaged, no reason exists for altering Συλλίου in l. 3 to [Α]ὐ[ρη]λίου, with Kolbe, for Sullius is a known Roman *nomen* (cf. Dessau, *ILS* 8277). No doubt his daughter took her *nomen* of Aurelia on her marriage to Aur. Nikephoros.

607. In l. 6 f. there is no room, apparently, for the restoration κ[α | λοκἀγαθ]ία̣, and I suspect that the letters ΚΙ at the end of l. 6 may have been ΕΥ, enabling us to supply the word (εὐ) | [σεβε]ία̣, which fits the space, and

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[1] As corrected by Tod, *JHS* xxxiv. (1914), 61 f.

[2] Cf. Kolbe's *lemma, ad loc.*

[3] Cf. H. Box, 'Roman Citizenship in Laconia', *JRS* xxii. (1932), 178.

is no less appropriate to be coupled with παιδεία. There seems no hope of making sense of ll. 10–16 until the stone is recopied. If so, it might confirm my tentative suggestion ἐφάμ̣[ιλλον] in l. 10.

634. This is clearly from the lower right-hand corner of V. 1, 537, which was still complete when copied by Fourmont, giving us the ends of ll. 13–15, which read as follows:—

[ἀνάλω]μα Με[μ-]
[μίων Μνά]σωνος
[καὶ Πρατο]λάου τῶν̣
[υἱῶν αὐτοῦ.]

641. This fragment, copied by Ludwig Ross (*Inscr. gr. ined.* I. 15), is, I am sure, part of ll. 15–19 of V. 1, 555*a*, of which he copied two other fragments (*op. cit.*, Nos. 14 and 17). Its position in relation to the left-hand edge of the stone is shown thus, with the letters copied by Ross underlined:—

15 ΡΟΣ
ΩΝΙΟΥ
ΣΤΟΝΙΚ̣
ΚΑΙΑΡΙΣ
ΠΡΕΣΒ

In l. 17 I have corrected the last letter, which he copied as Γ.

666. At the end of l. 2 Kolbe has needlessly altered Fourmont's reading ΑΛΕΙΠΤΟΣ to ἀλείπτ(η)ς, as has been pointed out by L. Robert, *Rev. Arch.* xxx. (1929), p. 35 (note 1), who gives numerous examples of ἄλειπτος, 'undefeated', used of both gladiators and athletes. Nor can I accept his alteration of Fourmont's version of the *praenomen* and *nomen* of Areton, namely ΔΟΥΤΕΛ, to [Μ. Α]ὐ[ρη̣]λ(ίου), for which M. Fraenkel had proposed (rightly, as I believe) (Λ)ου(κίου) (Γ)ελ(λίου), in the light of *Olympia*, v. 382, in which the name of Λ. Γέλλιος 'Αρέτων appears.[1] M. Aurelius Asklepiades of Alexandria, the athlete here honoured, is of course well-known, and his career, recorded in *IGR.* i. 153, can be dated almost exactly as from 177/8 to 182/3.[2] Kolbe's reference to a Gymnasiarch M. Aur. Areton of the time of Caracalla is thus of no help to his proposed alteration.

674. In l. 5 ['Αριστ]ομένης 'Επικτήτου is a certain restoration, in view of V. 1, 97, l. 4, where he is found as γερουσίας τὸ γʹ in the year of G. Julius Philokleidas; for a mention of his son, see above, V. 1, 66, l. 4.

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[1] I suggest above that he may be identified with, or more probably the son of, Λ. 'Αρέτω[ν] in No. 164, l. 2.

[2] He won the παγκράτιον at Olympia in the 240th Olympiad (= A.D. 181) and records that he retired, after six years of competition, at the age of twenty-five. For fuller details of his career see the commentary on *IGR.* i. 153.

681. I do not find the published restoration of ll. 2–4 at all convincing. The stone lacks both edges, and the letters preserved here are:—

ΔΙΑΒΕΤΕ
ΝΙΟΥΑΡΙΣ
ΣΦΑ̣ΙΡΕΙΣΚ

Kolbe, following Tod, *BSA* x. 65, prints them as:—

διαβέτε[ος δὲ - -]
[- - αἰω]νίου ἀρισ[τοπολει -]
[τευτοῦ·] σφαιρεῖς Κ[ονοου-]
5 [ρέων, κ.τ.λ.

As all our evidence goes to show that the διαβέτης was a young man (in fact this post is often the first to be recorded in a *cursus honorum*), it seems most improbable that here or elsewhere he could have already received the title of αἰώνιος ἀριστοπολειτευτής. I feel no doubt that we have here the remains of a Roman *nomen* followed by 'Αρισ - -, and would confidently restore [Πομπω]νίου 'Αρισ[τέα], the name of one of the two sons of the still better-known Γά. Πομπώνιος "Αλκαστος, who is honoured with a statue in V. 1, 495, on which I have commented above.[1] As, moreover, he is there referred to as βοαγόν, [διαβ]έτην, ἀποδέκτην, κ.τ.λ., we need not further question the correctness of the restoration, which enables us to read:—

- - διαβέτε[ο̣ς δὲ Γαΐου]
[Πομπω]νίου 'Αρισ[τέα τοῦ 'Αλ-]
[κάστου], σφαιρεῖς κ.τ.λ.

This implies a date perhaps close to the year (*ca.* 140) when his father was Eponymos, and seems to render unlikely Kolbe's suggestion for the patronymic of Aphrodeisios, in l. 2, [Εὐκαταλλάκτου], for this is borrowed from V. 1, 168, which can hardly be earlier than the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

685. It is distinctly tempting to restore the missing name of the Eponymos as Μᾶρ. Αὐρήλιος Φίλιππος, in view of the title in ll. 3–4 (of the transcript) which we may restore as [υἱοῦ πόλεως καὶ] βουλῆς, for we know of no other Spartan who added this distinction to that of being αἰώνιος ἀριστοπολειτευτής (l. 5). I would also suggest that in l. 1 (= l. 3 of the transcript) we should read ΙΔ as ΙΛ, and restore [φ]ιλ[οπάτριδος] instead of [φιλοπάτρ]ιδ[ος] which will suit better the ascertained length of the lines, *ca.* twenty-five letters. M. Aur. Philippos is not hitherto known to have been Eponymos, but in V. 1, 551 he defrays the cost of a statue and in *BSA* xxix. p. 38 f., No. 60 he receives one;

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[1] I assume that like his father and his brother Γά. Πομπώνιος "Αγις he also had the *praenomen* of Γάϊος; for the former cf. V. 1, 65, l. 2, for the latter, 71, III l. 50 f. and 494.

and his title of αἰώνιος ἀριστοπολειτευτής in l. 5 thus confirms my restoration of the last lines of the latter text as [λαβόν]τα τ[ὰς τῆς ἀριστοπολειτείας τιμὰς κατὰ τὸν νόμον (?)].

§ 8. A DECREE FROM THE SANCTUARY OF APOLLO HYPERTELEATES

963 + 976. These two portions of a decree (both in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens) make an exact join, and no complete line is lost between them. It will be observed that in the upper half the length of the lines varies between twenty-nine and thirty-eight letters (ll. 1 and 7 respectively), and in the lower, between thirty and thirty-five in ll. 1–4, after which, with the use of a wider spacing, the range is eighteen to twenty-four letters. The lettering throughout is practically uniform, though in the *Corpus* 963 is shown as unapicated, whilst 976 is given pronounced *apices*. The finding-place of the former is not given by Kolbe, but it must also have been the Sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleates.

The restoration at the point of junction will read thus:—

ὑπάρχειν δὲ
[γ]ᾱ̣ς̣ κ̣α̣[ὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν καὶ ἐπιγαμί-]
αν, κ.τ.λ.

§ 9. FOREIGNERS AS EPONYMOI AT SPARTA IN THE SECOND CENTURY OF OUR ERA

It is a well-known fact that on certain occasions in the second century the position of eponymous Patronomos at Sparta was held by distinguished strangers. That Hadrian received this honour, apparently early in his Principate, and that it was also conferred on Tib. Claudius Atticus, father of a more famous son, Herodes Atticus, shortly before the end of his life, is attested by inscriptions which have been known for many years, and need not be dealt with again here.[1] I would, however, suggest that these are by no means the only instances of the practice, and that we may with considerable probability add three more names to this select list of Eponymoi who were not Spartans by birth.

The conditions justifying such suggestions are obvious: the man in question must be known from other sources, whether literary or epigraphical, or both; his date must be appropriate; and, as far as negative evidence can contribute, his name must not be found among holders of any of the usual magistracies at Sparta. The first name that I would propose, as fulfilling these conditions, is that of Cascellius Aristoteles (*IG* V. 1, 32 A, l. 23 (= 69, l. 1); 70; 71, col. III.).[1] I had often been struck by the fact that his *nomen* is unique at Sparta, and that he never appears in any list of magistrates there. Beyond a vague notion that he might be somehow connected with a family of Cascellii at Ephesus,[2] I had no clue to his identity until I found that in an inscription from Cyrene Δ(έκμος) Κασκέλλιος Ἀριστοτέλ[ης] is mentioned as [ἱε]ρεὺς καλλιέτης, along with his son (?), on the occasion of the restoration of the Temple of Apollo, in about the year A.D. 181 (according to the Editor's dating).[3] We have no exact clue to the date when Cascellius Aristoteles was Eponymos at Sparta, but the date cannot be far from A.D. 150; and it does not seem improbable that a distinguished citizen of Cyrene, whether or no that was his birth-place, might have been nominated Eponymos at Sparta some thirty years earlier (at the most).

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[1] Hadrian, *IG* V. 1, 32 B l. 13 f.; 33, l. 5; 1314, l. 26; add to these *BSA* xxvi. p. 170, 1, D 3. Tib. Cl. Atticus, V. 1, 32 A, l. 13; 62, l. 2; 287, l. 7; 288, l. 3.

The second name which I would regard as that of a foreign Eponymos is Titianus, which is found only twice: once (V. 1, 39 = 71, col. I., l. 34) in a series closely associated with the year of Cascellius Aristoteles, whom, in fact, Titianus may have immediately succeeded, and once in association with certain other Eponymoi, of whom I would date the first-named, Kleon, to A.D. 147 (*BSA* xxvi. p. 208, 6). Here again Cyrene gives us a clue, for it is most tempting to identify our Eponymos with Γ. Κλ. Τιτιανὸς Δη[μό]στρατος, who makes a dedication at Cyrene in the capacity of ἀνθύπ[ατος] Κρήτης καὶ Κυρήν[ης] μητροπόλεω[ς] in the first year of the reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus (A.D. 161).[4] There is, however, a closer link with mainland Greece, for an inscription from Eleusis (*IG* II–III.² 4071, ll. 19–21) gives us his *cursus*, which includes the posts of χειλίαρ[χος], δεκέμβερ, ταμίας ἐπαρχείας Ἀχαίας, δήμαρχος κ[αὶ] στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων, and ἡγεμὼν Κρήτης. As *quaestor provinciae Achaiae*, apparently a few years before his proconsular Governorship of Crete and Cyrene, *i.e.*, perhaps *ca.* A.D. 155, it would not be surprising that he entered into friendly relations with Sparta and accepted the office of Eponymos there. Here too, it should be emphasised, we have a name otherwise quite unknown at Sparta.

The conviction that I had identified two foreign Eponymoi as holding office within a very few years of each other suggested that there might well be yet more instances of this practice at about the same time; and I would submit, with hardly less confidence, that we have a third name in Charax, who held office shortly before the year of Cascellius Aristoteles (V. 1, 71, col. III, ll. 5, 18, 25). Here again, we have no other instance of the name at

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[1] *BSA* xxvi. p. 171, 1, E 7 is an incomplete copy of V. 1, 69, but gives us the correct form of the *nomen*, which was restored as Κάσ(σιος) in the texts previously known.

[2] *Op. cit.* 197, citing *SIG*³, 833, l. 14.

[3] *SEG* ix. 173.

[4] *Ibid.* 170; cf. *PIR*² ii. p. 255, 1044, where it is shown that his native city was Ephesus.

Sparta, and if we look elsewhere it is natural to suggest that our Eponymos is identical with the philosopher and historian who bore that name. He is also known as a benefactor of his native city Pergamon, for we learn from two inscriptions [1] that he dedicated a Propylon there in the reign of Antoninus Pius, which not only establishes the date of his career, but would fit in well with the period when, as I suggest, he acted as Eponymos at Sparta.

There is a further point worth recalling here, in connexion with the last two of these identifications, namely, other evidence of Spartan relations with the province of Asia. We find, for example, that one Eutychos, shortly after being a member of the Gerousia in the year of Cascellius Aristoteles, served as δικασταγωγὸς ἀπὸ Ἀσίας; [2] and not long before, one Eudokimos is recorded as δικασταγωγὸς ἀπὸ Σάμου and ξενοκρίτης εἰς Ἀλάβαντα.[3] It does not seem too fanciful to suggest that after Charax, the first of this short series of foreign Eponymoi, who came from Pergamon, it was felt fitting to extend a similar honour to a native of Ephesus,[4] and that Cascellius Aristoteles, whom we have identified only at Cyrene, was in fact a member of the family of Cascellii at Ephesus, and only became connected with Cyrene at a later date. It is far from unlikely that other foreign Eponymoi may have officiated at Sparta at about this period, or possibly later, but there is no satisfactory evidence to this effect.

A. M. Woodward

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[1] Wiegand, *Abhandl. Berl. Akad.* 1932, v. p. 48, 13 (1); and p. 52, 4 (2); cf. Hepding, *Philologus*, lxxxviii. 93. This shows that he was a Roman citizen with the *nomen* Claudius. For other evidence for his career and writings cf. *PIR*^{2} ii. p. 189, 831, to which we must now add *NSc.* 1940, 361, where he appears, in a list of Fasti at Ostia, as *cos. suffectus* in the year 147.

[2] *IG* V. 1, 39, ll. 25–27. Kolbe is, I think, mistaken in expanding the abbreviation used here to read γρ(αμματεὺς) Β(ουλᾶς). It should be read as γερ(ουσίας).

[3] *BSA* xxvi. p. 163, 1, A 10.

[4] It should not be overlooked that Titianus Demostratos also came from an Ephesian family.

WHAT IS PROTOGEOMETRIC?

During the last forty years relatively few attempts have been made to define and describe that style of pottery known as Protogeometric. Following S. Wide's article on the Salamis graves,[1] in which he identified the pottery associated with them as belonging to a new style, came B. Schweitzer's most valuable treatise in 1917,[2] in which an attempt was made to bring together the whole of our knowledge up till that time. After 1917 little appeared until T. C. Skeat's *The Dorians in Archaeology*, published in 1932, in which the writer demonstrated the ' excessive hospitality ' of Schweitzer's list of Protogeometric graves, and put forward the theory that the style originated in the North of Greece. Apart from Schweitzer and Skeat there has been no general study of the matter, although one is now in preparation.

That such a study is very necessary is shown not only by the number of recent discoveries, but also by the number of specialised studies dealing with limited areas in which Protogeometric pottery has been found, notably the following: W. von Massow, *AM* lii, 1927, on Amyklai; H. G. G. Payne, *BSA* xxix, on Knossos; M. Hartley, *BSA* xxxi, on Crete; D. Levi, *Annuario* x–xii on Arkades (Frati); W. A. Heurtley and T. C. Skeat, *BSA* xxxi, on Marmariani and Thessaly; W. A. Heurtley, *BSA* xxxiii, on Aetos in Ithaca; S. Weinberg, *Corinth* vii, pt. i, on Corinth; and W. Kraiker and K. Kübler, *Kerameikos* i and iv, on Athens. The last mentioned contains the greatest amount of material and is by far the most important. None of these, however, covers the whole ground, and there has still never appeared a complete study of Protogeometric in its various aspects all over Greece. If it were a matter of a style confined to one area only there would be no difficulty, but this is not so. An attempt is therefore made, in this short article, to clarify the situation.

First, Protogeometric must be the name given to a *style* of pottery, and not to a *period*: naturally, a style of pottery covers a certain period, but that is not for the moment relevant. Second, Protogeometric should be a style which has geometry as the essence of its decoration; the difference between it and what is known as the Geometric style proper being in the treatment of the decoration. Third, Protogeometric should either be the forerunner of the succeeding Geometric style, or should at least, if there is no succeeding Geometric style or that style differs completely from its preceding Protogeometric, bear some obvious resemblance to local Protogeometric styles in other parts.

The essential element of this style is thus its decoration, and the treatment of its decoration. This element, however, cannot be divorced from shape, as decoration and shape are complementary to each other—the potter must apply his decoration in such a manner as he considers will best harmonise with the shape. The quality of the fabric, finally, may be of importance to the style.

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[1] *AM* xxxv, 1910, 17 ff.

[2] *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der geometrischen Stile in Griechenland*, I.

The search for a definition of Protogeometric must inevitably begin in Attica: it is now fairly evident that the first area in which a Protogeometric style appeared was Attica, and it is most fortunate that in this area, from the excavations in the Kerameikos and the Agora, we have a sequence going from sub-Mycenaean through to Protogeometric, from Protogeometric through to Geometric. The material is by no means so considerable as a superficial glance at the publication of the Kerameikos might lead one to believe, and further discoveries will certainly add to rather than support our knowledge: at the same time, the picture is clear enough.

Before considering the Protogeometric, it is best to turn for a moment to the sub-Mycenaean. It is doubtful whether this material deserves the name of a style, for a style, I think, suggests at least that the potter has some ideal of composition in his mind, and the developments within a style reflect the endeavours and methods used to reach that ideal. Sub-Mycenaean is more a degeneration than a style, a degeneration of late Mycenaean. The quality of the fabric has degenerated, and the paint as a result has lost the fine clear red lustre it previously had. The shapes, while still perfectly recognisable as Mycenaean, have lost their clean contours and are inclined to sag. Little or no care is taken with decoration, which in fact consists for the major part of a complete coat of paint, or encircling bands occasionally relieved by a wavy line, very freely drawn semicircles or triangles.

With the appearance of the Protogeometric material everything changes: it is not an exaggeration to say that there is a new spirit in the pottery. In the fabric the clay is more carefully prepared and harder baked; at the beginning the paint remains dull, but towards the middle of the period achieves a fine metallic lustre. The preceding shapes by no means die out altogether: this would be too much to expect—the lekythos, for instance, remains much the same, and the skyphos and cup with high conical feet, the trefoil-lipped oinochoe, and the belly-handled amphora emerge as the natural products of the shapes which preceded them (though the conical foot was not inevitable). At the same time, new shapes are introduced such as the neck-handled amphora and the globular pyxis. In all of these, old as well as new, will be observed an improvement in the symmetry of line: contours change from the globular or sagging to the ovoid in closed vases, and the addition of the high conical foot to open vases such as skyphoi, kraters, cups, and kantharoi, relieves the previous dullness. In general, shapes are firmer, sharper, better proportioned, and more pleasing to the eye.

As was stated above, the decoration and its treatment form the essential element in this style. For purposes of decoration a vase may be considered as being divided up into different sections: first comes the neck (when applicable); then the shoulder (also when applicable); then the section of greatest circumference—the belly; then the section from the belly to the junction with the foot; and finally, again when applicable, the foot. The position of the handles is important as it is between these that the main decorative motives are set. The same is true in shapes where there is one handle only; the main decoration does not go below the handle. In other words the main decoration is limited to the upper part of the body. There are exceptions, of course, but they are very few. On clay-ground vases the sections mentioned above are usually clearly distinguished by bands, or complexes of bands. In dark-ground closed vases a distinction is often made round the centre of the belly by one or more reserved bands, or else the paint covers the whole body below the shoulder, and also the neck: in the open ones, paint will cover the whole area, or the area below the belly. The dark-ground technique predominates in the later stages, and the fashion of wearing black is still found strongly in the earliest Geometric. The division into sections is also a characteristic of the preceding sub-Mycenaean.

It has been said that Protogeometric must have geometry as the essence of its decoration, and for this it is useful to give a list of the main decorative motives: of the geometric ones there are, first, the concentric circles and semicircles with or without central filling; hatched triangles, rectangles, and diamonds; solid diamonds, usually set vertically, and solid triangles usually set horizontally; chequers; opposed groups of diagonals; and zigzags. There are also, however, non-geometric motives, mainly wavy lines (especially in belly-handled amphorae) languettes and zigzags (different from those mentioned above). Of the geometric motives, the circles and semicircles are drawn with a compass point and multiple brush, and so are exact; the others are drawn as exactly as possible, perhaps sometimes also with a multiple brush. We thus have the circular and the different categories of straight—vertical, horizontal, and diagonal; and the treatment of these main decorative motives is either an antithesis between the circular and the straight or between the different categories of straight, or simply the use of the circular. Arrangement is always made on one or more of the upper sections of the vase (but not the neck) in a symmetrical manner; the main decorative section or sections are usually divided into fields or panels; one of the most popular arrangements is the flanking of a central panel drawn in straight lines by circular or semicircular motives—when there is asymmetry it is usually deliberate. The normal practice is to take the handle or handles as a defining point, to have a central motive in between two handles or opposite one handle, and to flank this central motive either with identical or with antithetic motives.

In general, the idea of symmetry pervades the whole series, and it is a symmetry not only in decoration but also in shape. These potters succeeded admirably in relating their decoration to their shape, and within their self-imposed limits, produced a simple, reticent, and very pleasing style. One of the chief characteristics of Protogeometric as opposed to Geometric is the lack of that horror vacui of the Geometric style; the black-ground technique displays a dissatisfaction with the wide open spaces of the clay-ground technique, foreshadowing the early Geometric, but the main decoration is almost invariably confined to one section of the vase.

With the arrival of Geometric many new decorative motives appear, and many Protogeometric ones disappear; decoration is no longer excluded from the neck; and there are many radical changes in shape. Nevertheless the Protogeometric tradition remained strong, and vases which might still quite well be called Protogeometric have been found in early Geometric contexts.

This Attic Protogeometric style, according to present calculations,[1] may be said to have flourished during a period which does not trespass the limits of the eleventh and tenth centuries; it may be followed reasonably clearly and has afforded the best means of illustrating the principles stated earlier.

We may now consider in what other districts of Greece Attic Protogeometric pottery itself, or pottery very similar to Attic Protogeometric in type, has been found. The list is an interesting one, even with our small amount of information. In the immediate surroundings, Aegina, Asine, Tiryns, Corinth, Andros, Tenos, Naxos, Paros, Delos. Farther afield, Ithaca in the west, but nothing for the Peloponnese south of the Argolid; Crete next, Melos, Thera, Cos; possibly Rhodes and Miletos; of the Aegean Islands only Lesbos has produced anything close resembling Attic Protogeometric, though there are one or two sherds from the Heraeum at Samos which are close; going northwards from Attica, Orchomenos and Vranesi in Boeotia; Delphi; and fairly close parallels in Phthiotic Thebes, Halos, Theotoku, and Skyros.[2]

The deduction which may be made from this is that these districts, and other districts not mentioned but within the circle (such as Euboea), knew of this Attic Protogeometric pottery, and consequently may have been influenced by it. To my mind, however, the most startling evidence of influence comes from a district outside the circle defined above; and it is to Northern Thessaly that we may now turn. Here, and especially at Marmariani, sufficient material has been discovered for us to be able to speak of a local North Thessalian Protogeometric style. For this purpose Mr. Heurtley's analysis is very relevant (*op. cit.*), though the Mycenaean influence seems too much stressed. Prior to the Marmariani series, North Thessalian pottery had been hand-made, and there was a certain amount of intrusive Mycenaean. The hand-made pottery persists, and flourishes, but it is the wheel-made which is the more relevant to our purpose.

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[1] *Kerameikos* i, 162–4.

[2] For references see note on pp. 271–2.

Of the shapes, the jugs with cut-away necks and the kantharoi plainly have their origin in the hand-made wares, for the rest the trefoil-lipped oinochoai, the amphorae, and the kraters have fairly close parallels in the Attic series; rather less close parallels are afforded by the cups and the stemmed skyphos; even that rare beast the jug with a side spout has a parallel in the Agora[1]; the other shapes are local or have some non-Attic origin—these are the skyphoi, the bowl with two vertical handles, the three-handled dish, the two-handled dishes, the askos, and the kraters with four band-handles (though these last may well have developed from the other type of krater).

It is in the decoration and in its treatment that the closest resemblance is found to Attic Protogeometric, and to the black-ground technique of that style. The method of dealing with the main decoration is the same, with a few exceptions; and there is the same relation to the handle or handles; one difference is that the neck occasionally receives decoration. Many of the same main decorative motives are used, and the way of setting them out is similar, though the potter of Marmariani had not quite the same sense of symmetry as the potter of Athens; the concentric circles and semicircles form the chief point of resemblance, and it is interesting to speculate how far the use of concentric circles and semicircles confined the potter in his treatment of decoration. One or two Geometric motives such as the meander begin to appear, much as they do, of course, at the period of transition between Attic Protogeometric and Geometric.

This suggestion that North Thessalian Protogeometric is dependent for its character to a certain extent directly, or more likely indirectly, on Attic Protogeometric, is at variance with the views expressed in the first publication; but I think it is a theory worth considering. As to the period at which Attic influence was felt in this district, it is possible that it was not much before 950 B.C.

To this material is allied a good deal more from Northern and Eastern Thessaly, from Skyros and the northern Cyclades, reaching over into Boeotia and as far as Delphi. Wherever this pottery is found it must be considered Protogeometric. This leads to another conclusion: not only wherever but whenever this pottery is found it must still be considered Protogeometric. Among the vase shapes typical of North Thessaly and the Aegean area adjacent to it is the skyphos with a low foot, the characteristic decoration of which is two groups of concentric semicircles often intersecting pendent from the rim. This little vase enjoyed a much more than local popularity, and examples of it have been found as far afield as Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine; it has been found in a context giving a date not later than 926 B.C.,[1] but it has also been found in contexts which can hardly be dated earlier than the eighth century.[2] This means that pottery made in the eighth century may still be considered Protogeometric. If it is a question of the period over which Protogeometric lasts, each local style must be judged separately.

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[1] *Hesperia* vi, 1937, 367, fig. 30.

At the other end of the Aegean from Thessaly lies Crete, and here a local Protogeometric style produced in Central Crete has been studied and analysed by Payne in *BSA* xxix. Central Crete is not the only district in which Protogeometric pottery has been observed; from what little is known of the finds in South and East Crete (West Crete is almost a complete blank) it is evident that, though the pottery is related to that of Central Crete, there are yet differences which may justify local categories. For the moment, however, it is intended to deal with the pottery coming from Knossos and its neighbourhood. Since Payne wrote his article, much has been found which adds to our knowledge; but it has not yet been published.

There is unfortunately a distressingly small amount of earlier material, as Furumark notes in his article on *Mycenaean III c Pottery and its relation to Cypriot fabrics*.[3] He also develops the theme, here and elsewhere, of considerable influence of Mycenaean pottery on Minoan during the final stages of the Mycenaean period; there seems little doubt on the evidence that he is right. There is thus a tradition both of Minoan and of Mycenaean to be handed down to later periods, well into the tenth century. It is therefore necessary to consider how far it persisted in the central low-lying area around Knossos, which from its position near the northern coast was likely to be most susceptible to outside influence.

In the quality of the fabric, as Payne remarked, these Central Cretan Protogeometric vases are poorer either than the preceding Minoan or than the succeeding Geometric; but that does not mean to say that they are much different from sub-Minoan.

Evans, in discussing the Spring-chamber,[4] said the small amphoras, the little oinochoe with the trefoil mouth and ‘ ladder ’ pattern, and the shallow two-handled bowls (kalathoi) were not Minoan. Parallels for these shapes, which are also found in the series of Protogeometric vases, are found in the latest Mycenaean, as also for the cups and perhaps the round-bodied pyxis,[5] though the completely spherical one shown in Payne's pl. V, 9 has much more the look of Attic Protogeometric; stirrup-vases and deep bowls have a common Minoan and Mycenaean origin, and also, I think, the straight-sided pyxis; the necked pithoi may have rather a Minoan origin; the bell-kraters appear to have been derived from the amphoriskoi; the neck-handled and belly-handled amphorae are innovations which may be related to Attic Protogeometric, as also may the trefoil-lipped oinochoe (the only example?) pictured in Payne's pl. VI, 6; the krater, finally, and the stemmed skyphos may perhaps be derived from the same source. In many of the shapes deriving from Minoan and Mycenaean (such as amphoriskoi, kalathoi, cups) there is little or no modification: more important modifications come in the stirrup-vase, with its ovoid body and conical foot, the necked pithos, virtually a new shape, the bell-krater (as noted above), and the straight-sided pyxis, which is sometimes given a flaring neck and which is higher in relation to its breadth than its prototypes. No attempt is made to copy the few Attic Protogeometric imports.[1] The tautness and clarity of contour, so characteristic of Attic Protogeometric, is not often to be found in this series.

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[1] *QDAP* iv, 1935, pl. XII 96 (Tell Abu Hawam).

[2] Hama (to be published shortly); cf. H. Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama* (1932–8), 98.

[3] *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae* x, 222–230.

[4] *P of M* II i, 137.

[5] Cf. *AE* 1932, pl. 9, 142.

The decoration tells much the same story: vases are divided into sections as in the other series and the main decoration is usually placed between the handles, but as was stated above, this is not a peculiarity of Protogeometric—it is also almost equally sub-Mycenaean; and some of the main decorative motives are certainly of Mycenaean origin, particularly the rather carelessly drawn wiggly lines, zigzags, and languettes, and what Evans calls the ' simple linear system ', the variation of diagonals and hatchings, which are admittedly geometric in their character, but if used to demonstrate that this series was Protogeometric, would lead to the conclusion that Attic sub-Mycenaean should also be called Protogeometric. Conventionalised naturalistic drawings and the use of curved lines have, however, disappeared. On the other hand, concentric circles and semicircles have been taken into the potter's repertoire, and are especially prominent, as might be expected, on the neck-handled amphorae; the division into fields, with circles flanking a central straight-line panel, is also to be observed on the larger bell-kraters.

That there is connection with Protogeometric styles, and particularly with the Attic style, cannot be doubted. This is shown by the introduction of the kraters and amphorae, the ovoid shape of the body and the conical feet, by the introduction of certain decorative motives and their treatment, and by the appearance of imports; but on the whole this series has more connection with previous Minoan and Mycenaean tradition.[2] Furthermore, there is little connection with the succeeding Geometric style, as is shown by Payne. How, then, are we to name this series? It can hardly be called sub-Minoan, because it exhibits characteristics plainly derived from the neighbouring Protogeometric styles; it can hardly be called Protogeometric, for the reverse reason; it can hardly be called Transitional, because that suggests the gradual merging of one series into the next. Should it perhaps simply be called Central Cretan pre-Geometric? It is a question by no means easy to answer.

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[1] Skyphos with high conical foot: lekythos; unpublished.

[2] I do not discuss possible connections with Cyprus.

As with North Thessaly, it is difficult to assign chronological limits to this series: the introduction of the Protogeometric elements may well come down into the last half of the tenth century, and the series may continue to flourish into the last quarter of the ninth; with the addition of the unpublished material, it should be possible to distinguish the stylistic changes within this series.

Although there is as yet insufficient evidence from Rhodes to speak with any certainty of a local style centred in this island, recent excavations in Cos have brought to light a flourishing local style, which appears to have relations both with Attica and with the northern line of the Cyclades.[1]

There are two other local styles which have been labelled as Protogeometric, and which must be dealt with rather more shortly.

First is the Laconian, and here we have to rely almost exclusively on the material from Amyklai (*op. cit.*). The pottery is unfortunately so fragmentary that it is not possible to decide accurately what the vase-shapes were; on the other hand, one can say with confidence that the gulf between this material and the latest known local Mycenaean is very wide, as will be seen from the few Mycenaean sherds found at Amyklai itself.[2] In fabric, the clay is hard-baked, the paint black or black-brown, with a distinctive metallic lustre; there is no use of slip; the work is not as a rule particularly careful, though by no means incompetent. Shapes, as stated above, cannot be determined, but by far the majority of the sherds come from open vases or bowl, cup, or krater type. There is a little evidence for conical feet and more for ribbed stems which recall, as we shall see, the Ithacan material. Handles and rims are often heavily moulded and grooved, and grooves are also found on the body.

Decoration is unimaginative in the extreme, consisting mainly of bands, horizontal lines, and hatchings, particularly hatched triangles, applied in a rather rough and ready manner. Concentric circles make an appearance, but as a subsidiary motive. A peculiarity of this style is that the decoration—usually hatchings—is sometimes carried up on to the lip itself, without any regard for the contour of the vase. Decorative motives are usually set out in panels, and show the antithesis between the vertical and the diagonals, but there is not the symmetry nor the reticence which so distinguishes Attic Protogeometric. This is, in effect, a simple linear system, and nothing more; it is geometric in spirit and, furthermore, it does to a certain extent foreshadow the succeeding Geometric style. It may, therefore, justifiably be called Protogeometric, though having no obvious relation to other Protogeometric styles.

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[1] Information kindly supplied to me by Dr. L. Morricone. Cf. *JHS* lxv, 1945, 102.

[2] Cf. Th. Karakhalios, *Delt.* 1926, Suppl. 41–4 (Tholos tomb at Kalyvia (Pellanis)). Much of this material, now in the Sparta Museum, is unpublished.

How far this Amyklaean Protogeometric may be called Laconian Protogeometric, it is not possible to say, and too much should not be deduced from the fragmentary knowledge of one site only. From Sparta itself little of any note has come, though it is interesting to mark that in the Heroon a fragment of a Protogeometric skyphos was discovered,[1] recalling the Corinthian technique and also the material from Messenian Pylos,[2] thus showing that these districts were not completely out of touch with the outside world. Until more evidence is produced, it is impossible to go any further.

The last style to which the name Protogeometric has been applied is the Ithacan. The material for this is supplied in the Polis series,[3] and more fully from the finds at Aetos.[4] The early background and tradition is Mycenaean, and the immediate forerunner is to be found in the vases from Lakkethra in Kephallenia,[5] and I can see no reason for calling these Lakkethra vases anything else but provincial contemporaries and descendants of latest Mycenaean; there is a certain amount of simple linear design, but that is equally applicable to sub-Mycenaean and sub-Minoan.

The Ithacan series has been analysed both by Mr. Heurtley and Miss Benton, and it is unnecessary to add very much. The shapes, few in number (but then the material is very small), tend to fit in clearly with the earlier Mycenaean tradition. This is particularly the case with the kantharoi and kylikes, where the form has been modified but little, though there is a tendency to a rather sharper outline, such as in the ringed stems of the kylikes (paralleled at Amyklai), and the conical feet of the kantharoi, both of which are however foreshadowed at Lakkethra. Shapes which have undergone a more radical change are the bell-krater type of bowl (Heurtley's Class C), the jugs with their well-proportioned ovoid bodies, and the shallow cups with their flat bases. The plastic rings on the kraters are new.

As to the decoration, the technique is a dark-ground one, and the main decorative motives are confined to the upper part of the body, being therefore again related to the handle or handles. The rectilinear decoration is here very much in evidence, and the spirals of the Lakkethra vases have been forgotten. The geometricity of ornament is preponderant in this material, the only exceptions being found in the rough zigzags, and in the freehand concentric loops, which can be paralleled both in Mycenaean and Protogeometric. Compass-drawn circles and semicircles have also been added to the repertoire, though they do not play a very prominent part. The linear ornament consists mainly of hatched triangles and diamonds; fringes are also fairly popular, and the chequer-board pattern is found; the hatched rectangle has not appeared yet. The treatment of these motives is, in the kantharoi, sometimes reminiscent of Lakkethra, sometimes, as with the insertion of small hatched triangles to fill up a panel, of Amyklai, where the rectilinear decoration is equally popular. In open vases, there is a division into panels, the variations being produced by the antithesis of diagonals or of vertical and diagonal; it is usually impossible to tell how symmetrically this has been carried out, but the impression is that it is not as symmetrical as in the Attic series, and that the decoration is more crowded in. The closed vases, the jugs, are however decorated with a fine sense of symmetry and proportion (cf. *BSA* xxxiii, 49, fig. 26).

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[1] Unpublished; in the Sparta Museum.

[2] *AE* 1914, 107, fig. 12.

[3] *BSA* xxxix, 8 ff.

[4] *BSA* xxxiii, 37 ff.

[5] *AE* 1932, 17 ff.

In view of the predominant geometricity in the decoration, it is justifiable to call this series Protogeometric: for its connection with local Geometric, Mr. Robertson's article above, pp. 60 ff., must be consulted. Connection with the outside world at this time is proved by the discovery of fragments of either a lekythos or trefoil-lipped oinochoe which are purely Attic Protogeometric in type; it is quite likely that the concentric circles and semicircles, and the ovoid shape of the jugs, owe their direct or indirect origin to Attica. Once again, the chronological limits of this series are impossible to define accurately, though an earlier limit in the eleventh century seems rather too early; presumably the early ninth century will mark the lower limit. In any case, as mentioned above, the total amount of material is very small, and further excavation is desirable.

To sum up: five series of vases, claimed as being Protogeometric, have been discussed. Of these the most important are the Attic, the North Thessalian, and the Central Cretan, mainly for the reason that we rely on tomb groups, and thus a larger selection of complete vases is available; the other are the Ithacan and Laconian, where the material is fragmentary and does not come from graves.

The earliest of these styles is almost certainly the Attic; it fits in admirably with the definition of Protogeometric, and may be the basic style for one or two of the others. In North Thessaly, there was a previous tradition of hand-made pottery with a small amount of intrusive Mycenaean; there are indications that the Protogeometric style from this district was influenced by the late ‘ black ’ period of Attic Protogeometric, though developing along its own lines; of any succeeding local Geometric style insufficient is yet known. Central Crete has presented the problem as to whether we are justified in calling its local series Protogeometric, for despite the fact that certain elements both in shape and decoration are taken from contemporary Protogeometric styles, it displays over all a much greater affinity to Mycenaean and Minoan, and cannot be said to be the inspiration of the succeeding Geometric style.

These three styles have their outlook on the Aegean; it is certain that other local styles, Protogeometric or otherwise, will in due course be recognised in this area. There is sufficient evidence to suggest a separate South Cretan style, possibly an East Cretan one; and recent evidence has shown a flourishing local style in Cos.

Between Attica and the southern crescent of islands, the southern Cyclades have as yet yielded evidence sufficient only to demonstrate relations with the former; it is impossible to speak of any local style.

Between Attica and North Thessaly lie Boeotia, Phocis, Euboea, the northern chain of the Cyclades, Skyros, and the east coast of Thessaly. In these districts may be detected, in accordance with their geographical position, a greater or lesser dependence on Attica; one may imagine the influence of Attic Protogeometric eventually penetrating as far as North Thessaly at its northernmost point, and in the meanwhile and thereafter, a new local style developing, its area being much greater than that of North Thessaly, the two styles in the end finding meeting-places from Delphi, Orchomenos, and Vranesi on the mainland, to Andros in the Cyclades.

For the Aegean islands, so little is known of this period that no deductions can be made. In Macedonia, finally, there are one or two elements borrowed from the North Thessalian style, but not enough to postulate a local Protogeometric style. This, with the exception of the Argolid, which seems to be in close touch with Attic ideas, and the east coast of the Peloponnese, of which we know nothing, completes the tale for the Aegean area.

Of Corinth and its neighbourhood little is yet known, but sufficient once more to suggest that it had a local Protogeometric style of its own,[1] dependent for its inspiration on Attica. For the rest of the Peloponnese there is very little evidence, except for the stray finds at Messenian Pylos, and for Laconia—even here we are virtually dependent on one site only, Amyklai, where a rather rough and careless style is found, completely different from the previous Mycenaean, its essence being a linear geometric decoration which justifies its being called Protogeometric, and which foreshadows to a certain extent the Geometric which follows.

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[1] Cf. Mr. Weinberg's remarks in *Corinth* vii, pt. 1.

The last of the series is the local Ithacan style, which bears the marks of a strong provincialised Mycenaean style in its shapes, but where the decoration is predominantly rectilinear and Geometric, and which merits the title, for this reason, of Protogeometric. Both this style and the Laconian appear to be partly contemporary with Attic Protogeometric; and in the case of both, further evidence is very desirable.

It is very probable that it will eventually be found that there are many cross-influences between styles, but in a paper such as this, which already contains its fair share of controversial material, it is not desirable that any attempt should be made to discuss that aspect.

It should finally be understood that all the styles identified as Protogeometric by no means all begin and, far less, end at the same time; nor within any one style can it be said that all the products of that style disappear at one moment; there are many survivals, and in whatever context they may appear, they must be labelled Protogeometric.

One general conclusion follows from this analysis: namely, that the Greek world had, by the second half of the tenth century, settled down, particularly so far as the Aegean area was concerned. The surprising amount of similarity to be observed between these local styles argues a free intercourse of ideas, and it would seem likely that the foundations of historical Greece were laid during this period.

V. R. Desborough

Note

Protogeometric vases of Attic fabric or type found outside Attica:

Aigina: Aigina Museum, unpublished (belly-handled amphora).
Asine: Frödin and Persson, *Asine*, figs. 278, 279.
Tiryns: Müller and Oelmann, *Tiryns* i, pls. 14. 7; 16. 2, 5, 9; 18. 15.
Corinth: Shear, *AJA* xxxv, 1931, 426, fig. 3.
Andros: *Kerameikos*, i, pl. 44.
Andros Museum, Cat. no. 152, unpublished (skyphos). Cf. also T. Sauciuc, *Andros*, figs. 58, 59.
Tenos: Levi, *Annuario* viii–ix, 219, fig. 19.
Naxos: Naxos Museum, unpublished (lekythos).
Paros: Rubensohn, *AM* xlii, 76, fig. 83.
Delos: Poulsen and Dugas, *BCH* xxxv, 1911, 355, figs. 4 and 5.
Ithaca: Heurtley, *BSA* xxxiii, pl. 6. 84.
Crete: Heraklion Museum, unpublished, from Knossos; see p. 266, n. 1. Cf. Payne, *BSA* xxix, pls. 5. 9; 6. 6.

Melos:	*Tiryns* i, 154, fig. 18.
Thera:	Dragendorff, *Thera* ii, 30, fig. 81.
Kos:	Kos Museum, unpublished, from excavations, 1940–1943.
Rhodes:	Blinkenberg, *Lindos* i, pl. 33, 821. Kamiros, *Clara Rhodos* vi–vii, 353, fig. 100 (sherds from skyphoi). Ialysos, *Clara Rhodos* viii, 165, fig. 152.
Miletos:	Weickert, *VI Int. Kongress für Archäologie*, 1939, pl. 25 (sherds from skyphoi).
Lesbos:	Mitylene Museum, unpublished (sherd from skyphos).
Samos:	Technau, *AM* liv, 1929, Beil. IV, 1, 6, 7; and one unpublished sherd, from a skyphos.
Orchomenos:	Chaironeia Museum, unpublished (skyphos).
Vranesi:	Chaironeia Museum, unpublished (trefoil-lipped oinochoe, one-handled cup, neck-handled amphora).
Delphi:	*Fouilles de Delphes* v, 136, fig. 516.
Phthiotic Thebes:	Halmyros Museum, unpublished; cf. *Prehistoric Thessaly*, 166 (sherd from skyphos).
Halos:	Wace and Thompson, *BSA* xviii, 6, fig. 4, 5.
Theotoku:	Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, 211, fig. 146, *e*, *f*.
Skyros:	*P.T.*, 209, fig. 144, *d*, *e*.

THE GREEK THEATRE CAVEA: ADDENDA

Syracuse. C. Anti's book, *Teatri Greci Arcaici*, reached me only when my article had arrived at page-proof. His theory on the earlier form of the cavea at Syracuse is as follows. As mentioned on p. 152 above, there is, in addition to the semicircular water-channel at the foot of the cavea, an earlier rectilinear channel, also rock-cut. The latter is three-sided and roughly in the shape of a trapezium, with the two short sides pointing towards the parodoi. Anti dates this channel to the period of Hieron I (478–67 B.C.), and considers it to have formed the base of a trapezium-shaped rock-cut cavea with three rectilinear sides. To this theory the following objections may be raised: (*a*) Anti fig. 20 shows that the earliest period (earlier than the above) has curved, not rectilinear, cuttings, however we may interpret them; (*b*) it is generally agreed that the lowest rows were cut away in Roman times to place marble seating over the rock (see p. 192 above); but Anti has to assume that marble seating in these rows existed as early as the first semicircular cavea (? 350 B.C.), as otherwise the level of rock here would be too high for his theory; (*c*) even so the trapezium-shaped cavea which he postulates cannot have had more than ten rows and would have provided a very small theatre for such a city. Moreover, the parallels adduced from the theatre of Dionysus at Athens (Anti 55) and elsewhere are very inconclusive, and the dating at Syracuse is open to dispute: rock-cut work is particularly difficult to date, and the channel is perhaps somewhat later than Hieron I. If a cavea of such a shape had existed in rock elsewhere, it would very likely have survived.

Corinth. An inscription ΚΟΡϜΑΝ found on a seat built into the west parodos of the Roman theatre (*AJA* 1929, 521, fig. 5; cf. *RE* Suppl. vi, 191) seems to show that the Corinthian κόραι, attendants of the temple of Aphrodite, had reserved seats in the earlier theatre.

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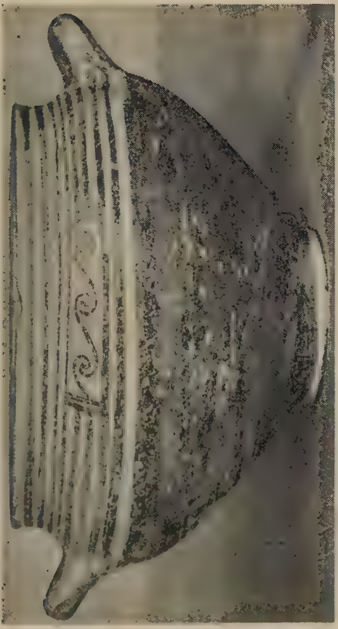
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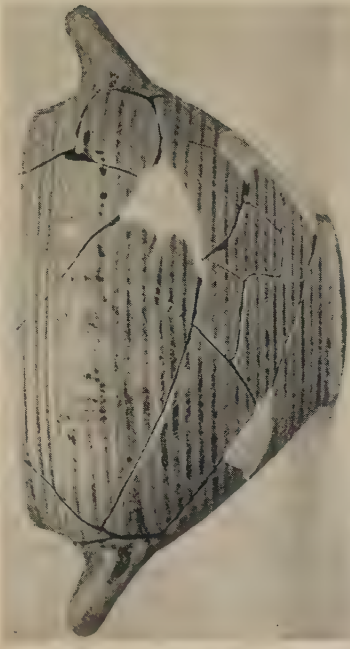
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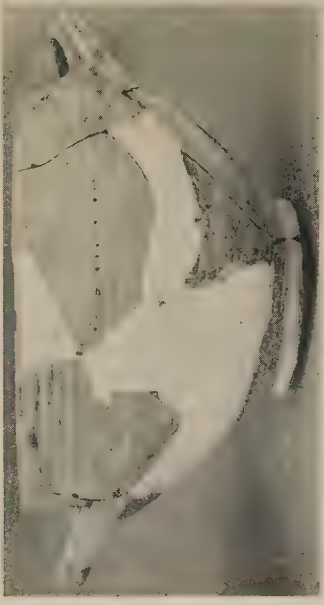
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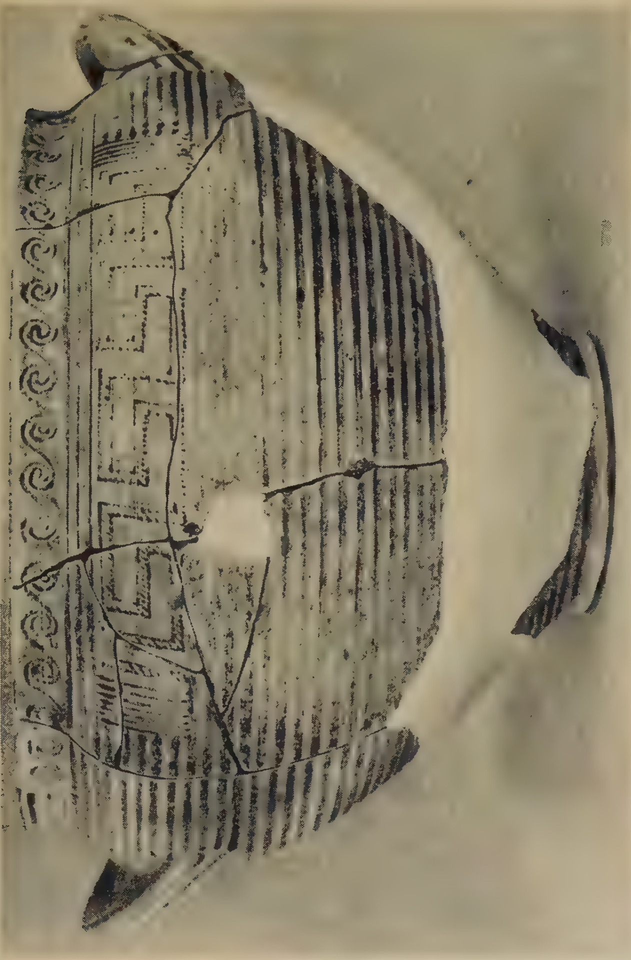
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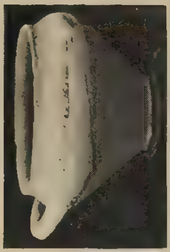
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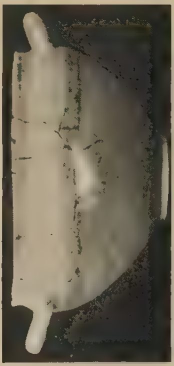
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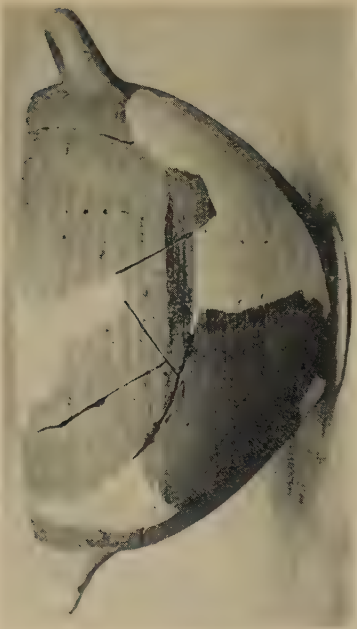
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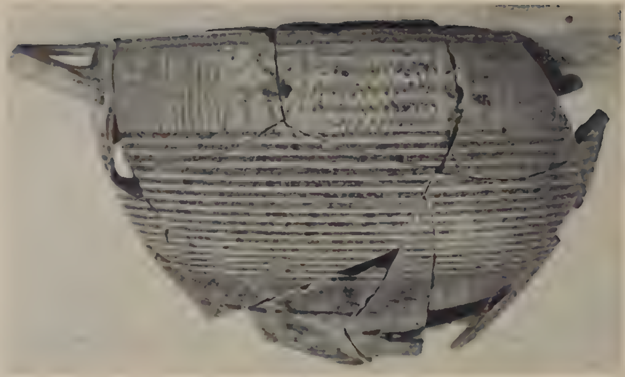

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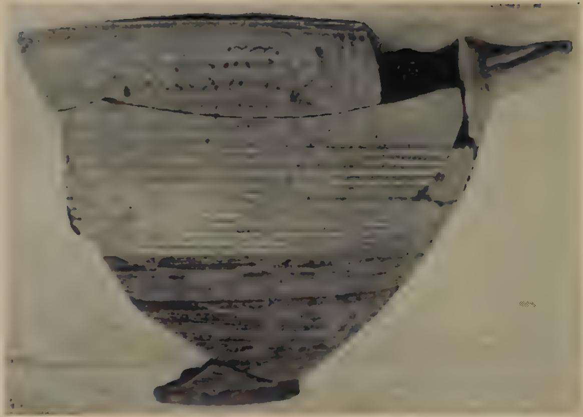

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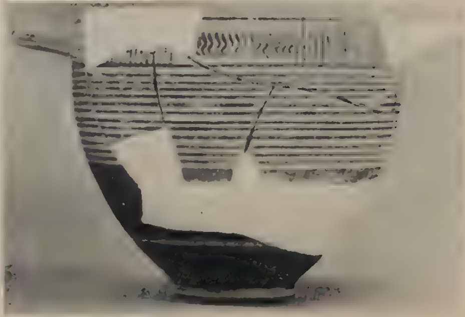

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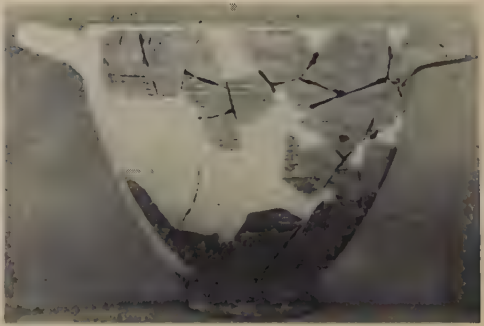

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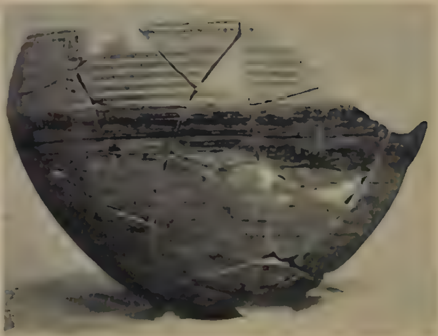

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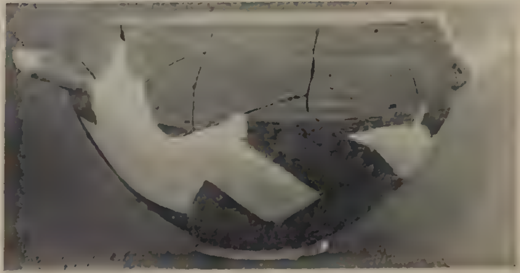

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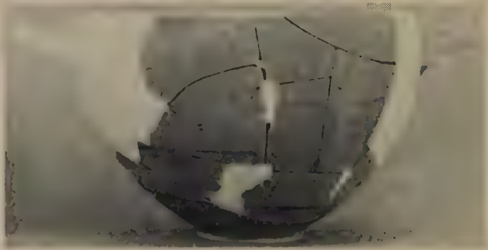

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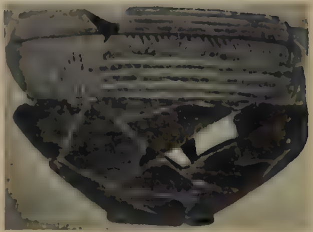

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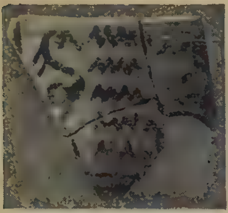
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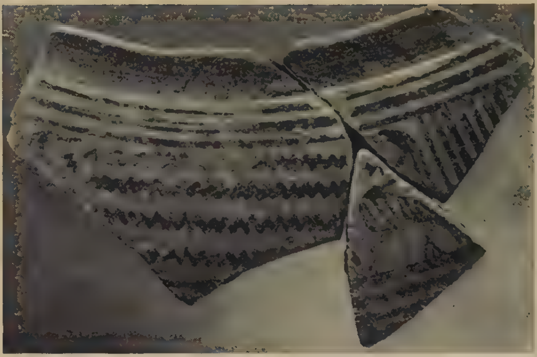
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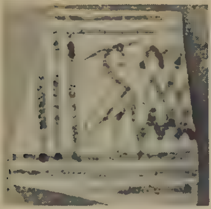
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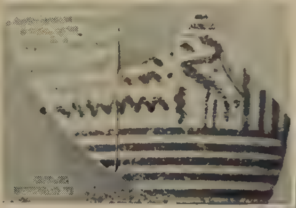
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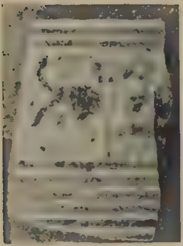
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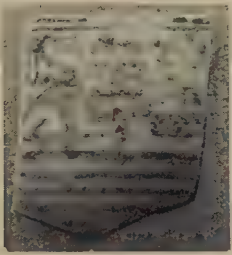
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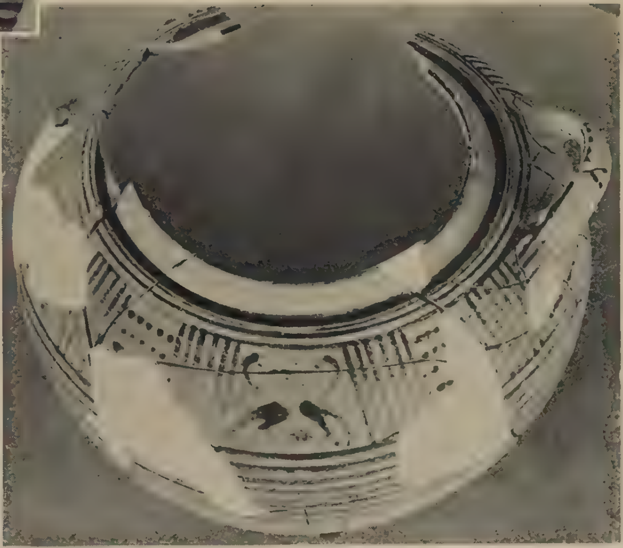
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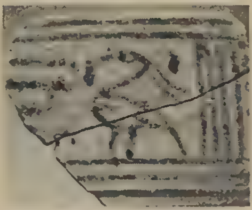
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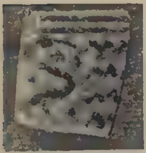
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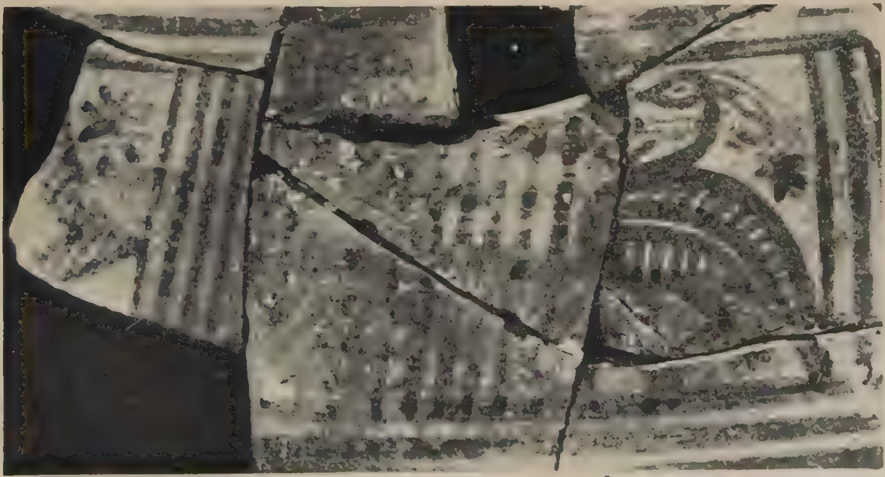
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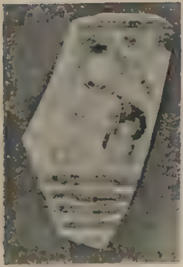
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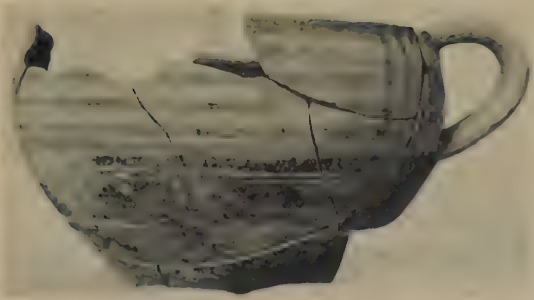
CORINTHIAN KOTYLAI, KYATHOS AND PYXIDES.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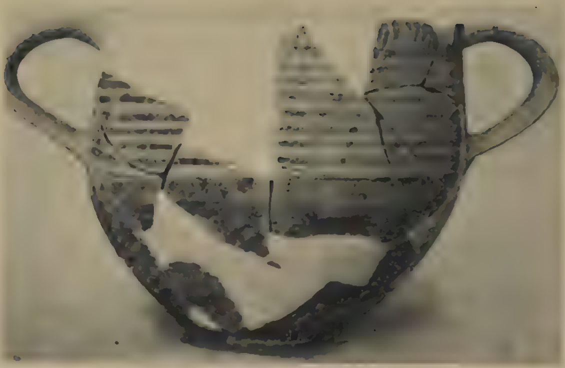
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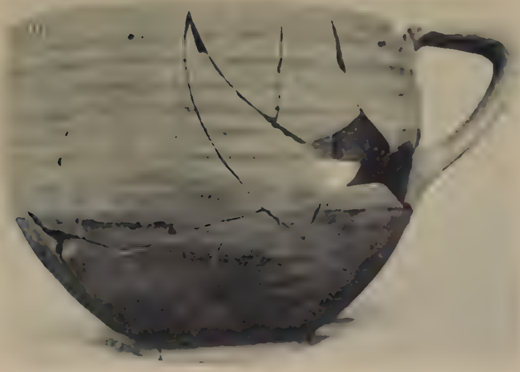
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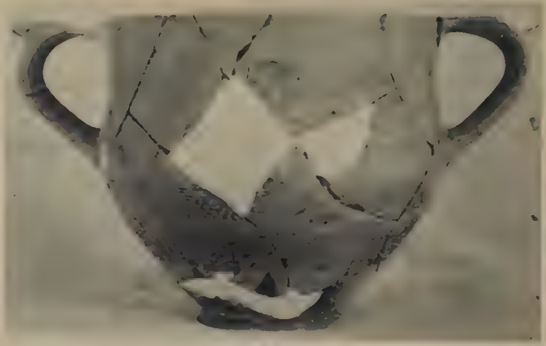
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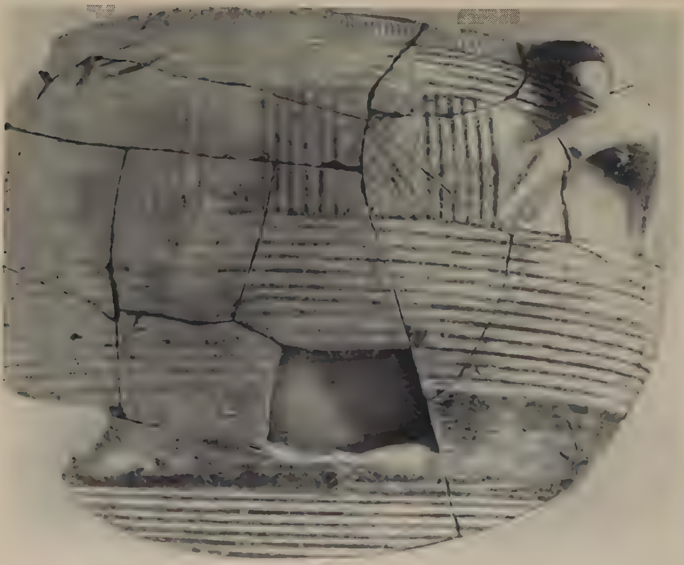
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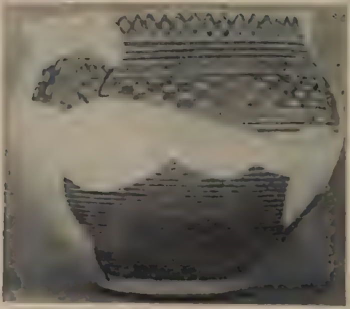
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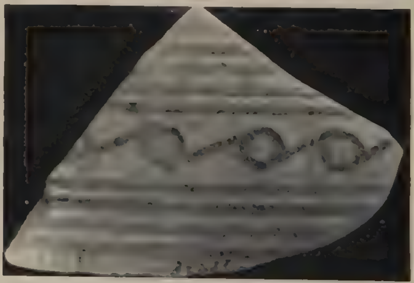
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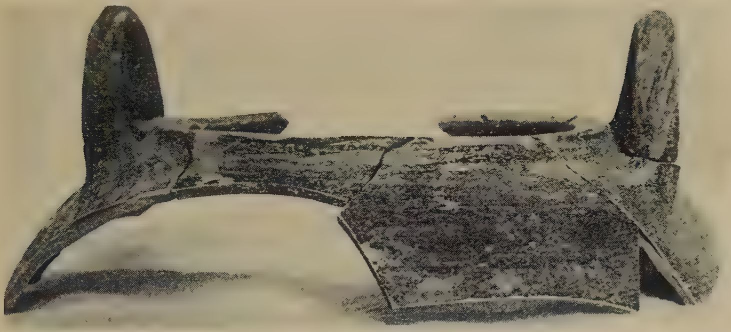
CORINTHIAN MUG, KYATHOI, KANTHAROS AND KRATERS.



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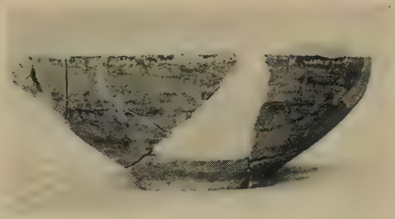

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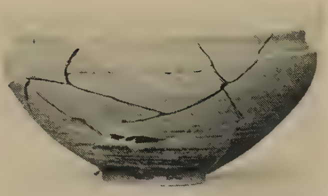

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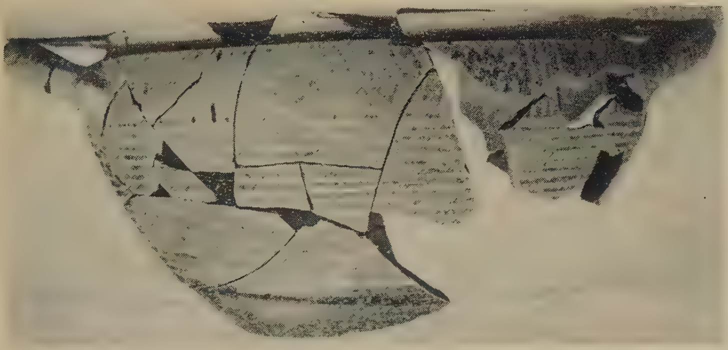

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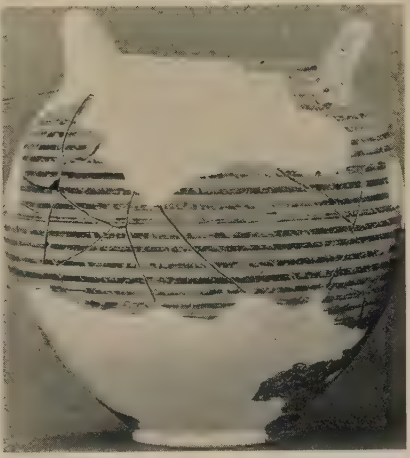

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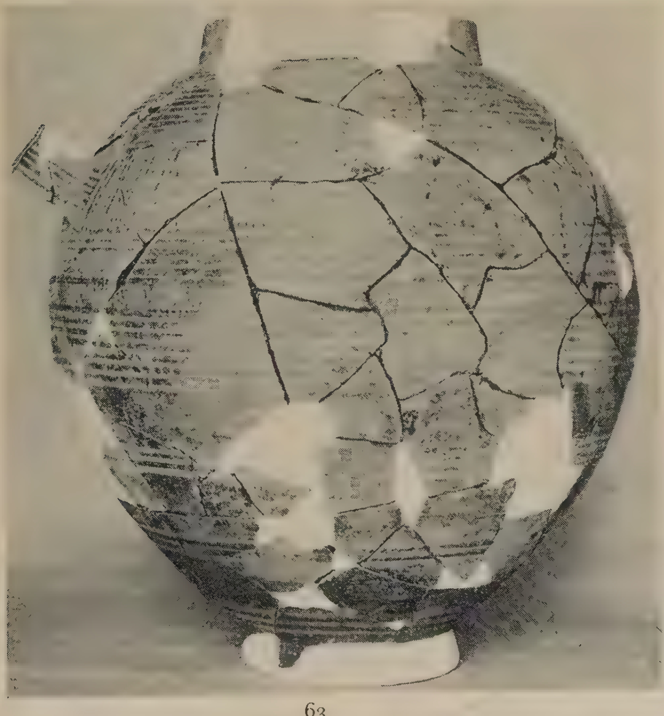

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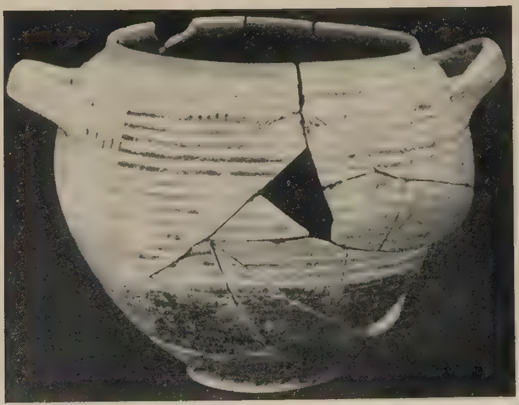

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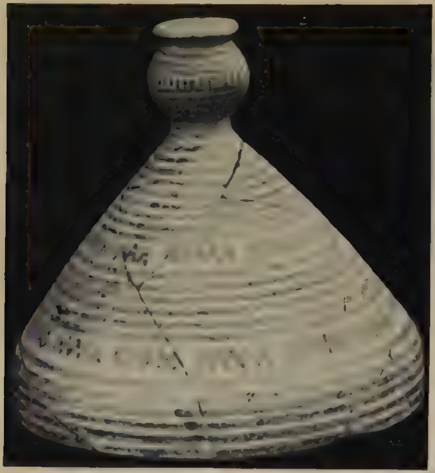
CORINTHIAN PYXIDES.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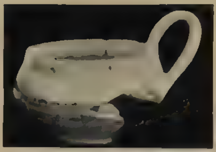
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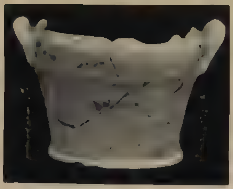
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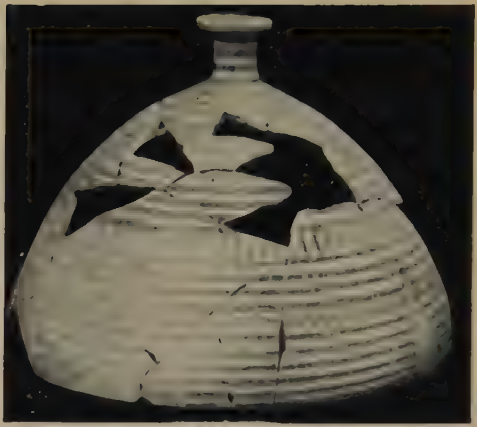
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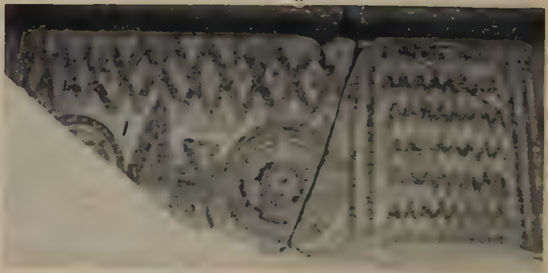
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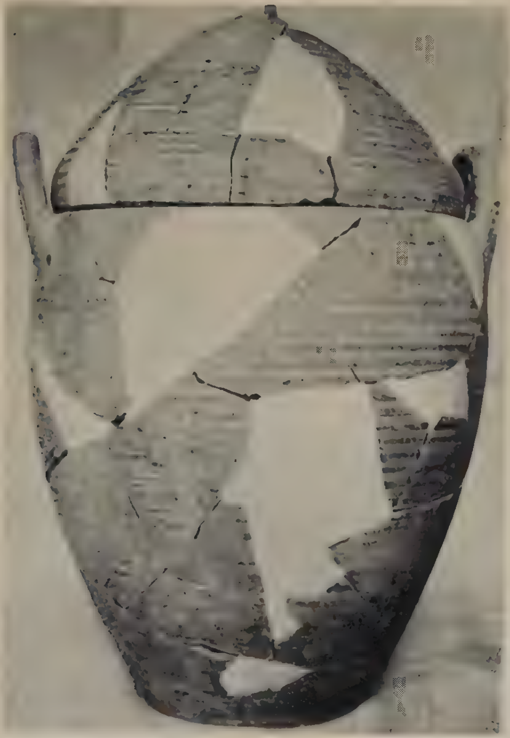
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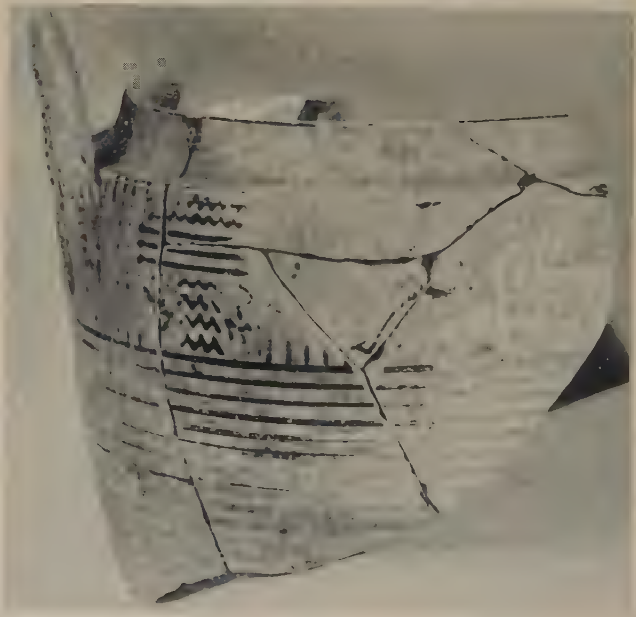
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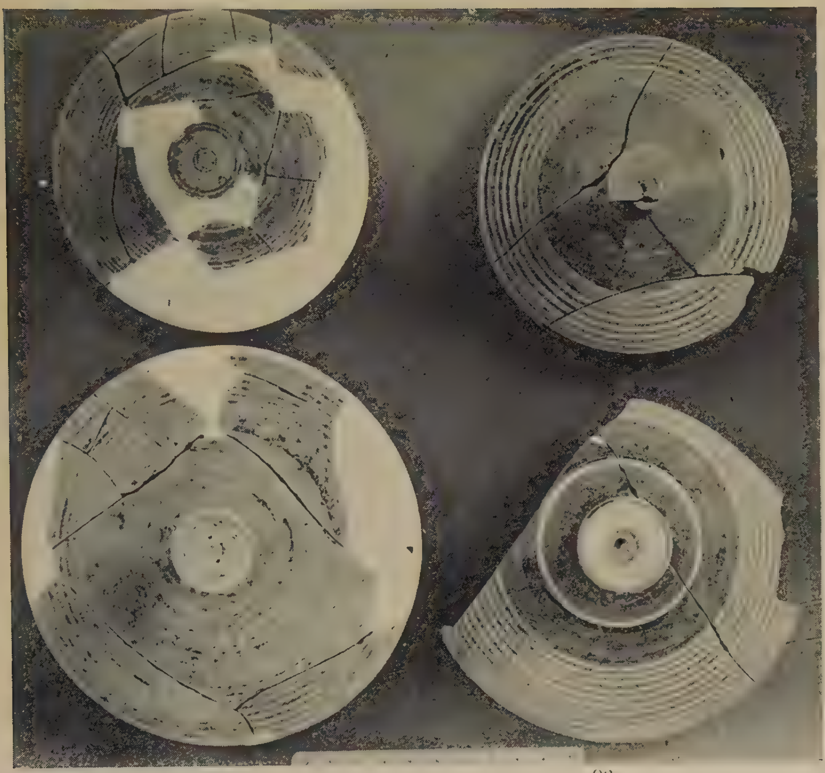
CORINTHIAN KANTHAROS AND TALL PYXIDES AND LIDS.



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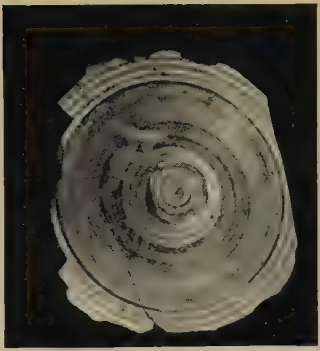

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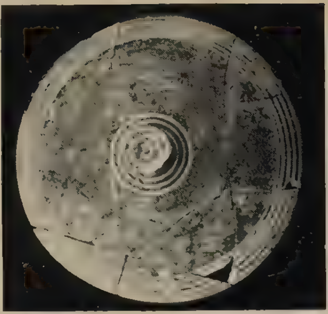

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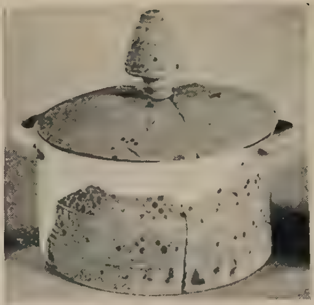

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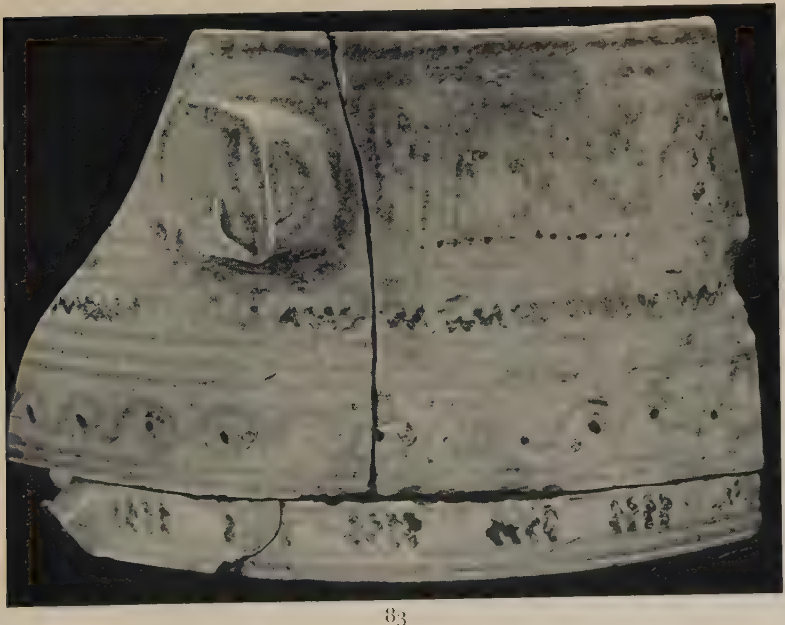

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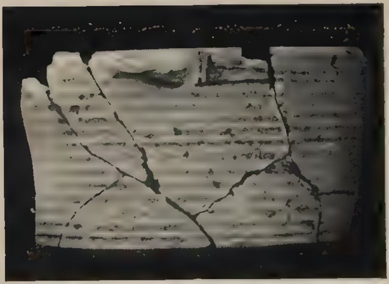

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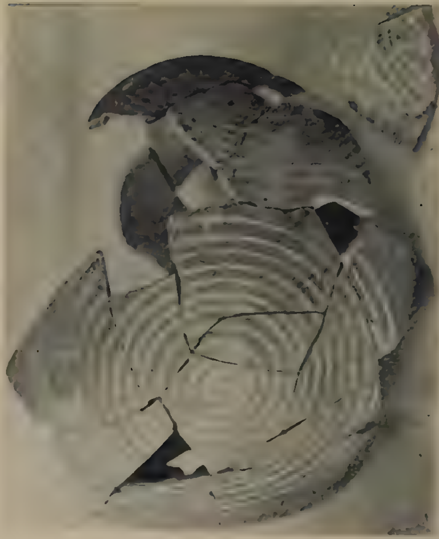
CORINTHIAN LOW PYXIDES AND LIDS.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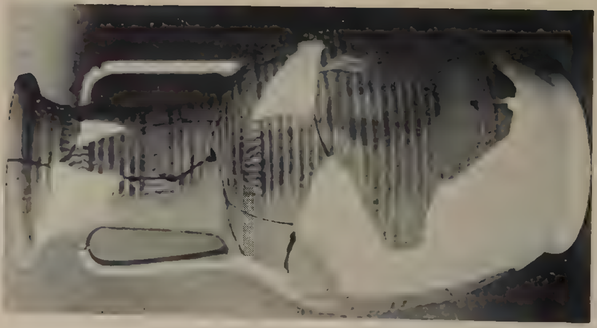
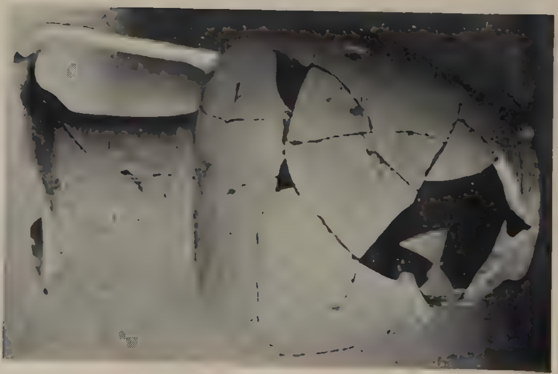

125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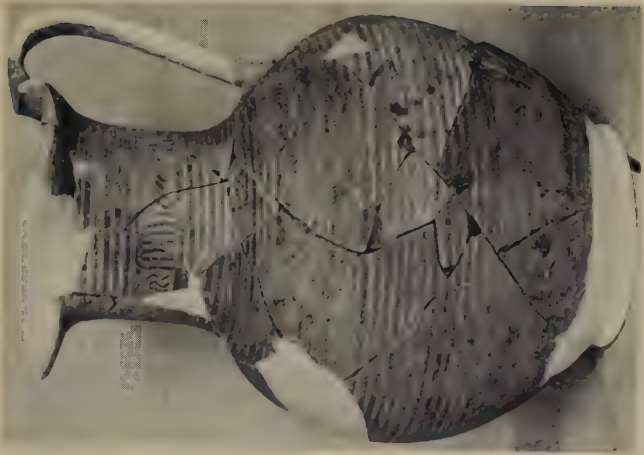
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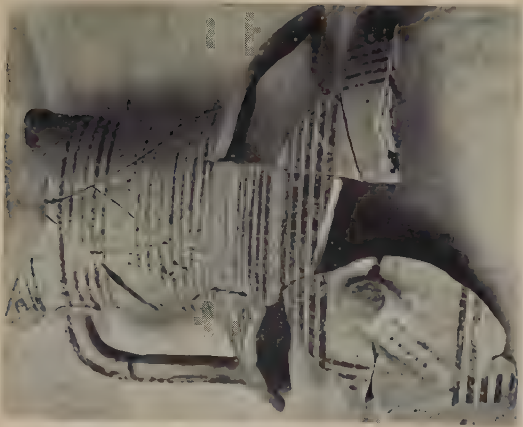
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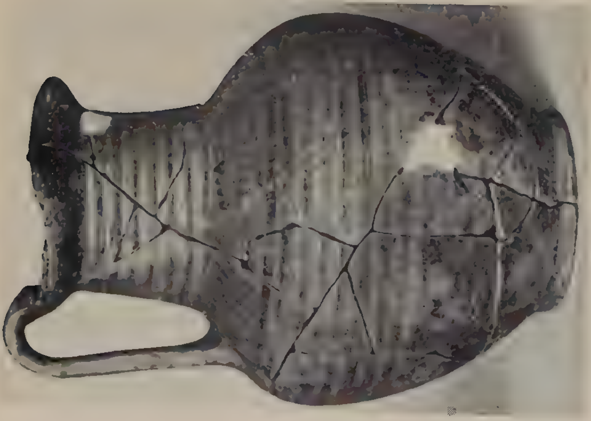
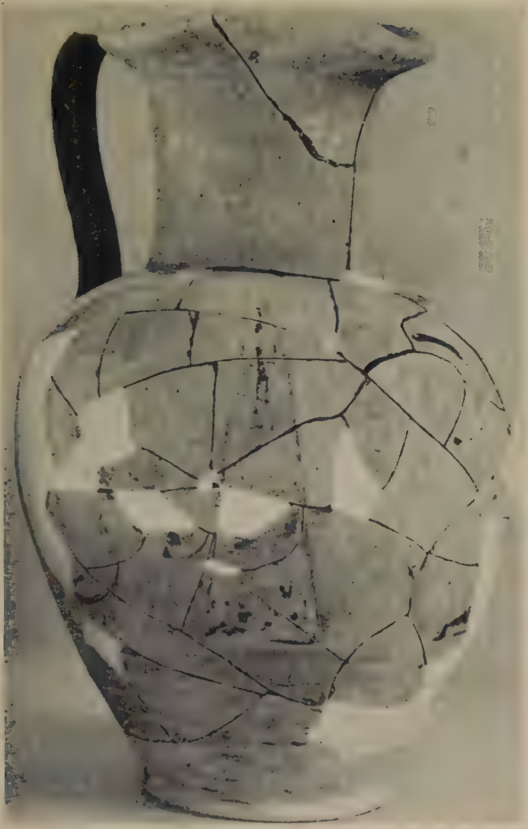

129

CORINTHIAN AMPHORA, HYDRIA AND OINOCHOAI.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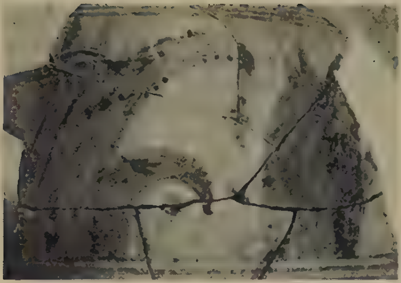
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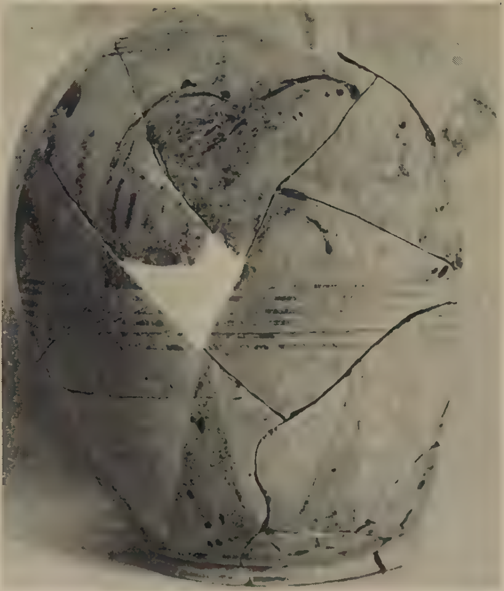
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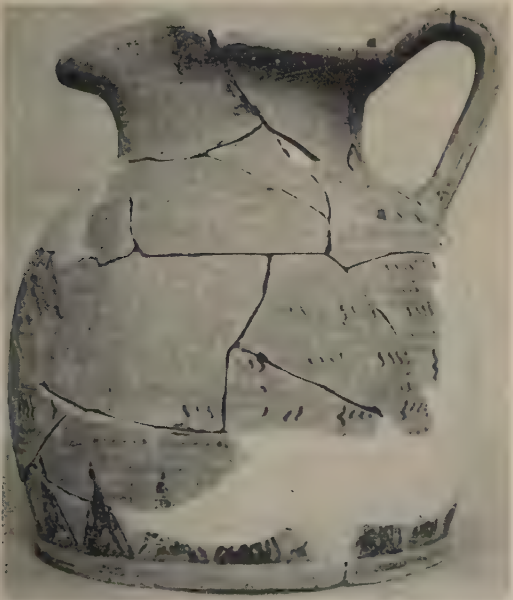
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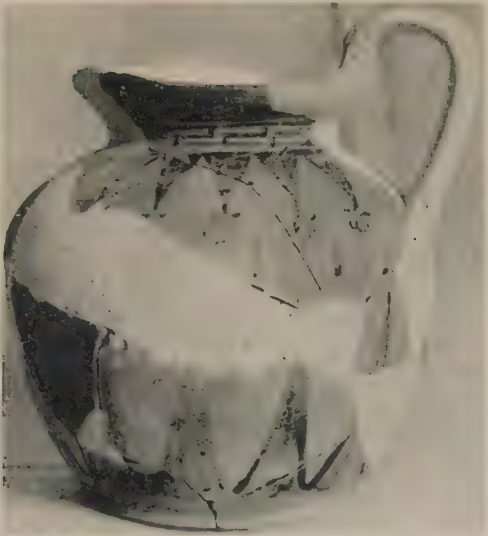
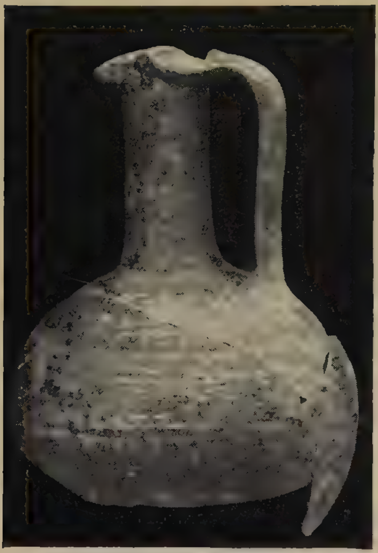

162

CORINTHIAN OINOCHOAI.



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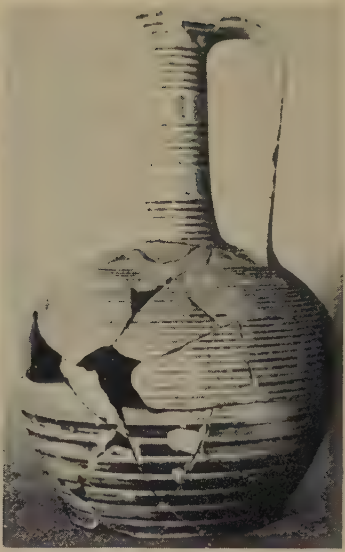

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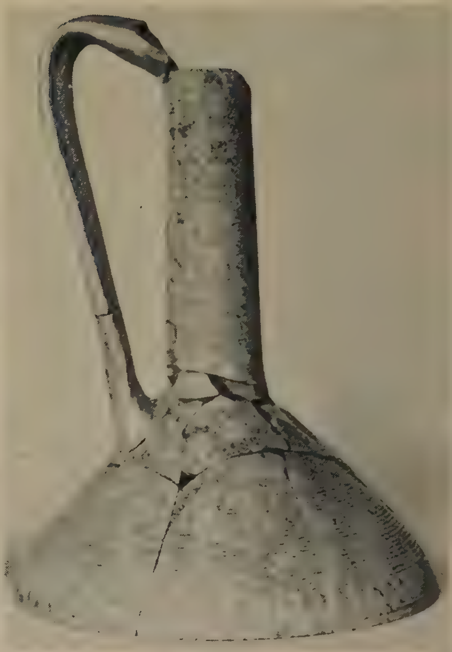

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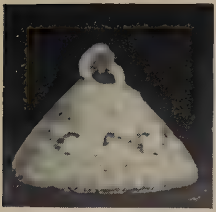

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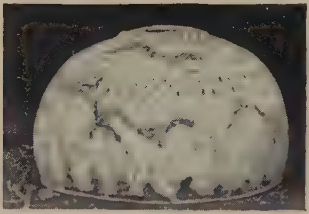

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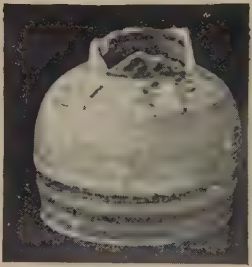

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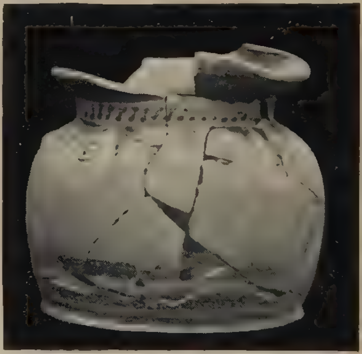

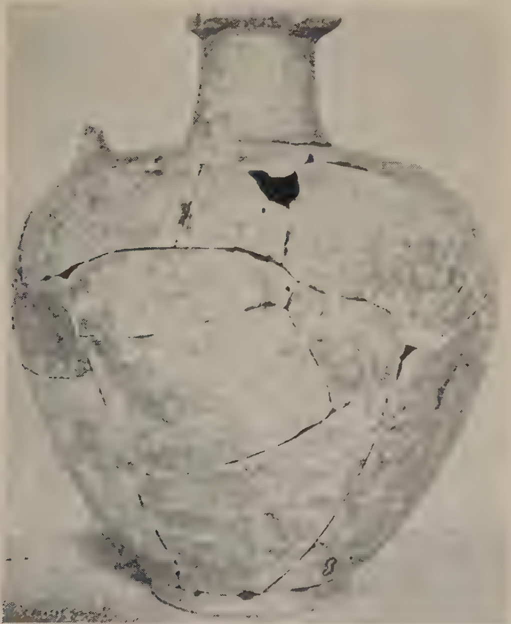

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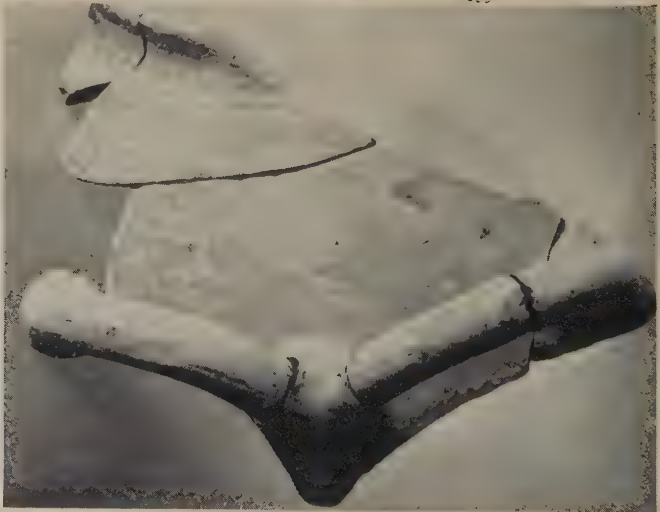
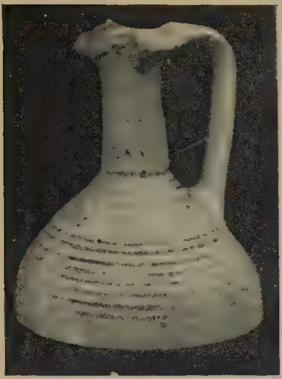


66

CORINTHIAN PYXIS, OINOCHOAI AND ARYBALLOS.



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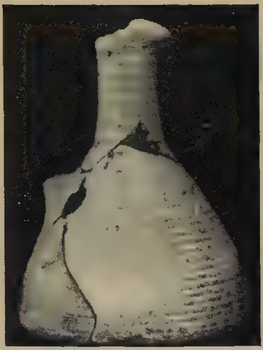

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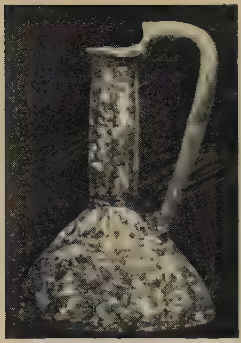

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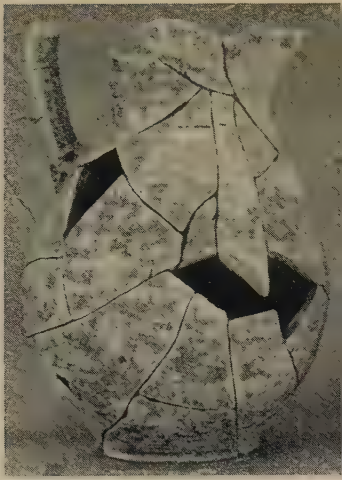

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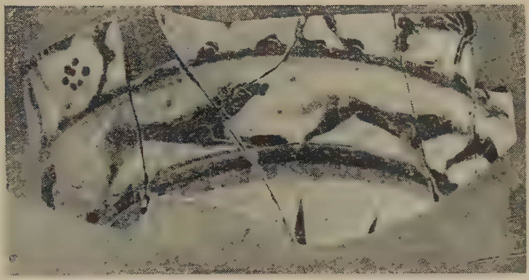

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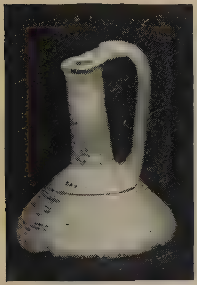

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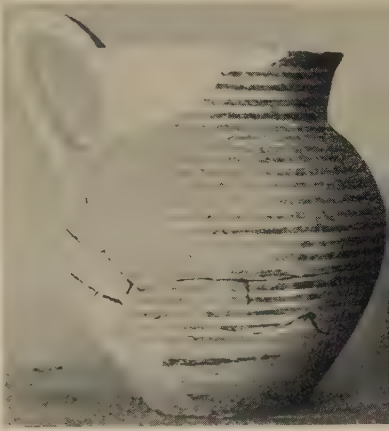

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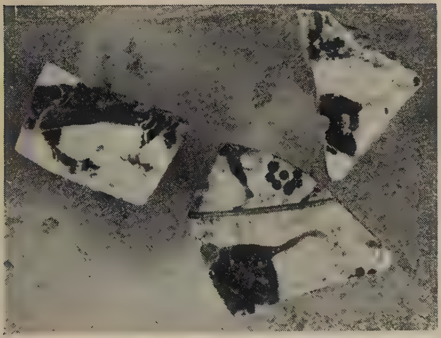

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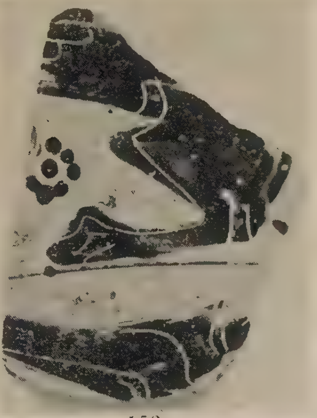

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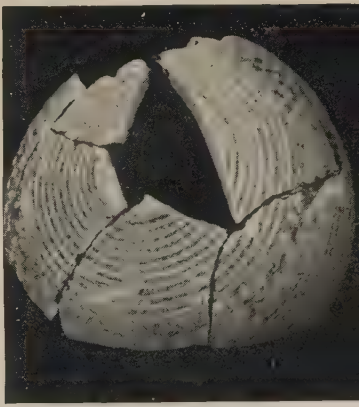

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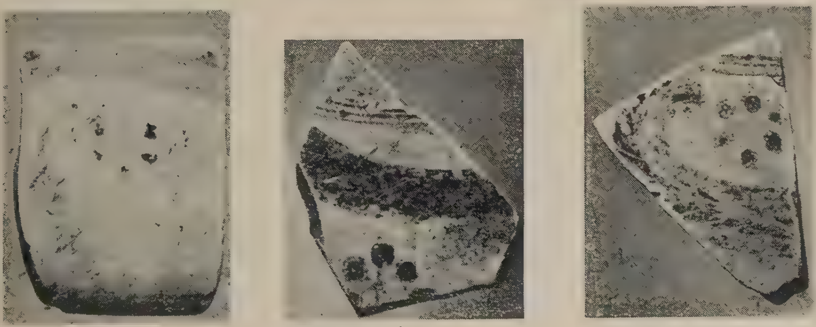
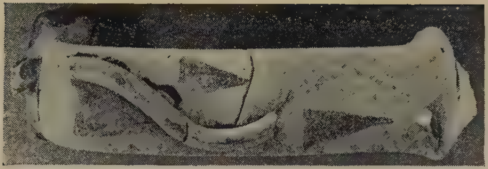
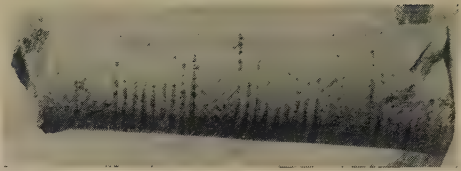


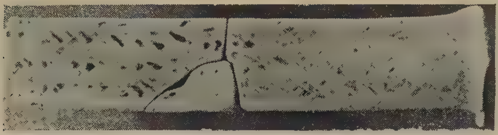
a *b* *c*

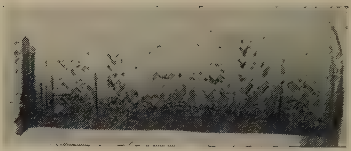
212

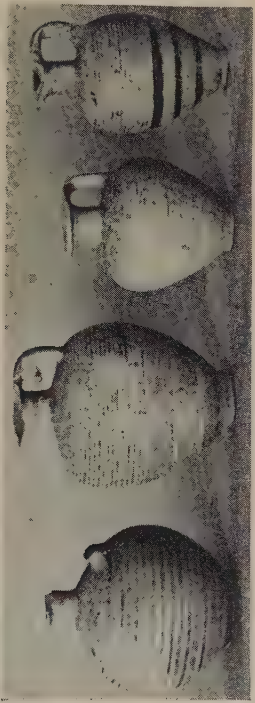
CORINTHIAN OINOCHOAI.







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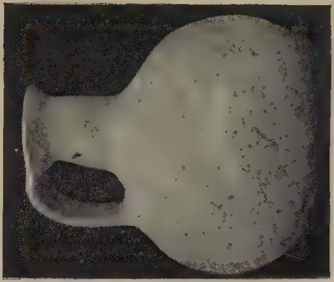
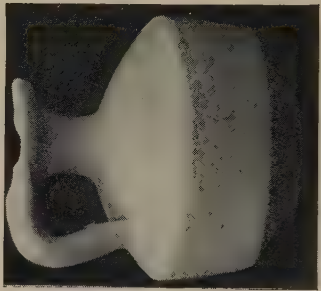
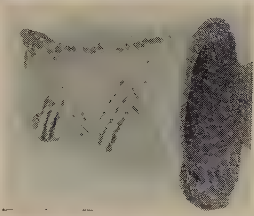
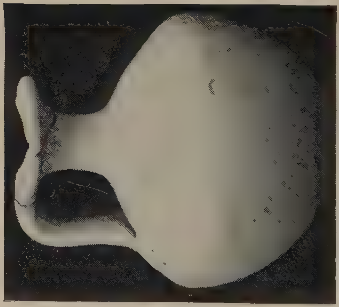
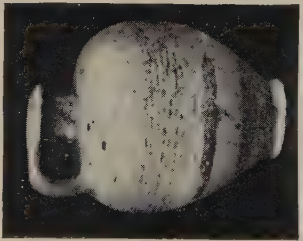
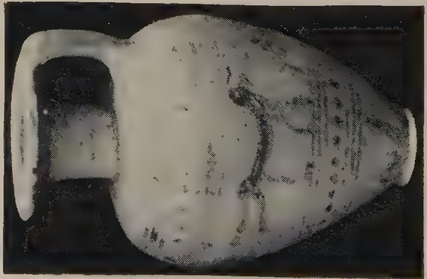


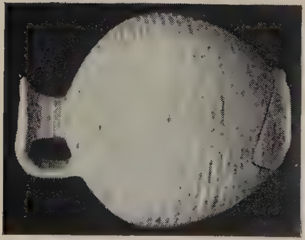


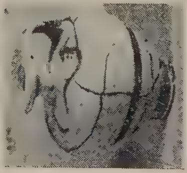




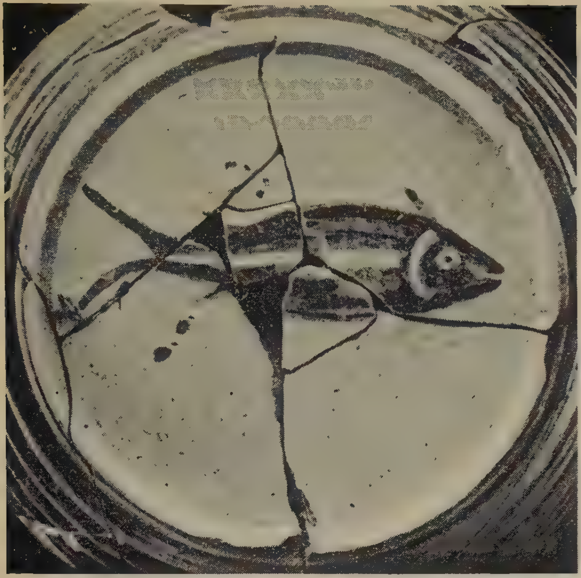








CORINTHIAN AND "ARGIVE MONOCHROME" OINOCHOAI AND ARYBALLOI.



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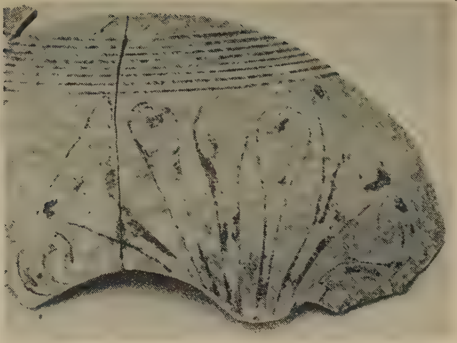

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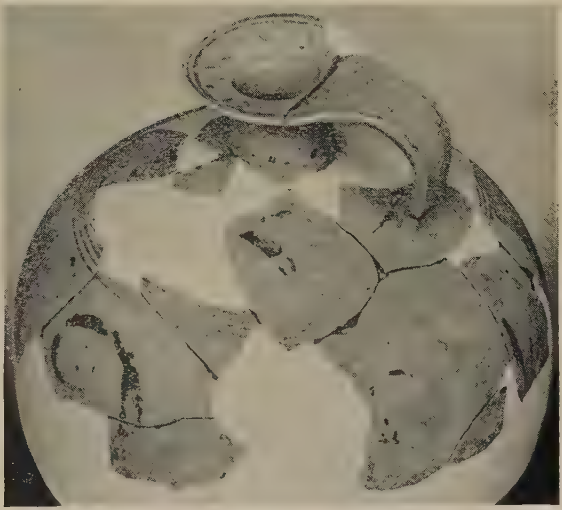

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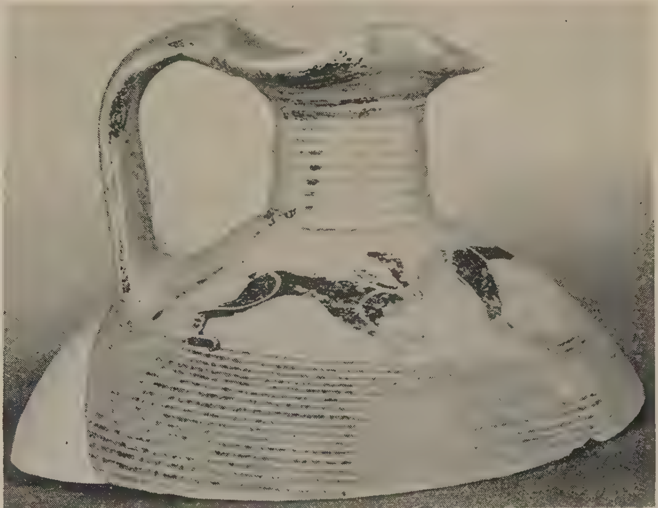
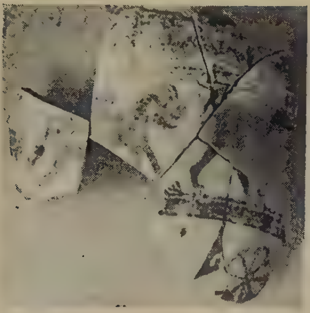
120

145



164

CORINTHIAN PYXIS-LID, OINOCHOAI AND ARYBALLOS.



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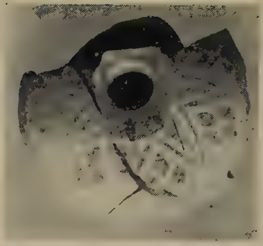

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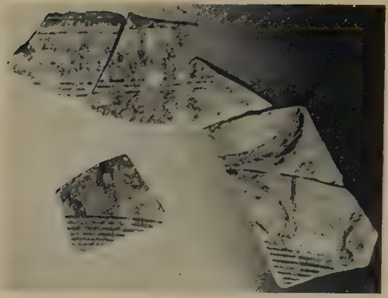

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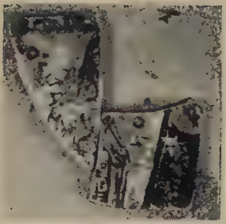

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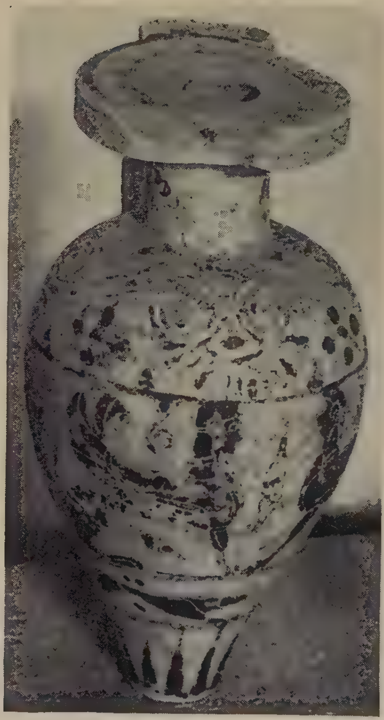
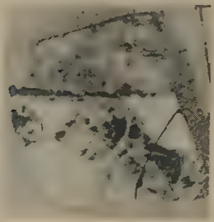


255 (*b*)



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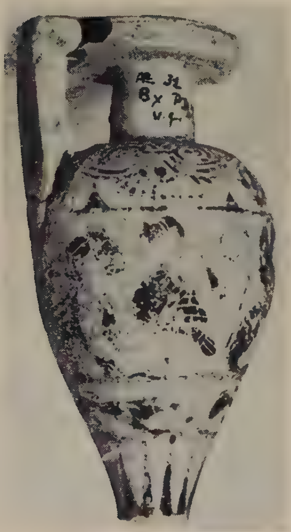

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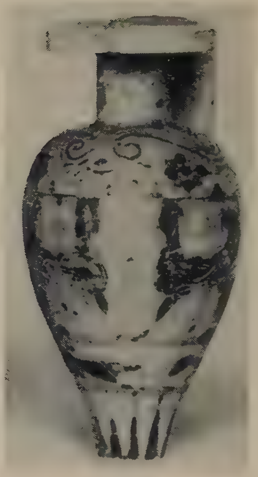
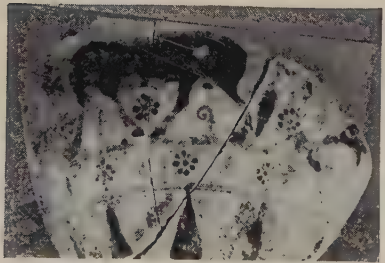


255 (*c*)



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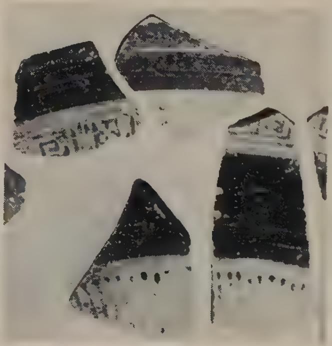

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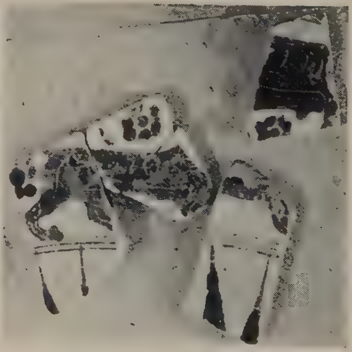
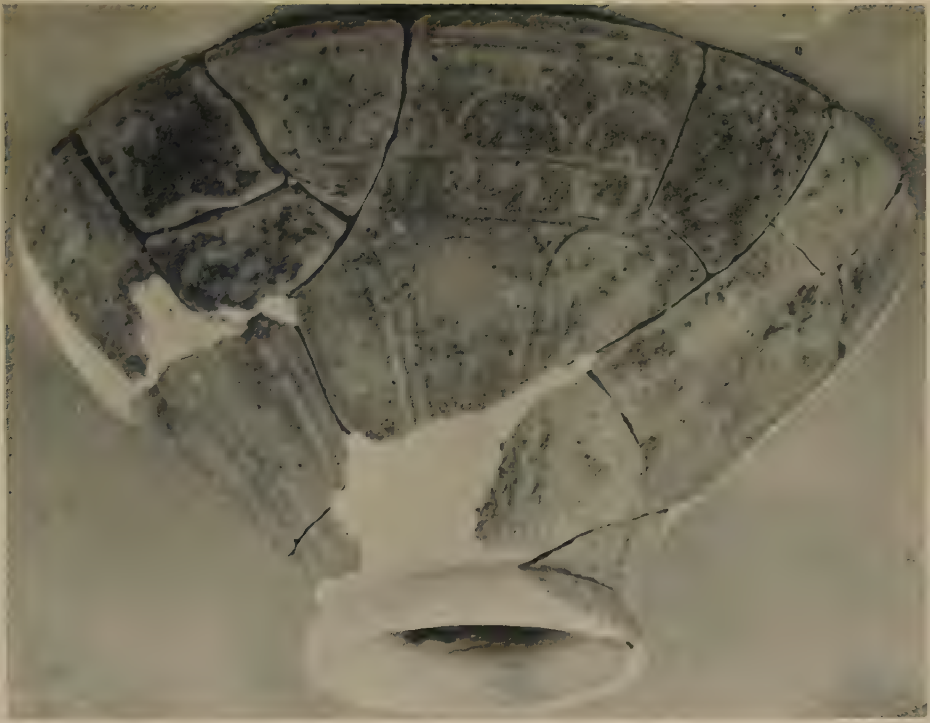


34

CORINTHIAN KOTYLAI, OINOCHOAI AND ARYBALLOI.



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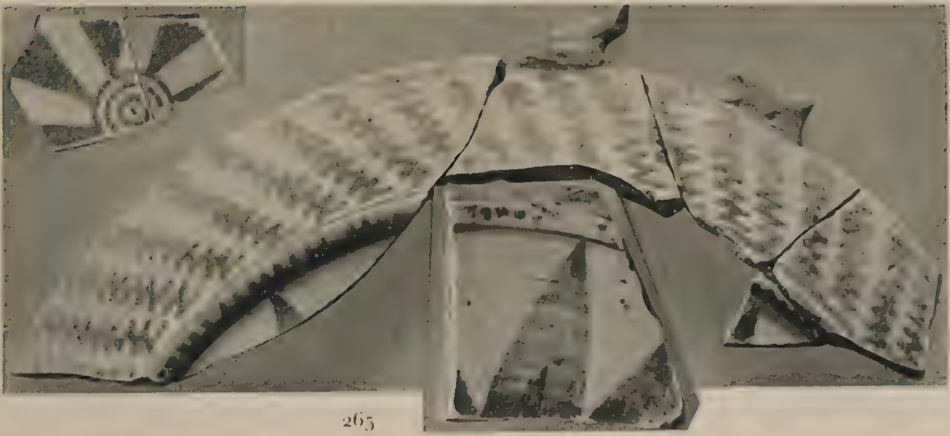

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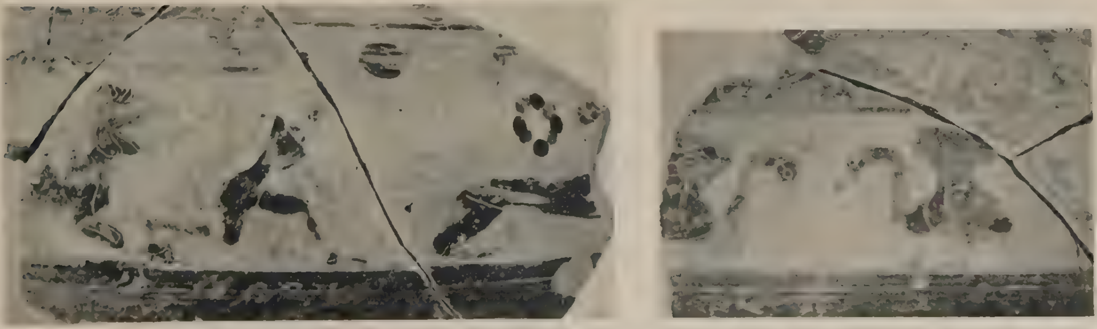

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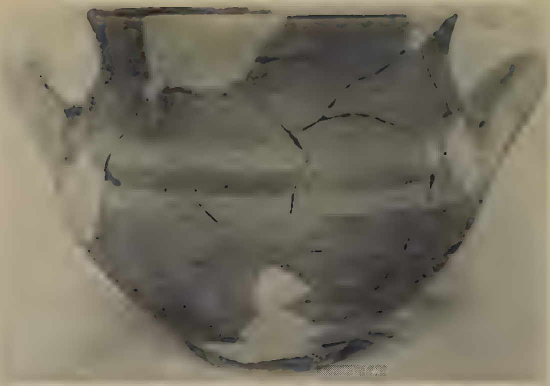
CORINTHIAN OINOCHOE, STAND AND DISH.



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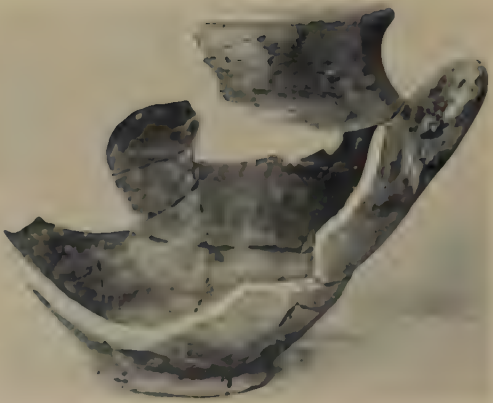

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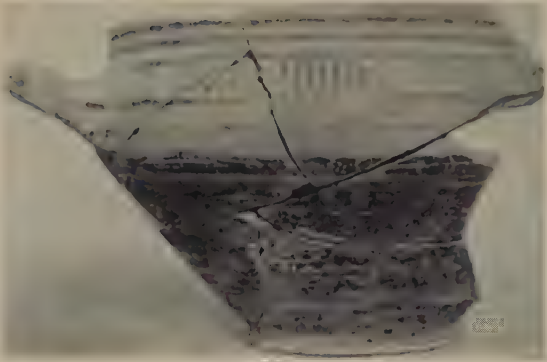

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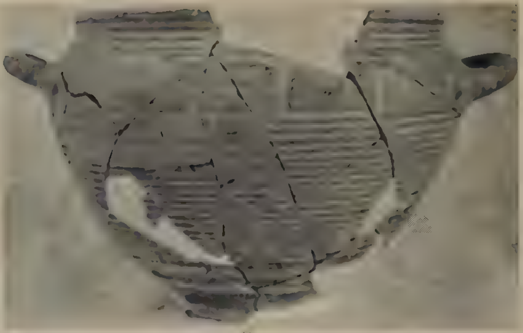

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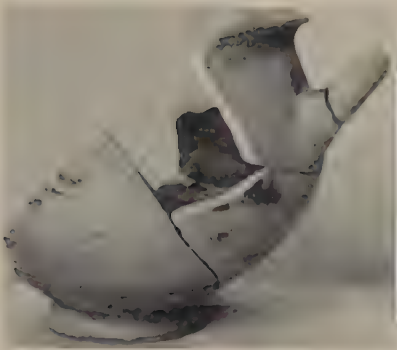

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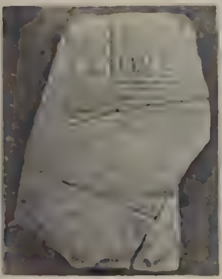

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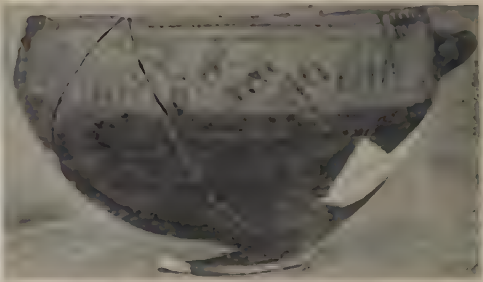

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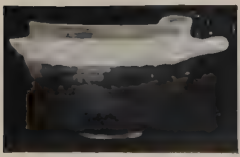

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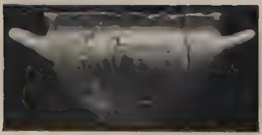

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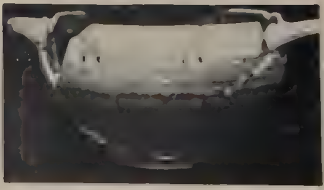

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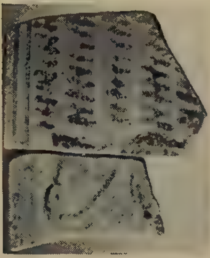
ITHACAN CUPS AND KOTYLAI.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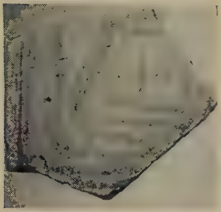
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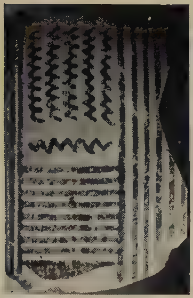
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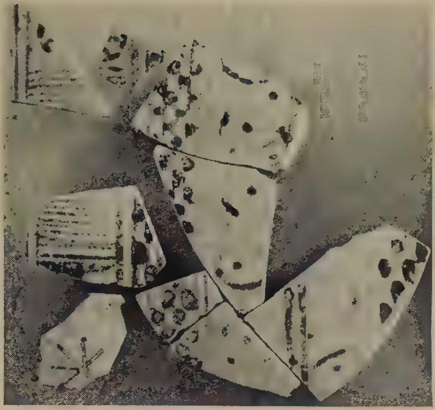
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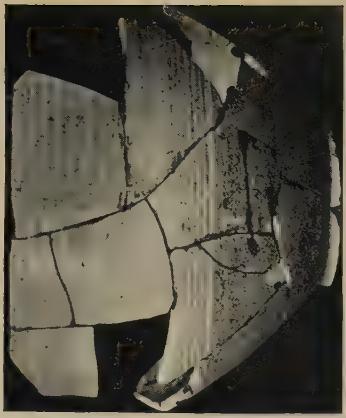
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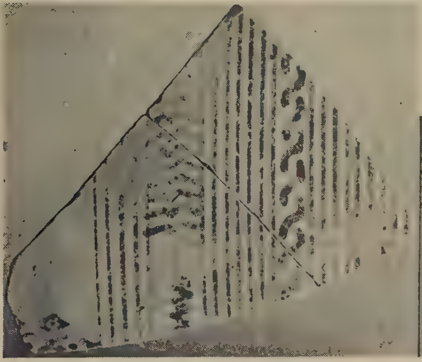

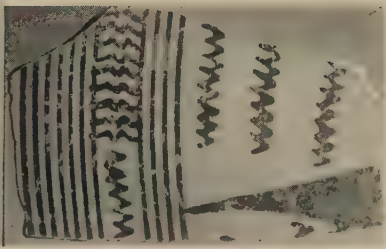
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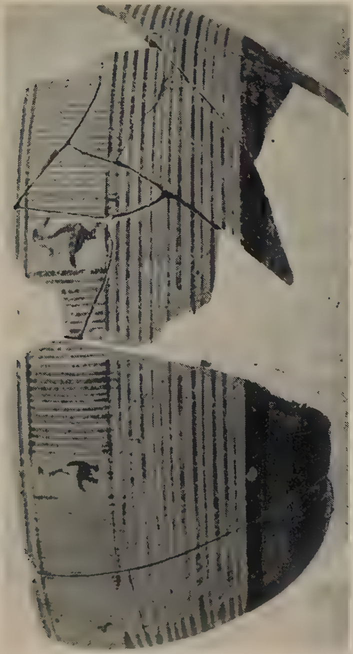
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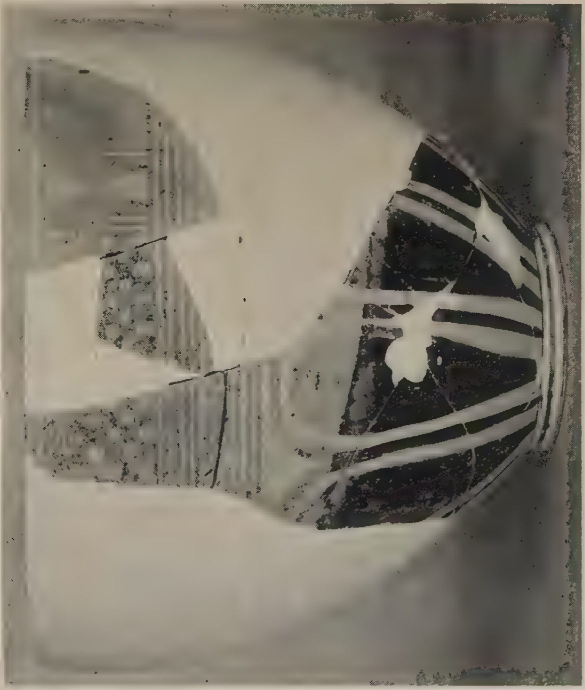
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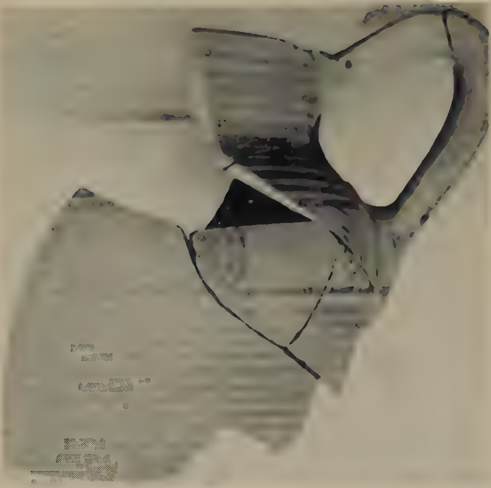
ITHACAN CUP AND KOTYLAI.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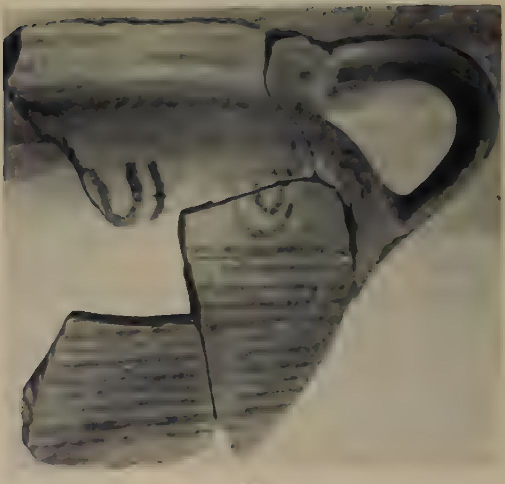
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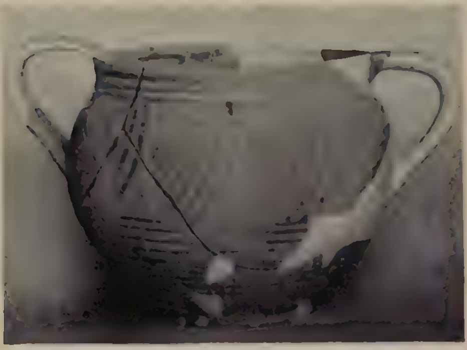
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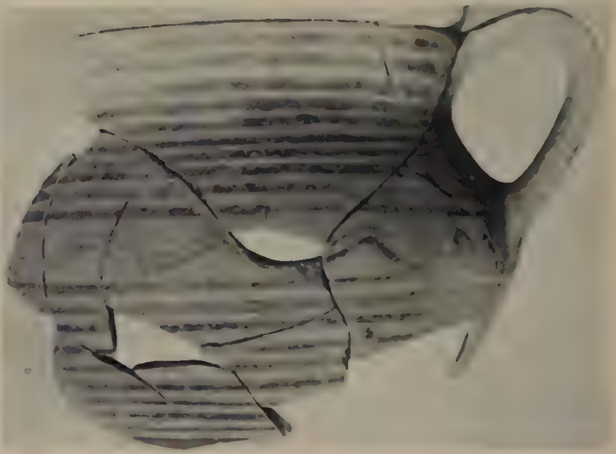
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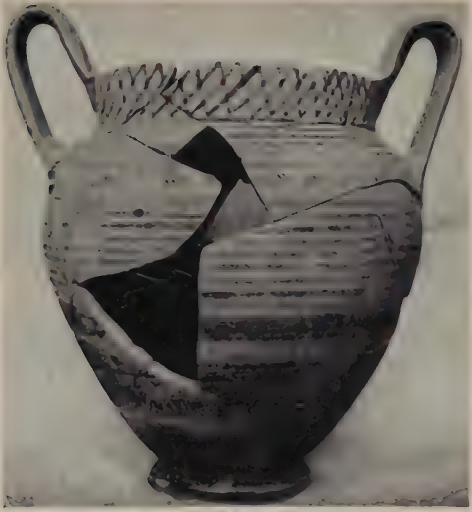
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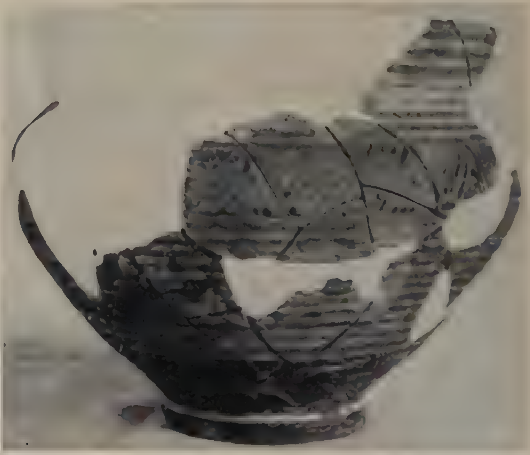
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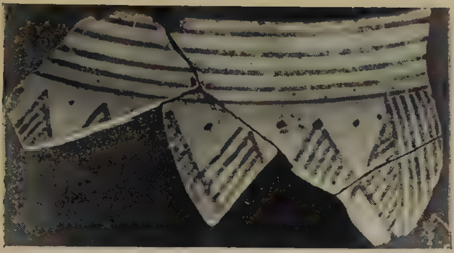
ITHACAN KANTHAROI.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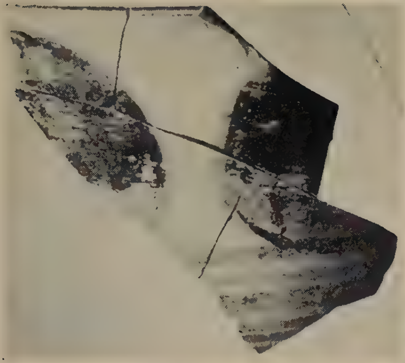
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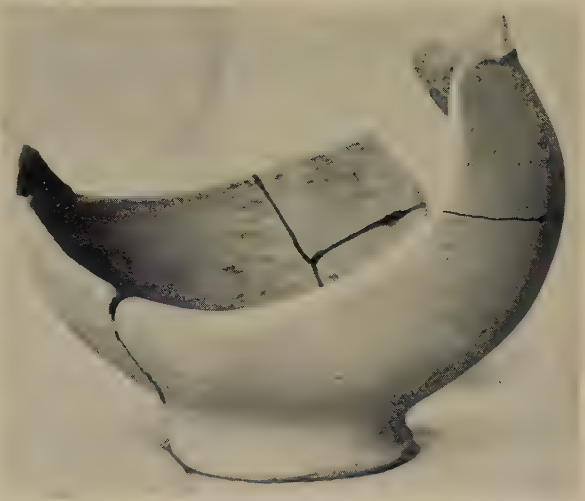
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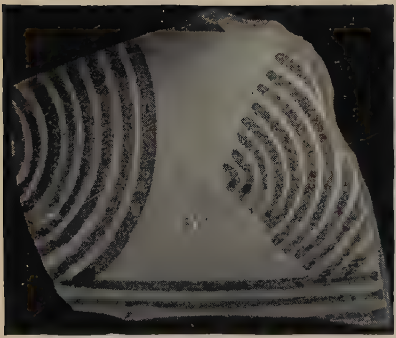
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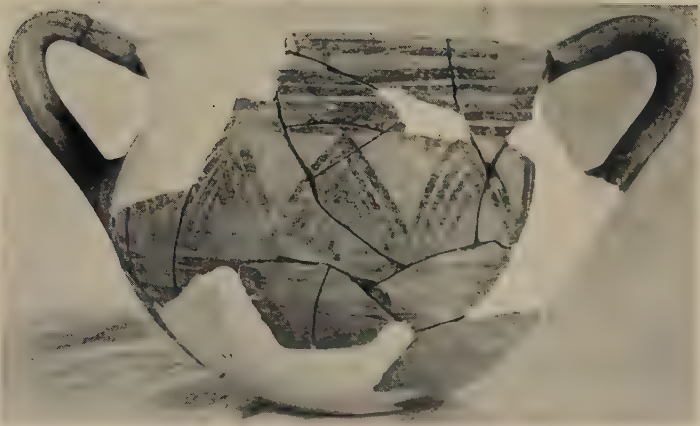
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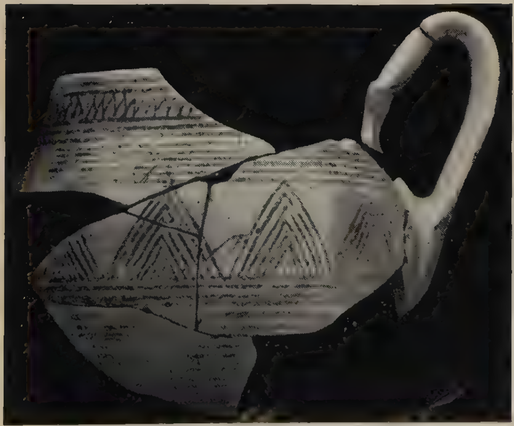
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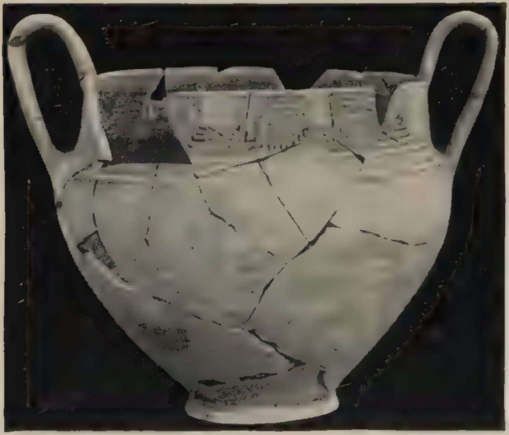
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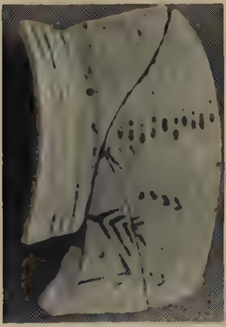
ITHACAN KANTHAROI.



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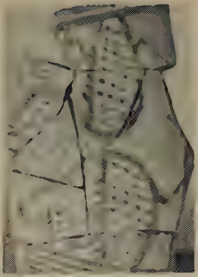

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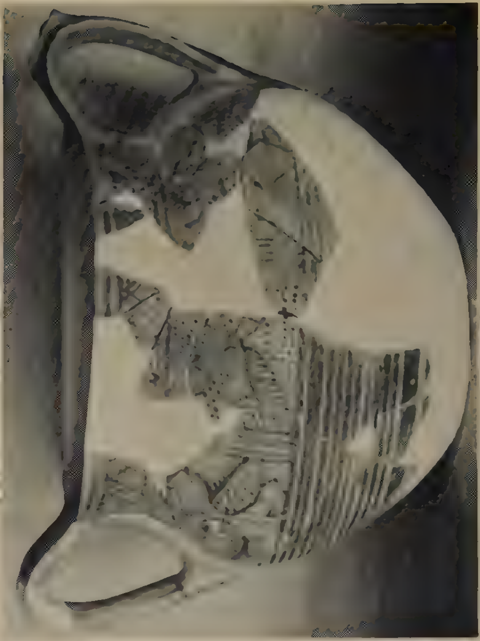

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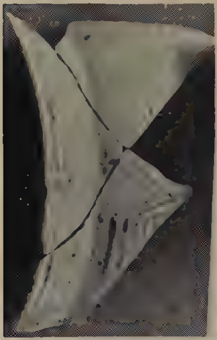

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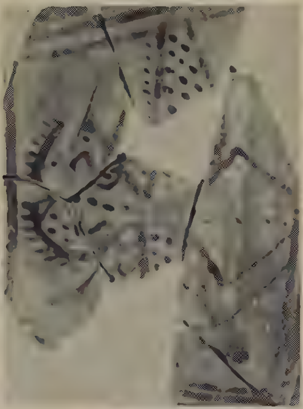

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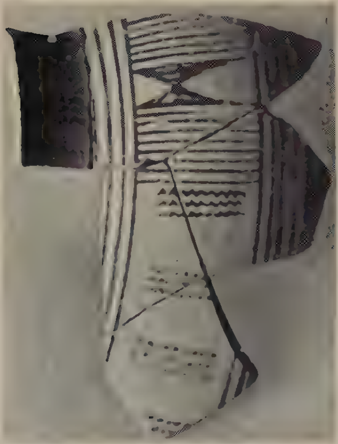

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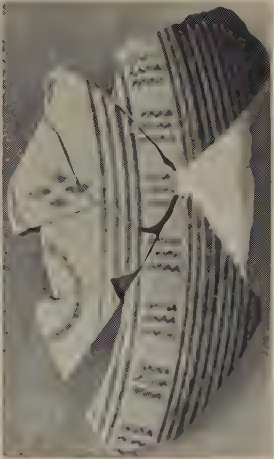

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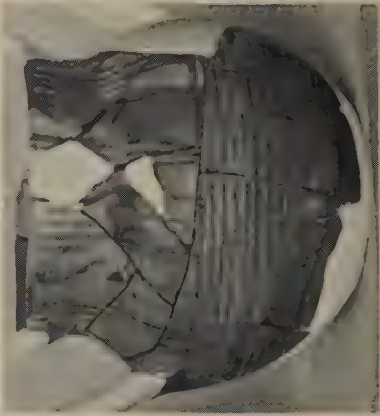

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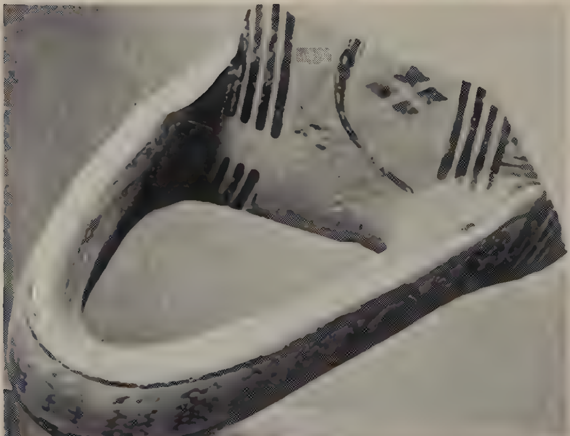

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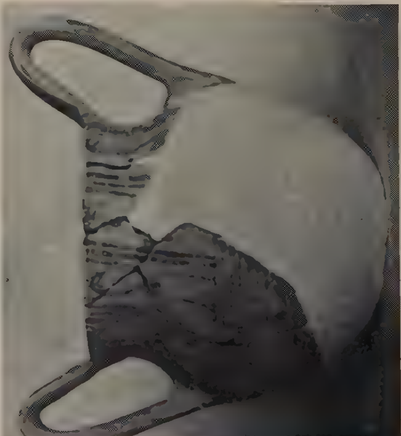

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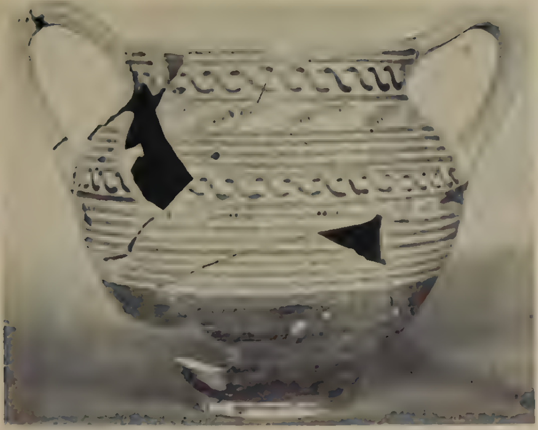
ITHACAN KANTHAROI.



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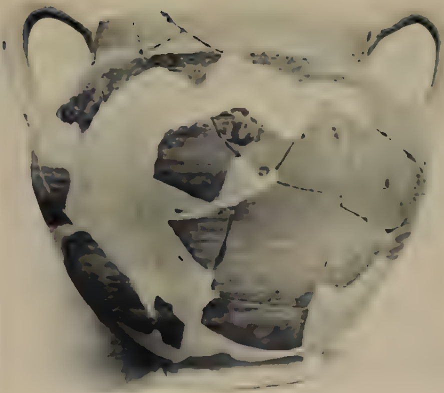

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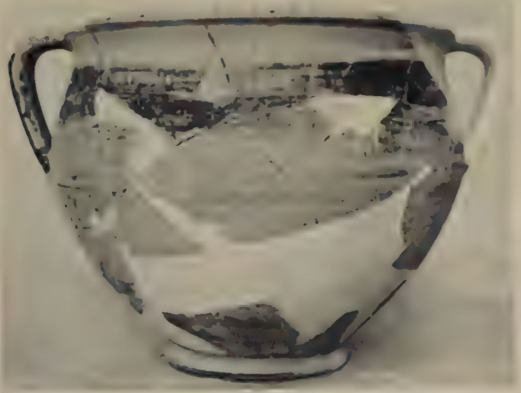

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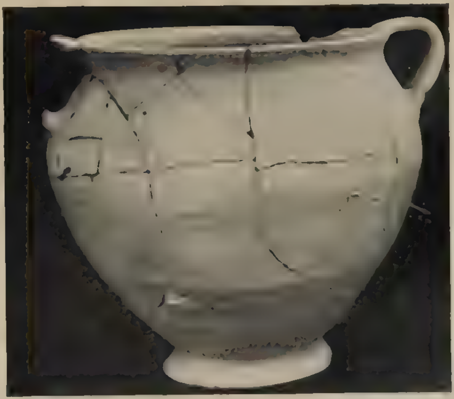

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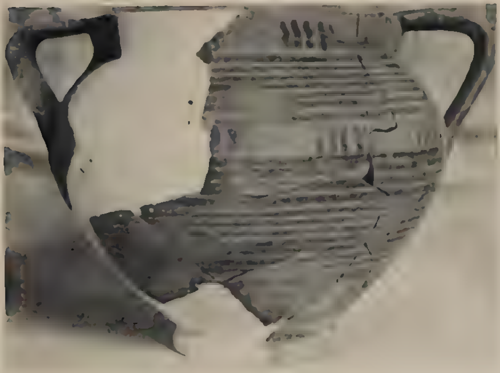

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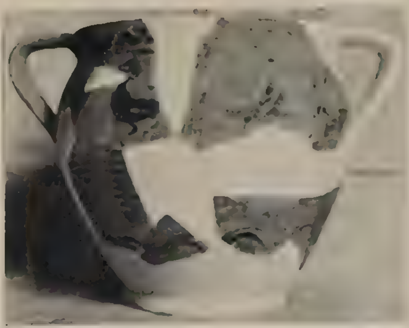

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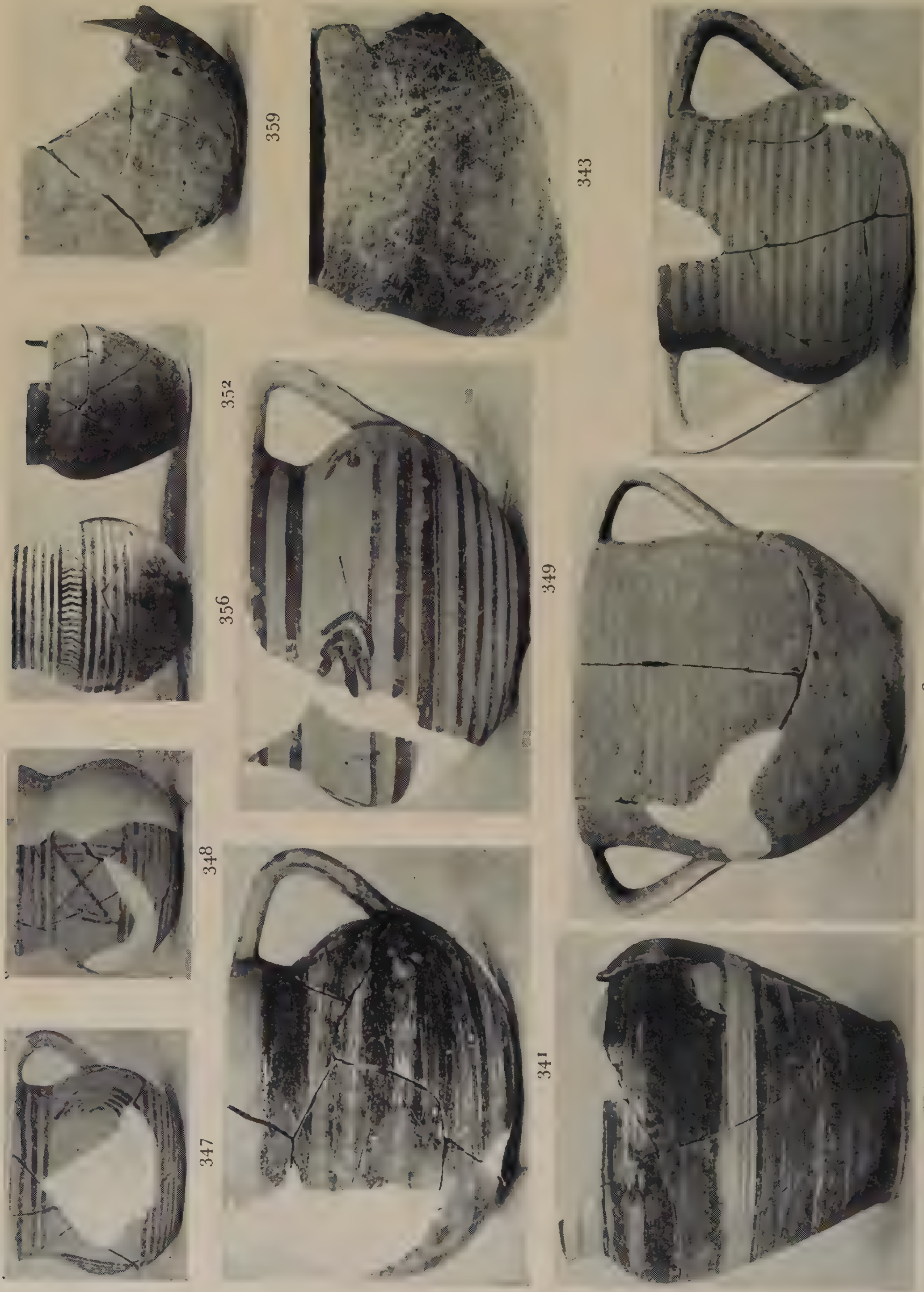
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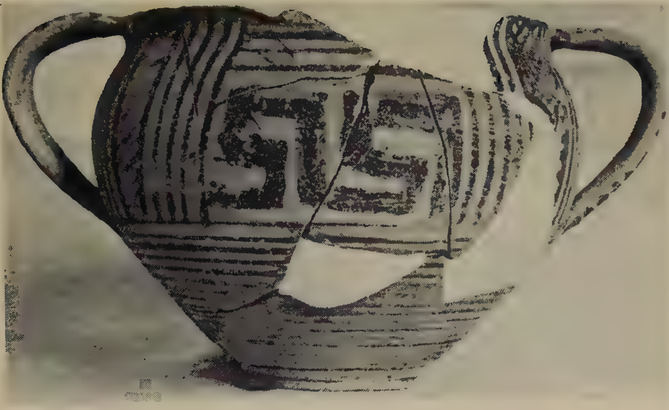
ITHACAN MUGS AND KYATHOI.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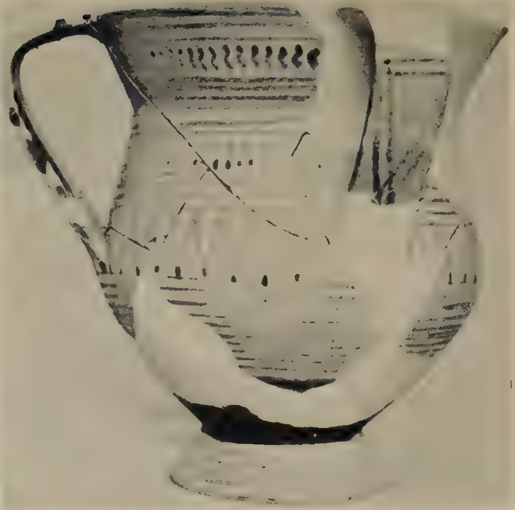
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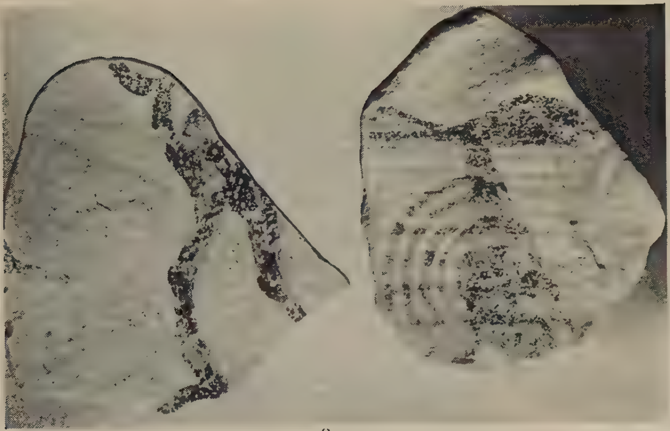
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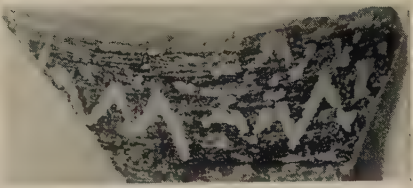
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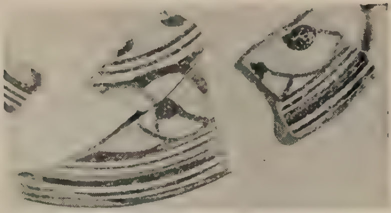
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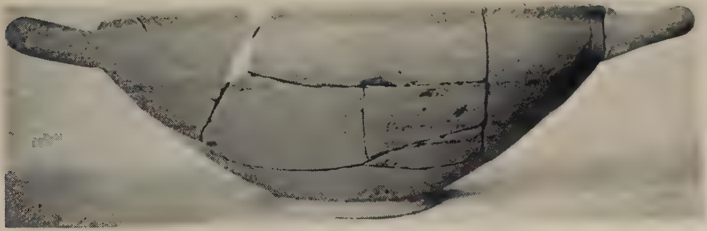
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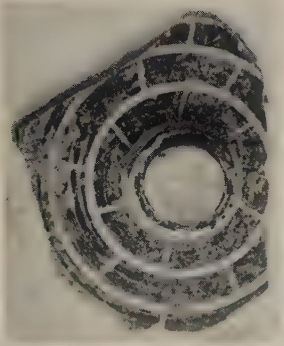
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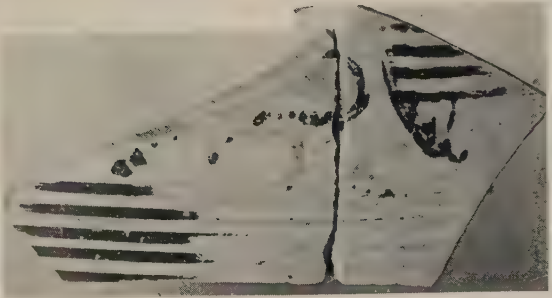
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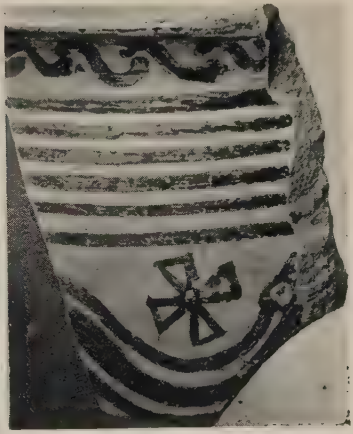
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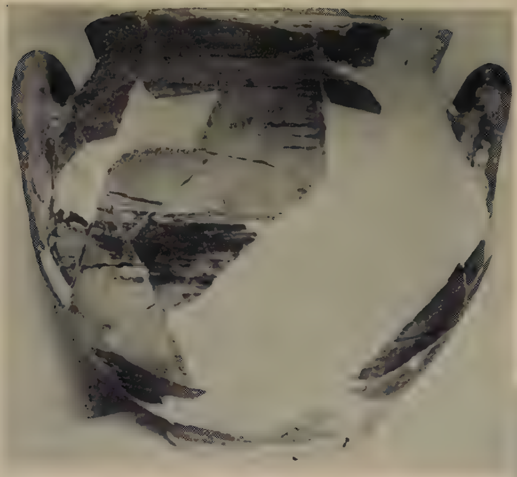
ITHACAN CUP, MUGS, KRATERS AND PYXIS-LIDS.



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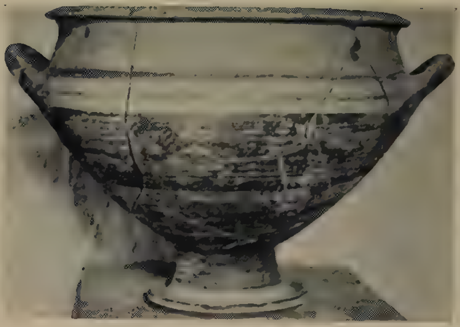

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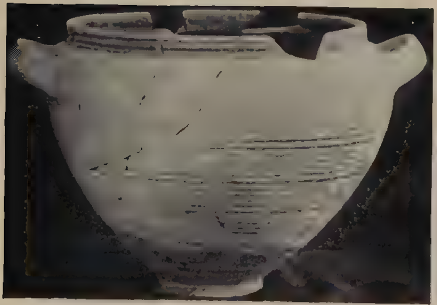

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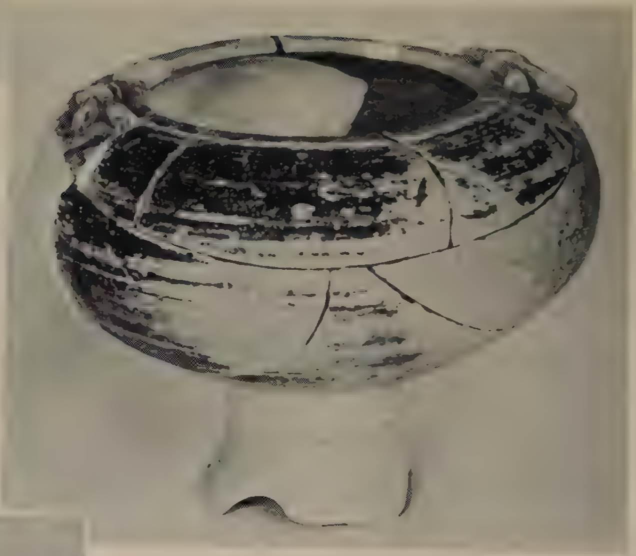

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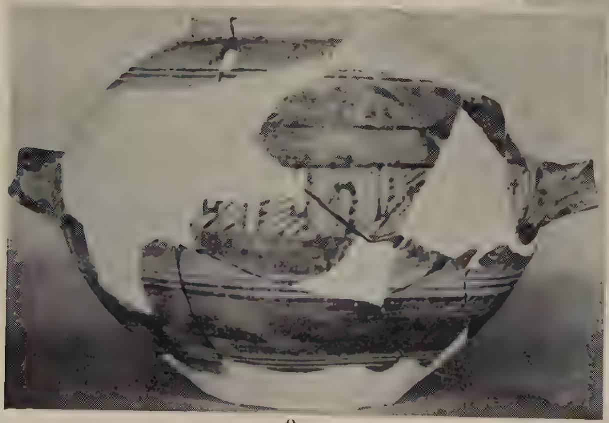

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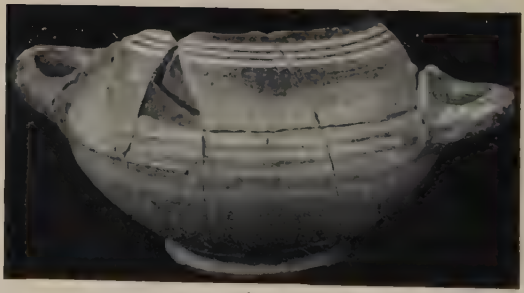

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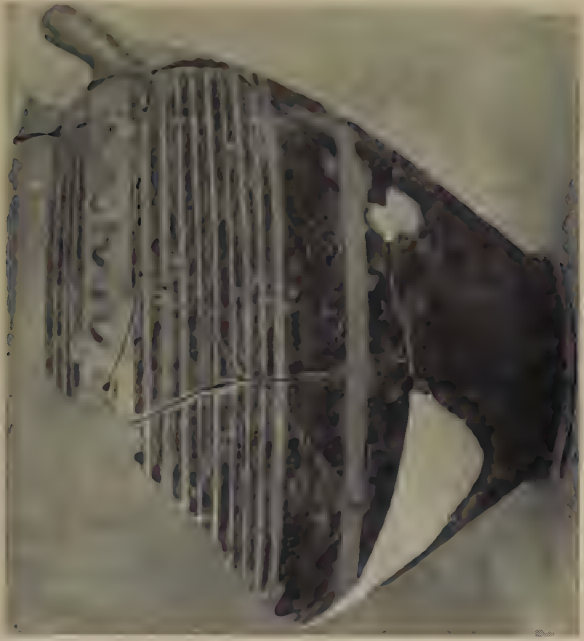
ITHACAN KRATERS AND PYXIDES.



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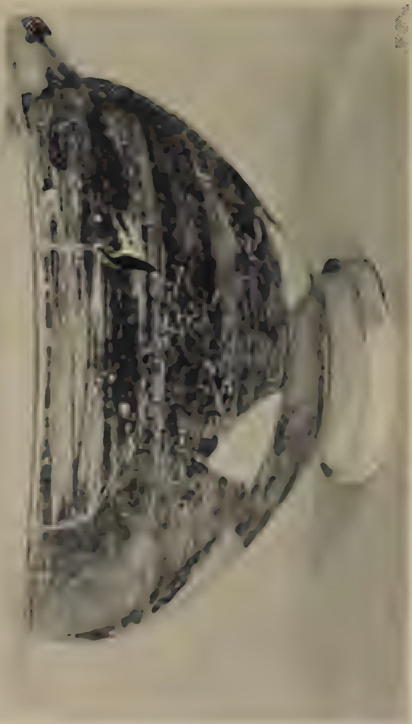

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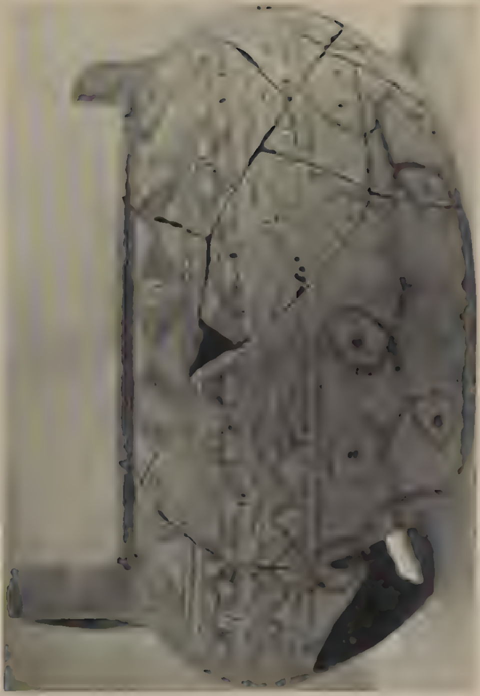

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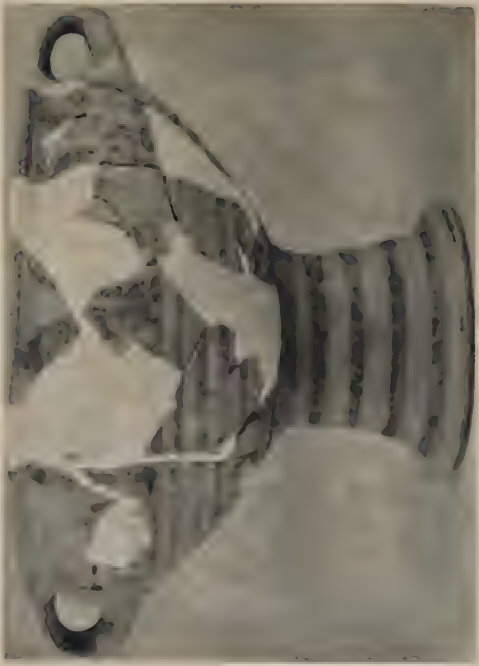

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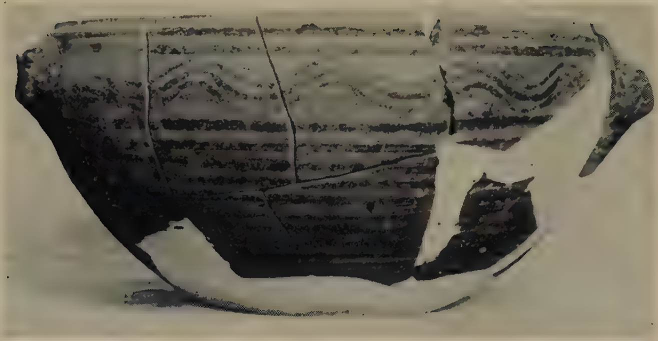
ITHACAN KRATERS.



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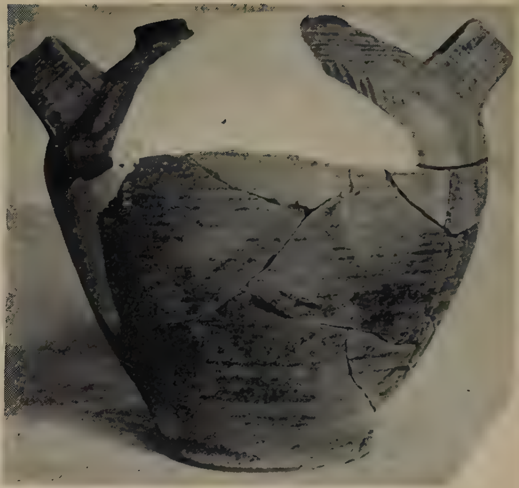

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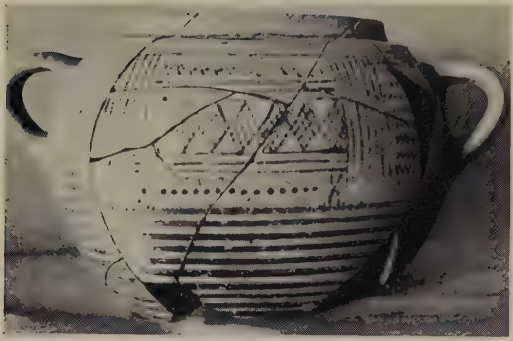

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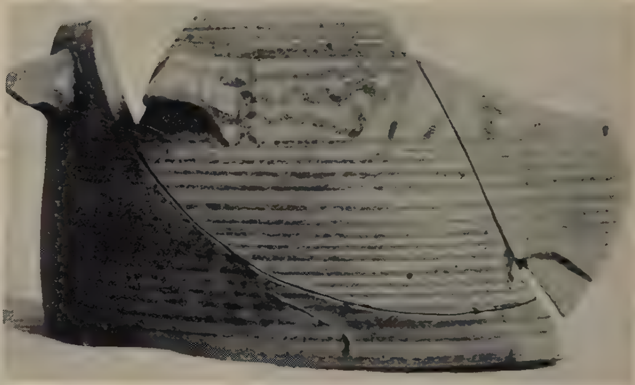

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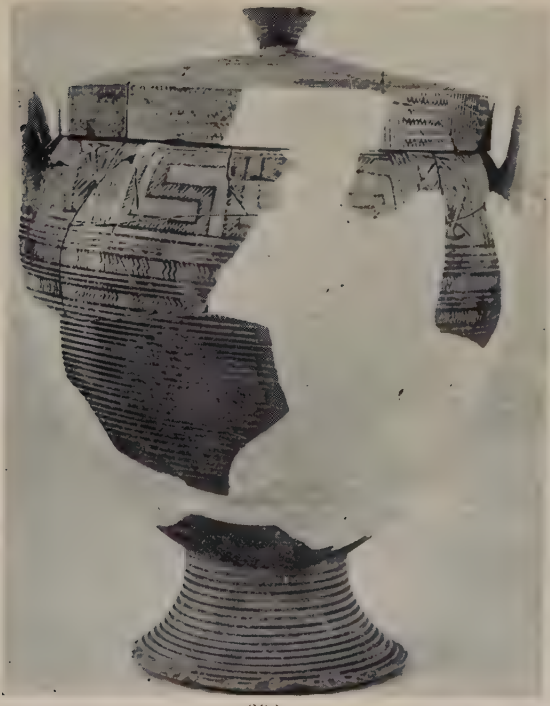

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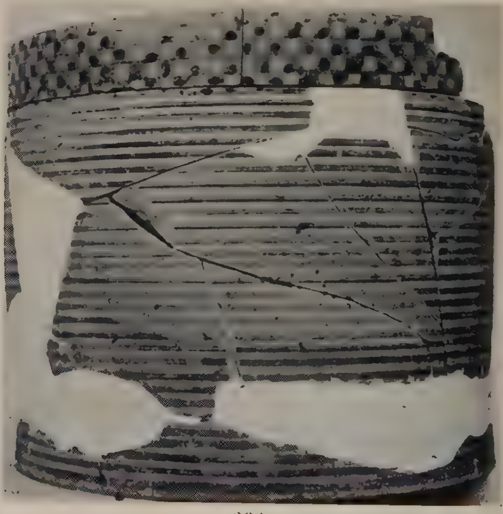

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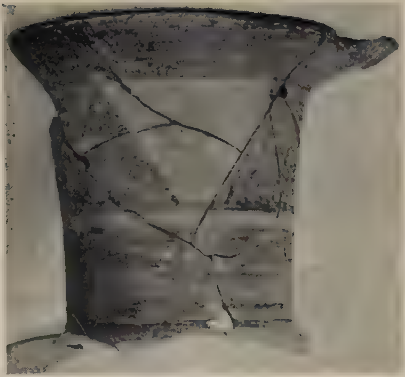
ITHACAN PYXIDES.



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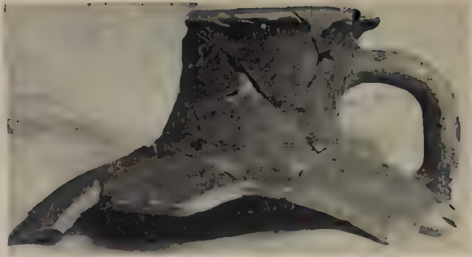

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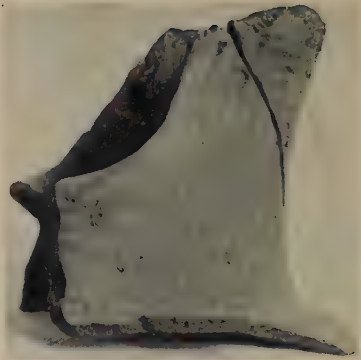

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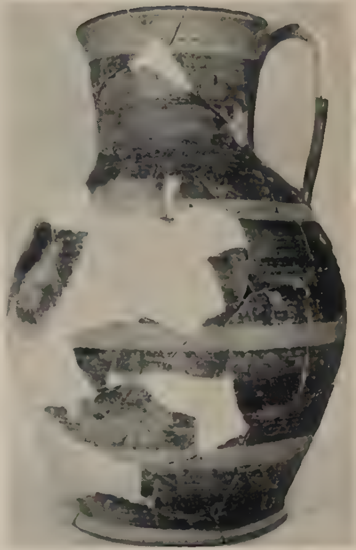

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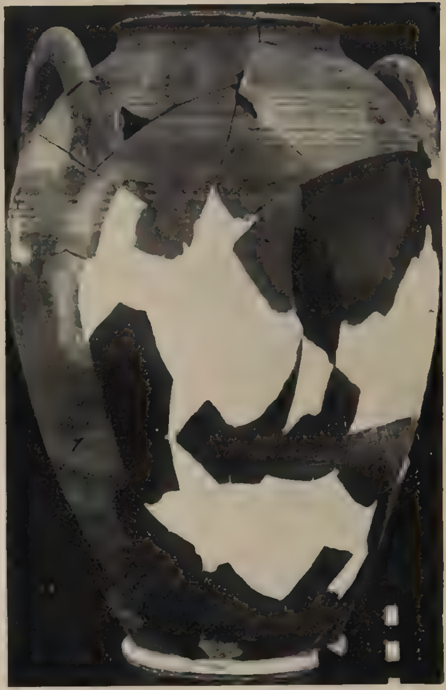

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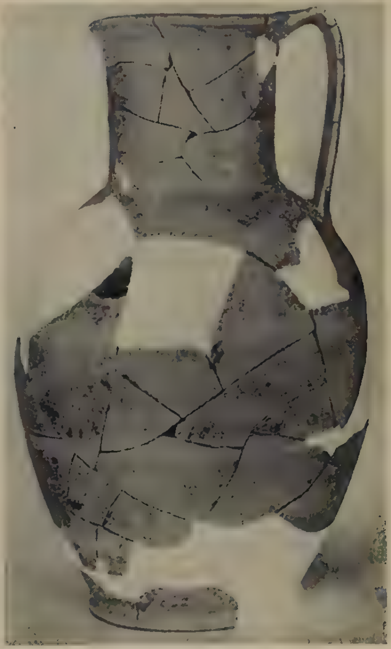

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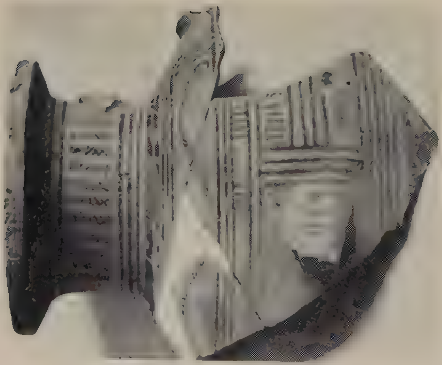
ITHACAN PITHOS, HYDRIA AND OINOCHOAI.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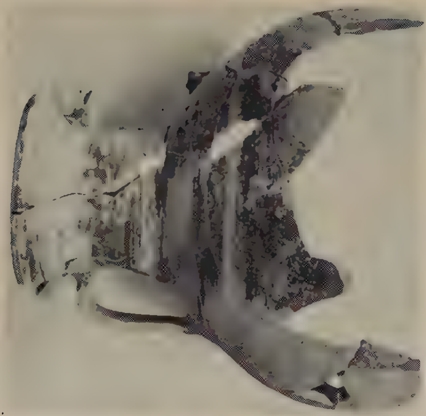
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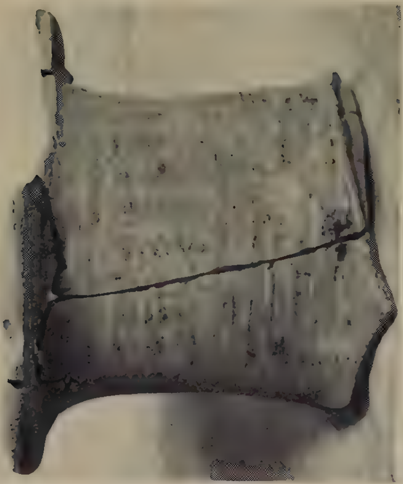
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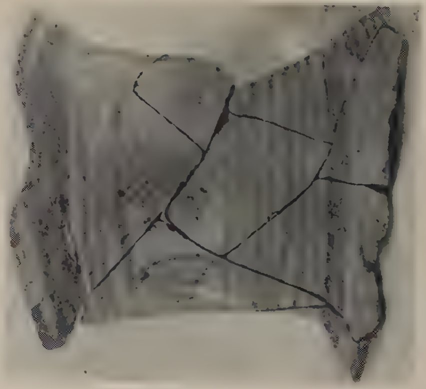
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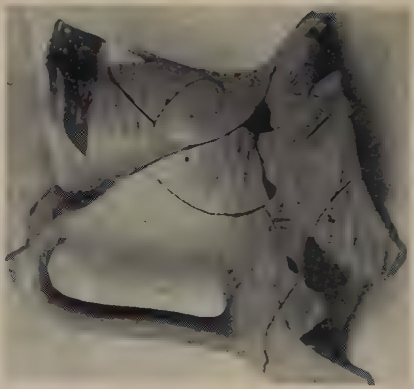
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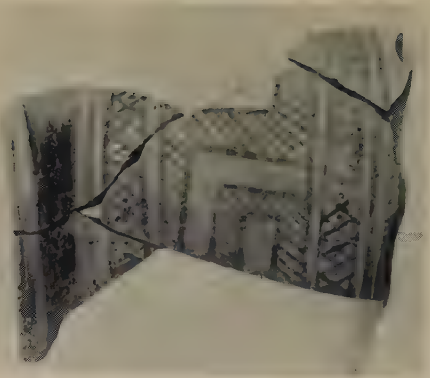
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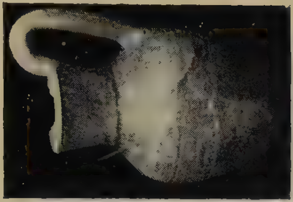
ITHACAN AMPHORAE, HYDRIA AND OINOCHOAI.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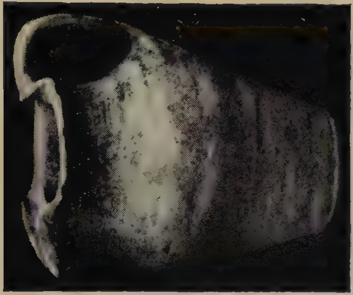
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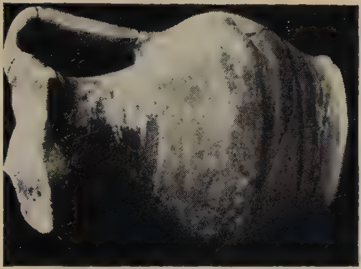
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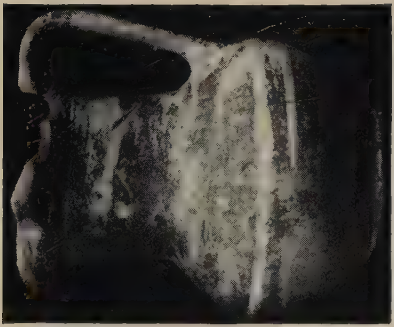
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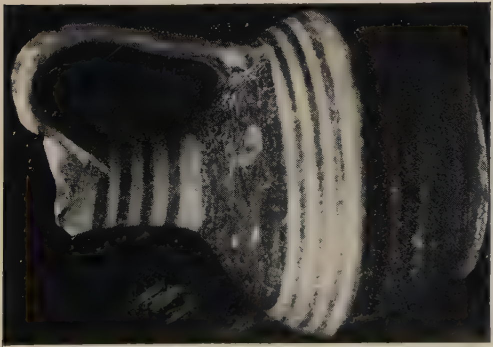
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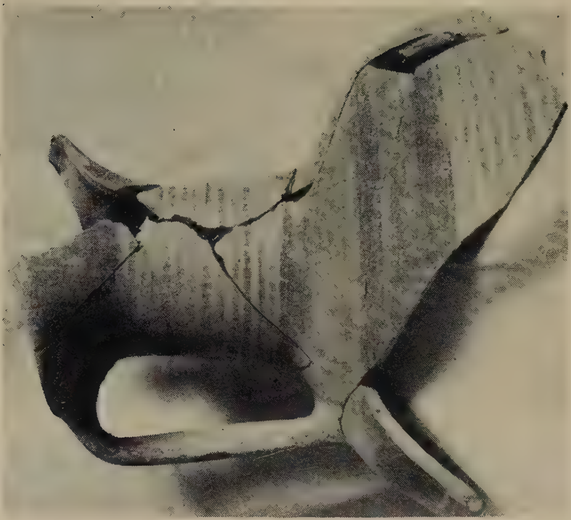
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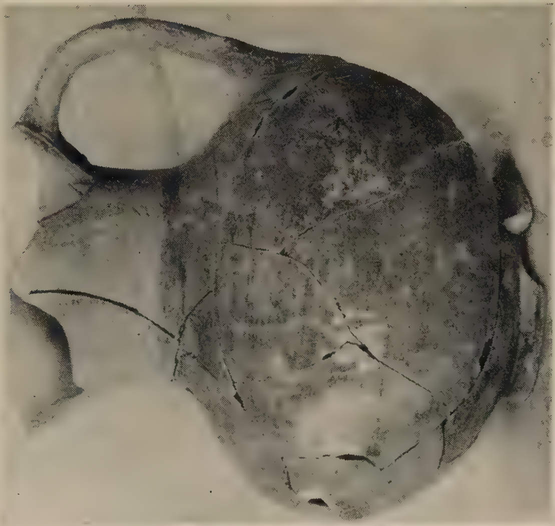
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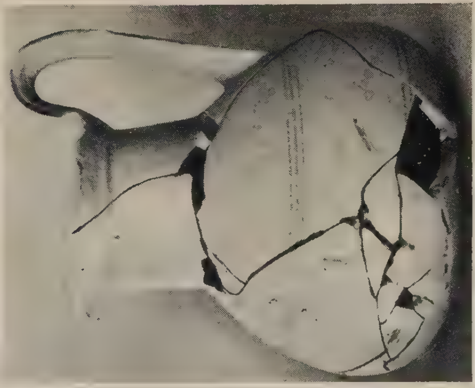
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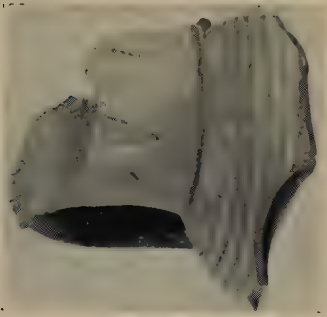
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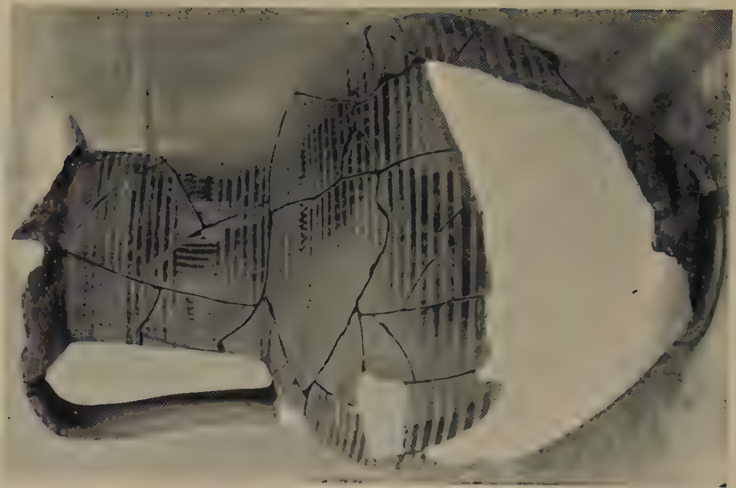
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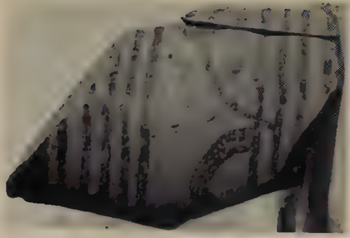
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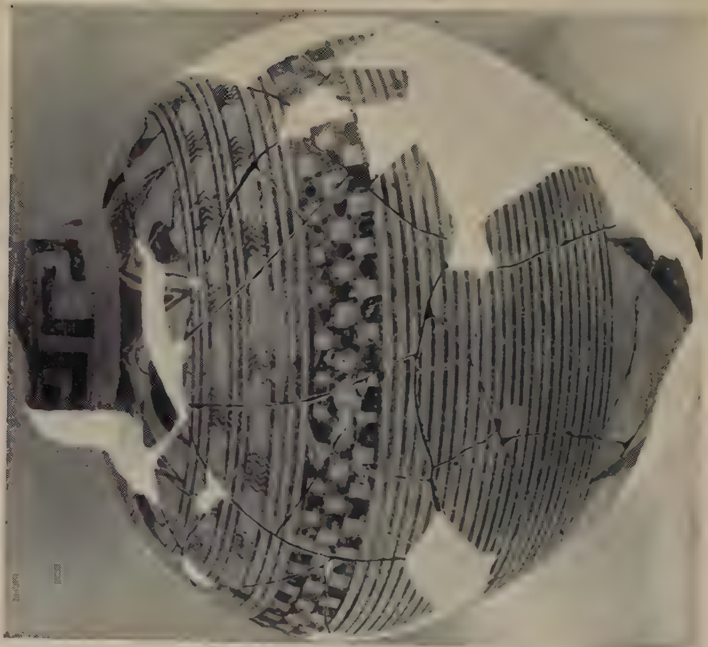
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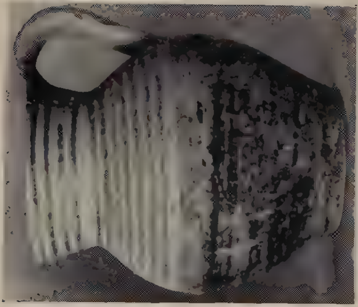
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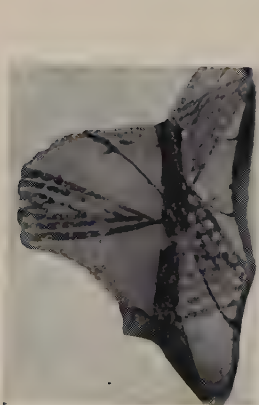
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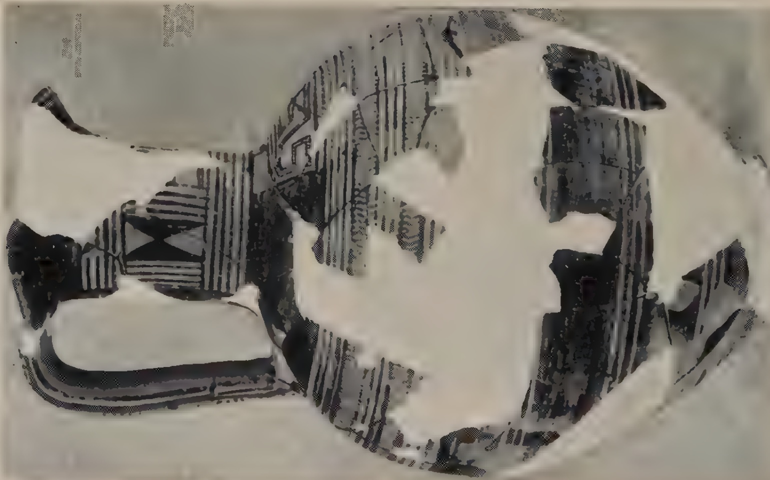
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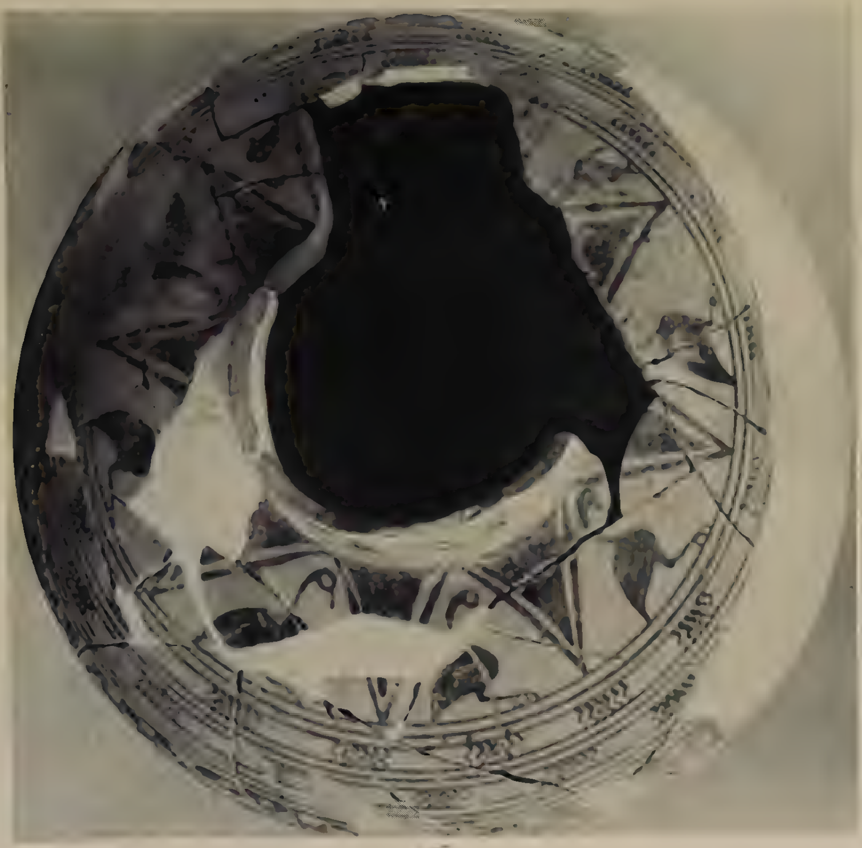

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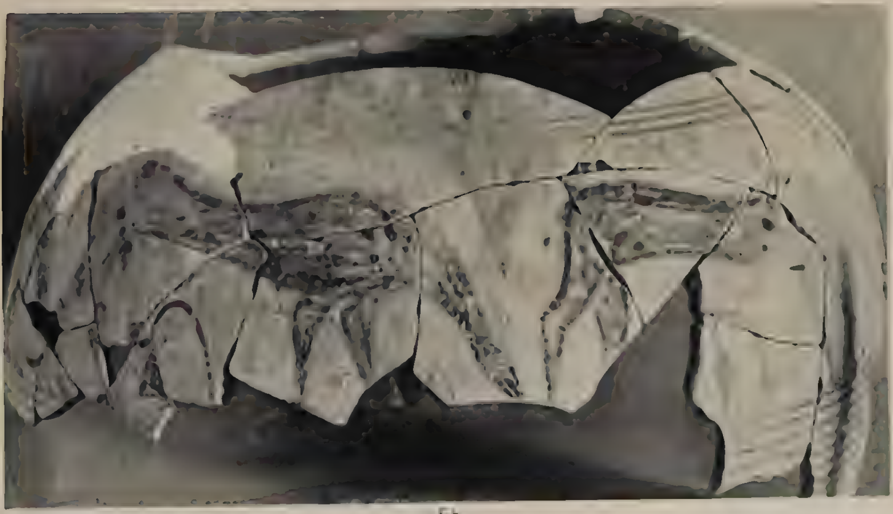

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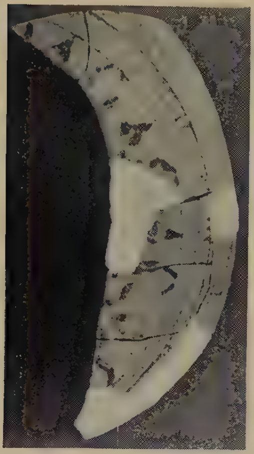
ITHACAN OINOCHOAI.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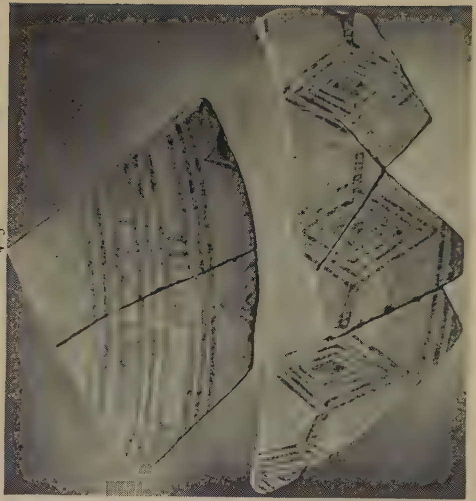
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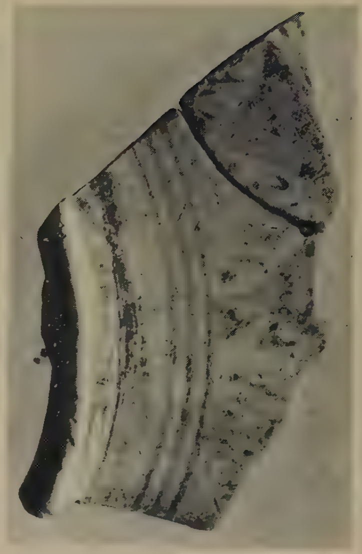
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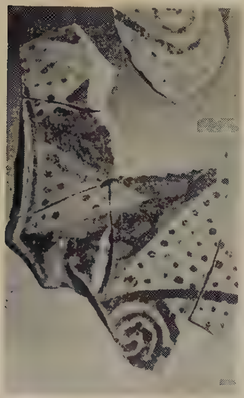
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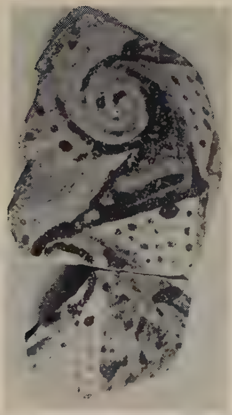

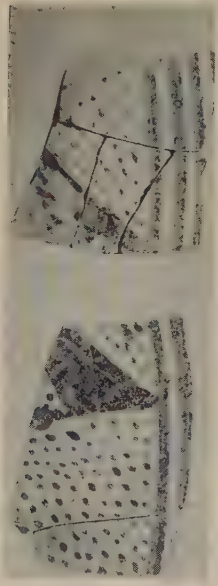
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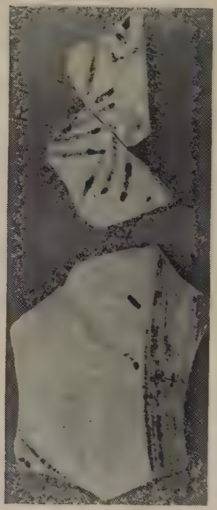
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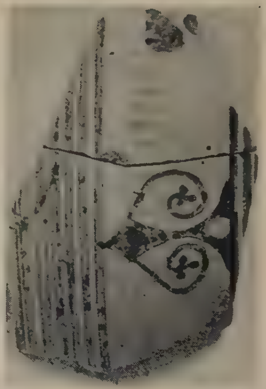
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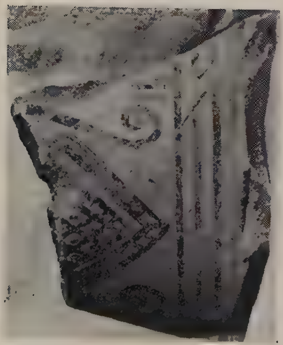
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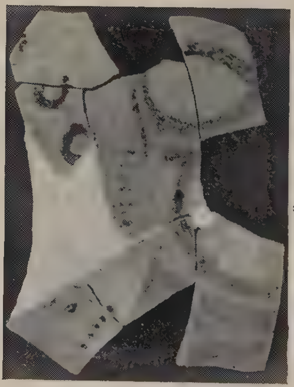
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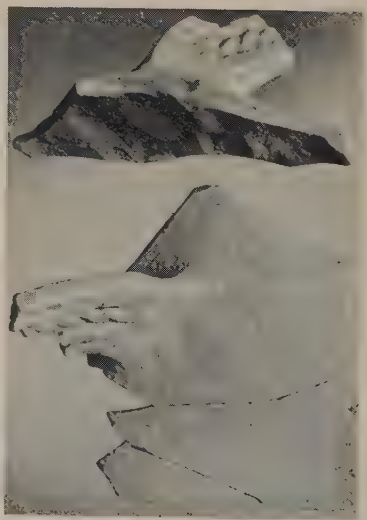
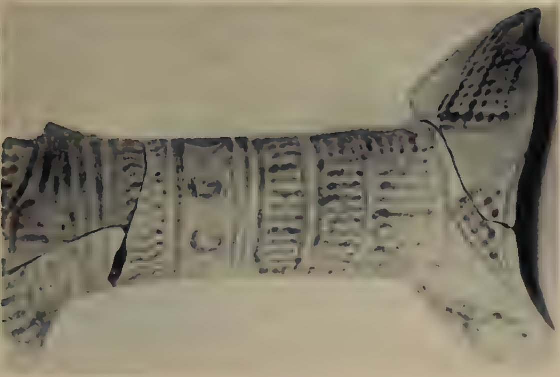

566

FRAGMENTS OF ITHACAN CLOSED VASES, MAINLY OINOCHOAI.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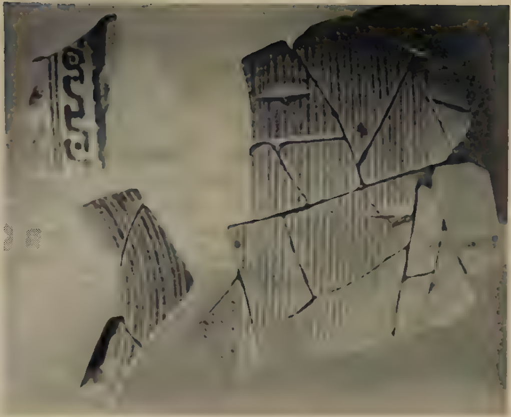
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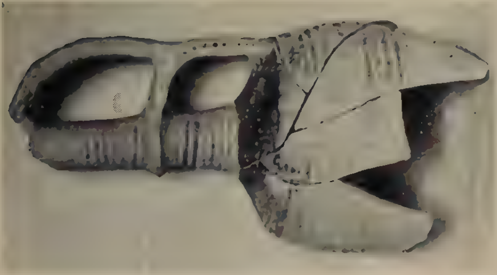
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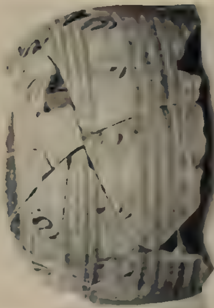
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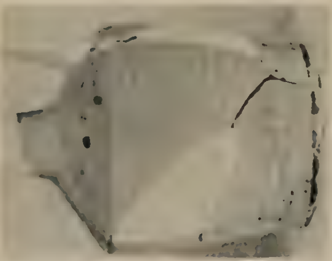
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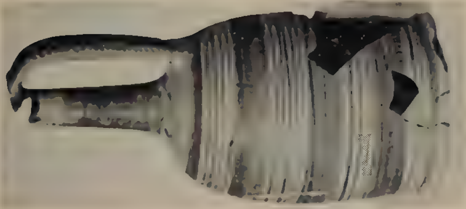
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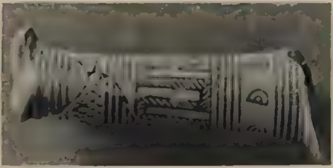
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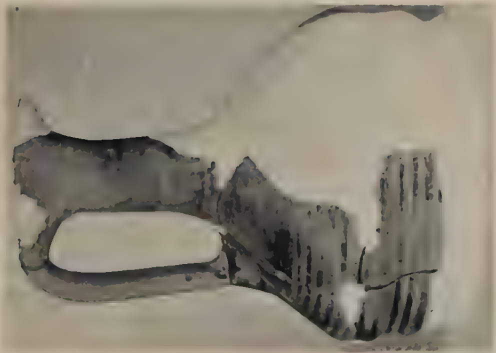
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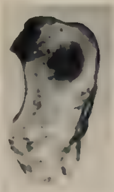
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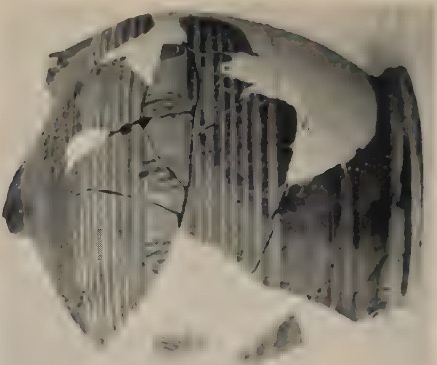
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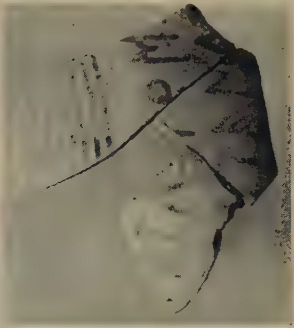
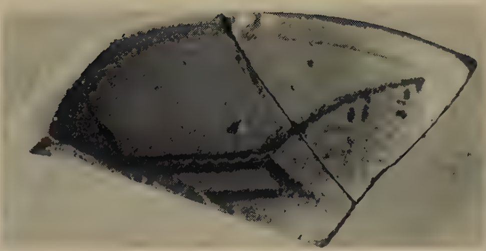
ITHACAN OINOCHOAI.


490 (*c*)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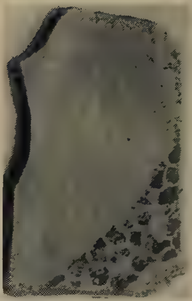
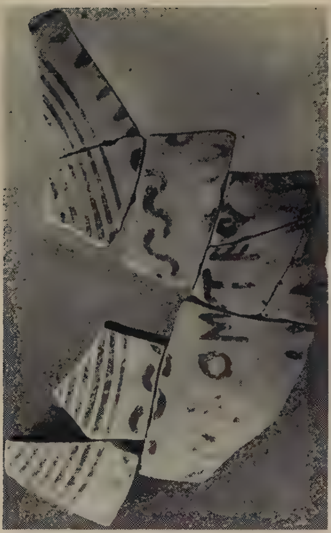
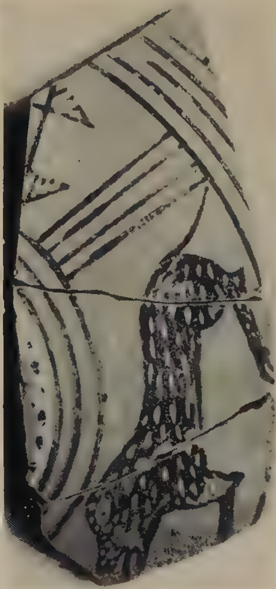
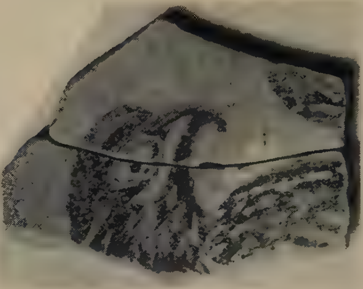
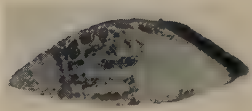

492 (*c*)




491 (*a*)


492 (*b*)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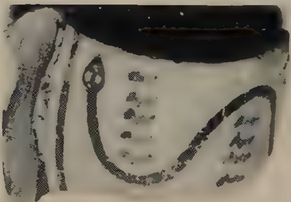
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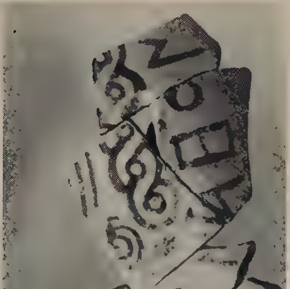
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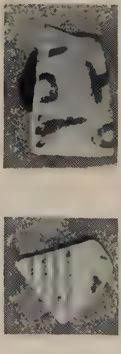
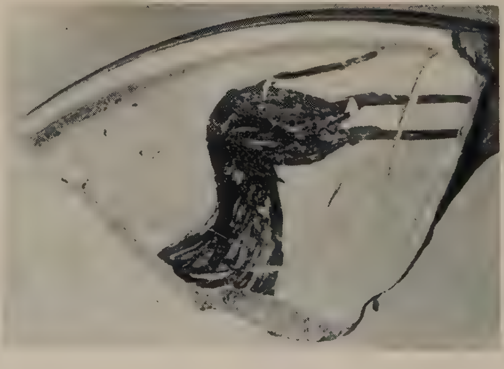
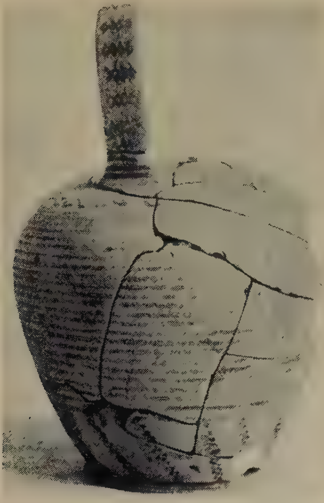

490 (*d*)


491 (*b*)

ITHACAN OINOCHOAI.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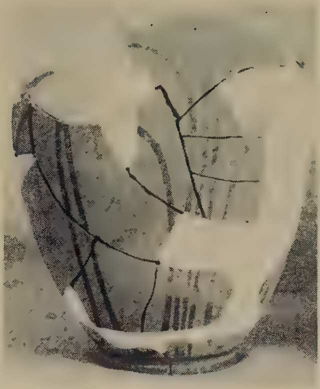
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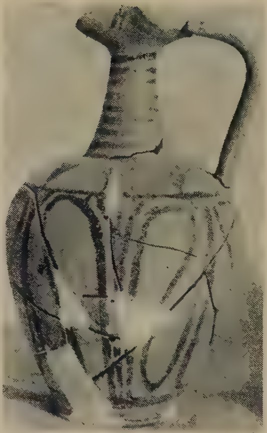
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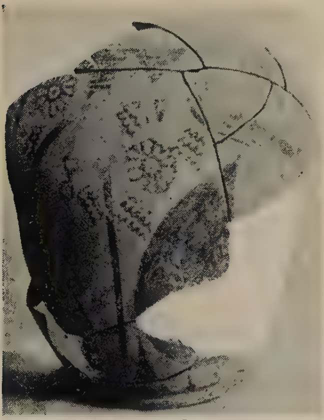
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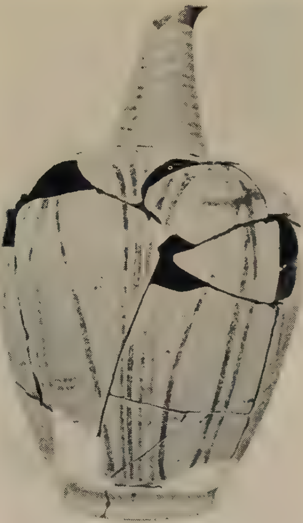
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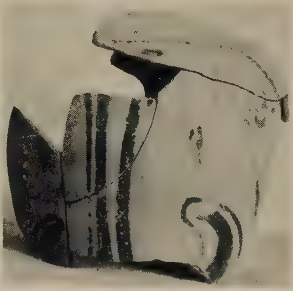
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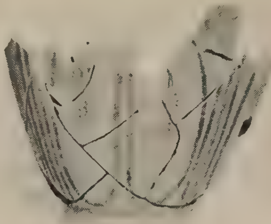
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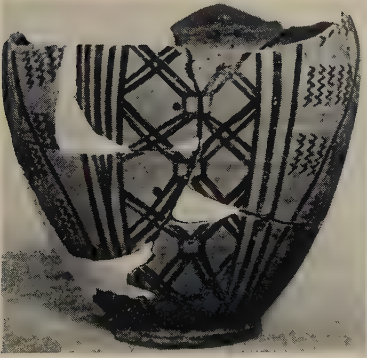
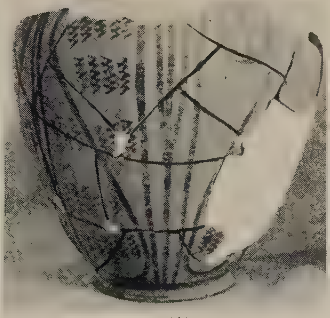
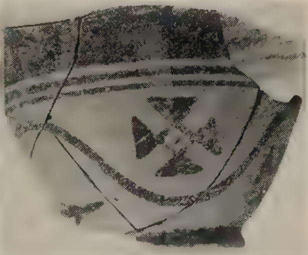
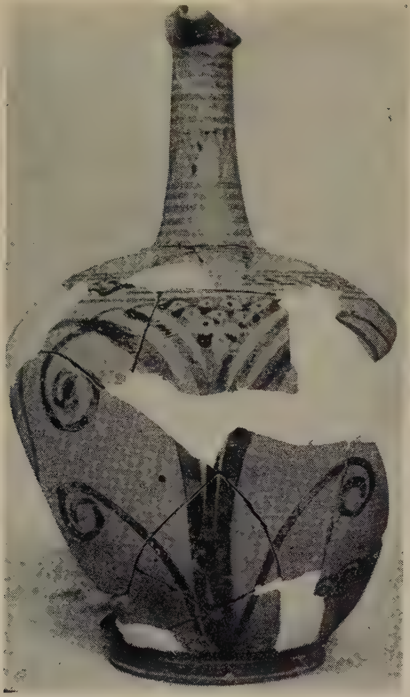

504 (*a*)


504 (*b*)


520

ITHACAN OINOCHOAI.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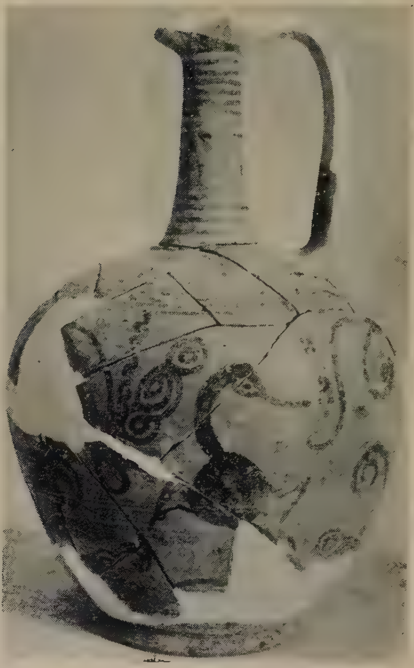
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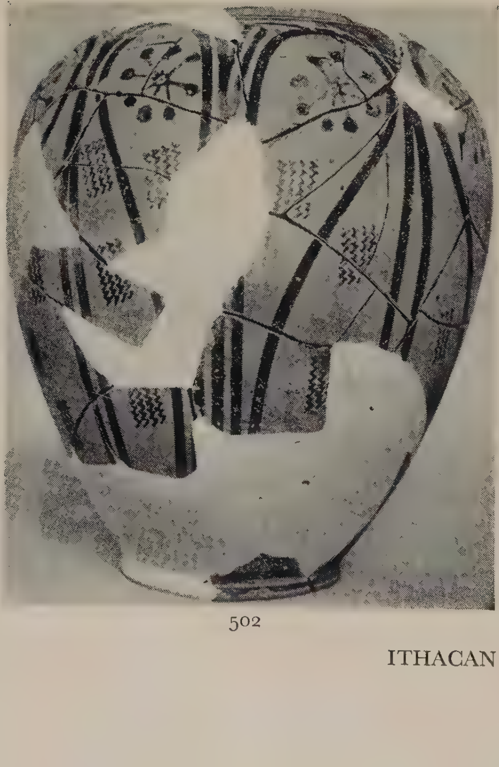
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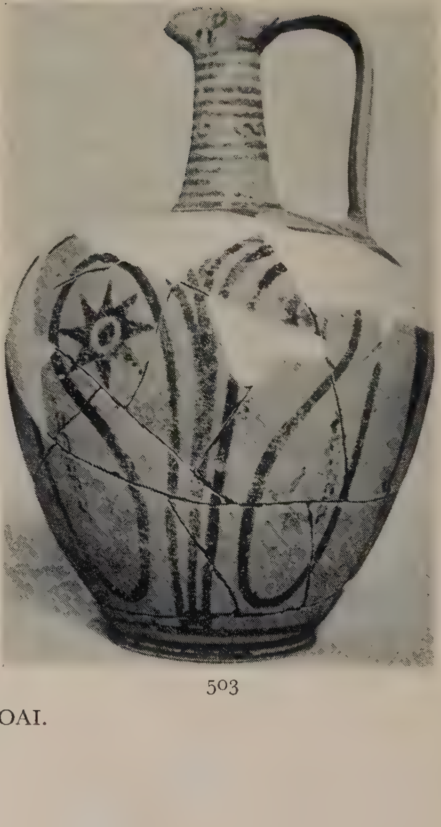
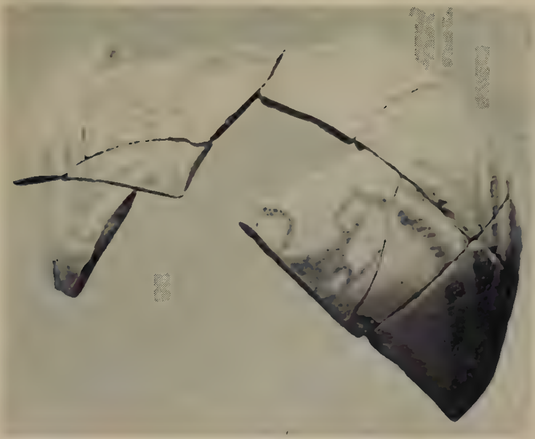
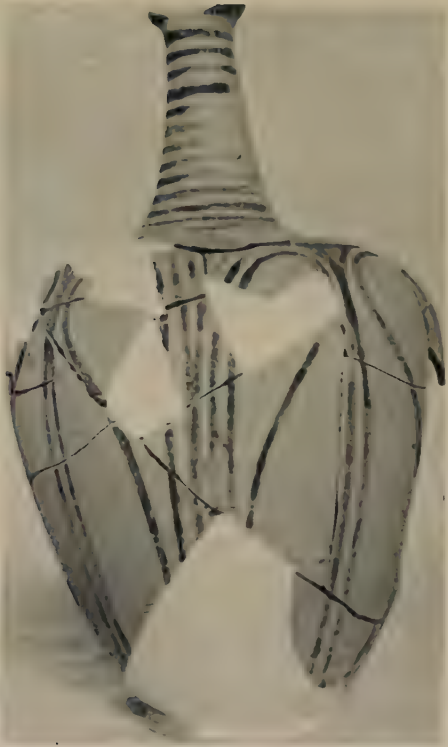

503

ITHACAN OINOCHOAI.



509 (a)



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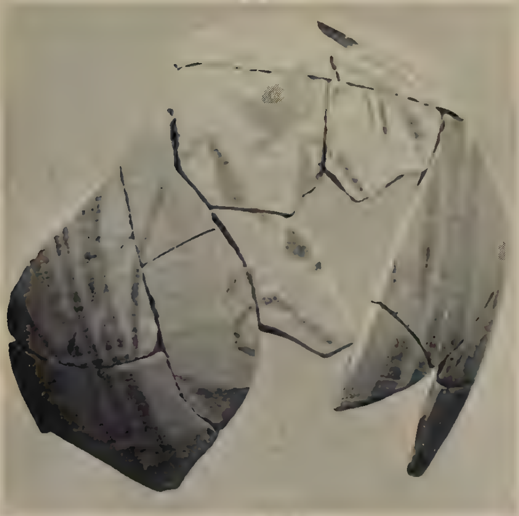
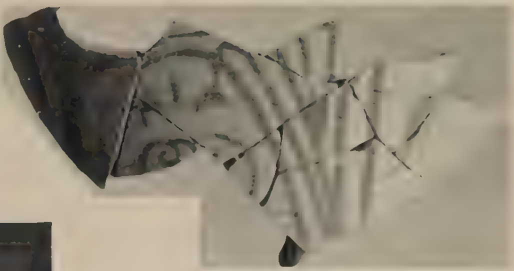
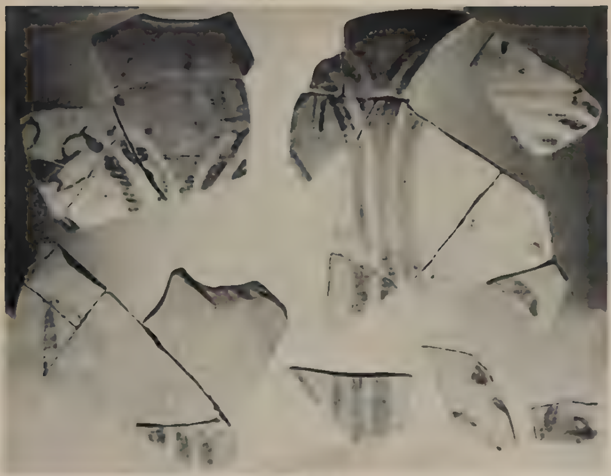


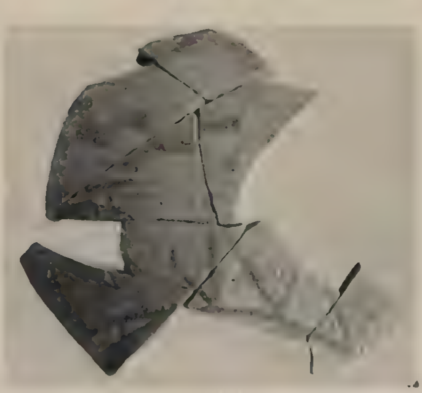
509 (b)



510 (a)

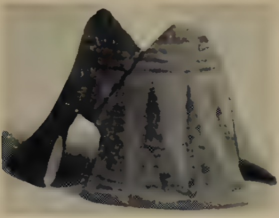


509 (c)



510 (b)

ITHACAN OINOCHOAI.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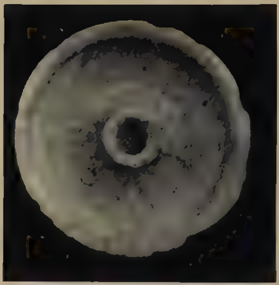
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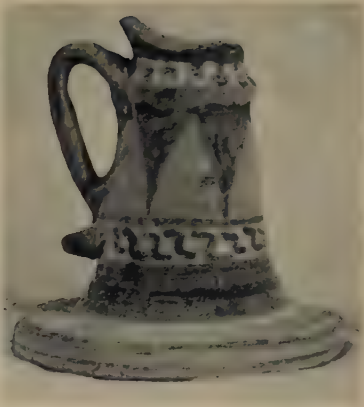
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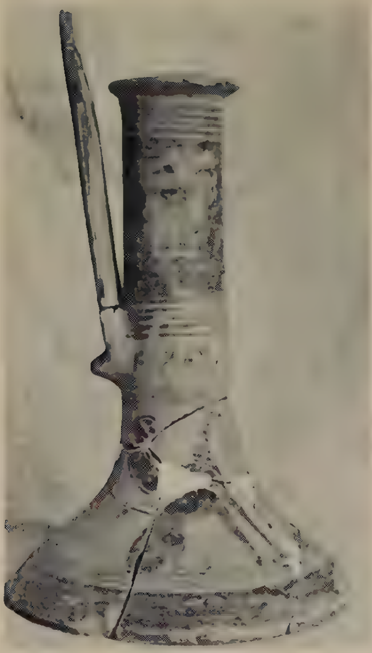
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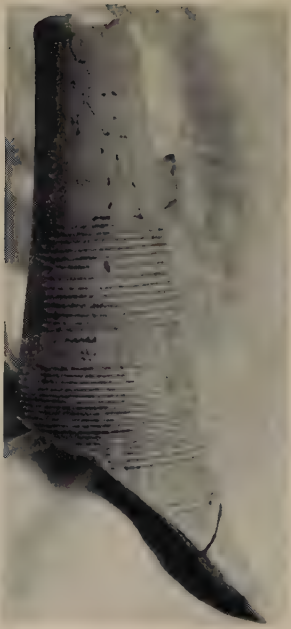
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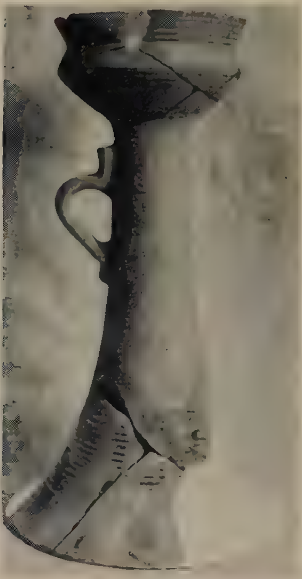
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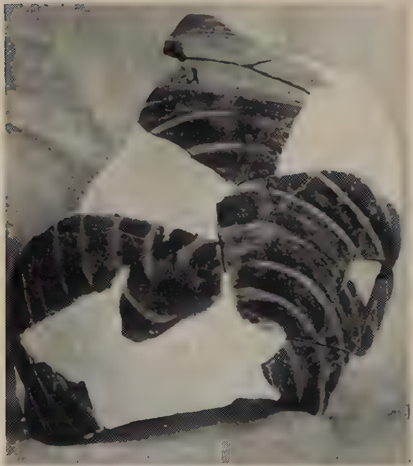
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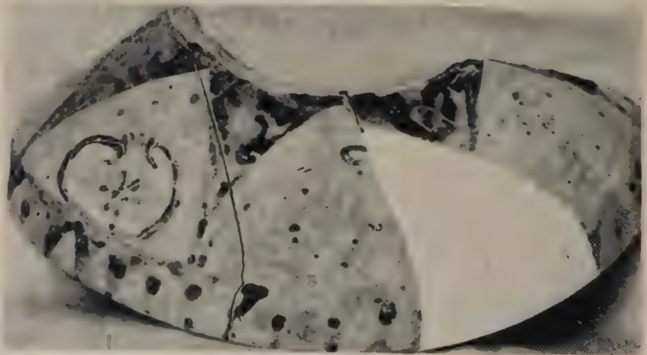
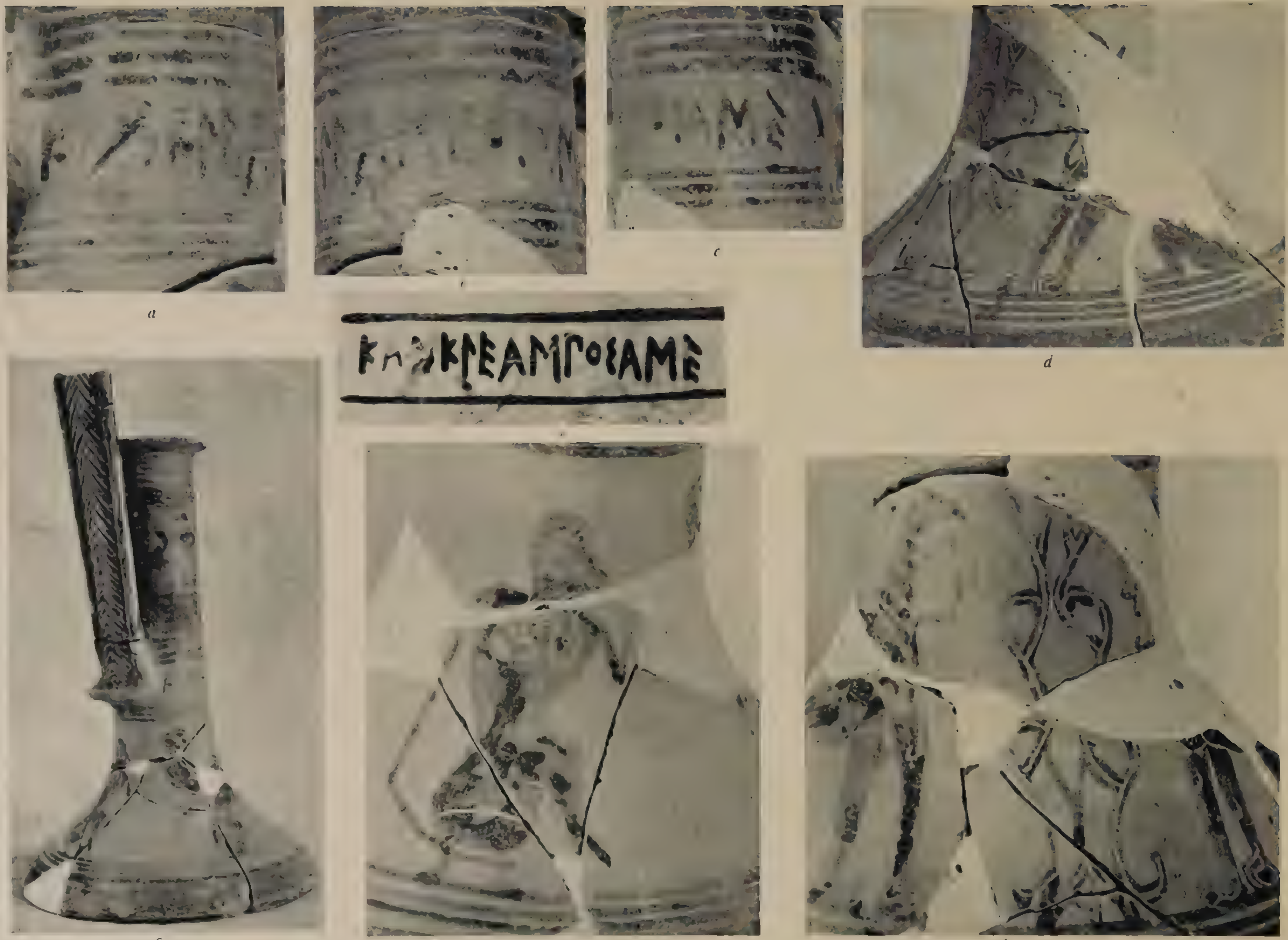

535

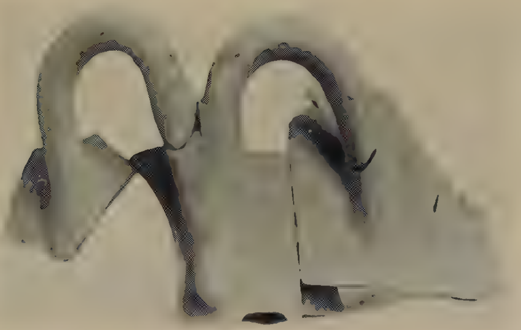
ITHACAN OINOCHOE AND CANDLESTICKS.

PLATE 39.



534

ITHACAN CANDLESTICK.



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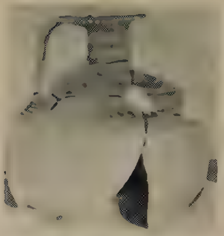

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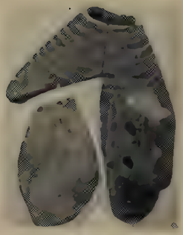

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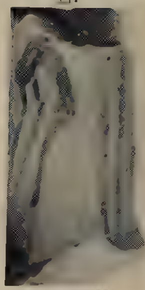

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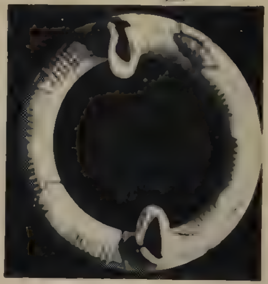

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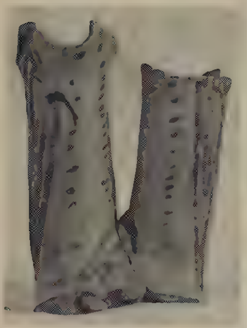

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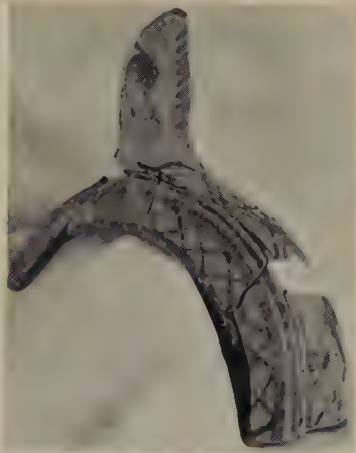
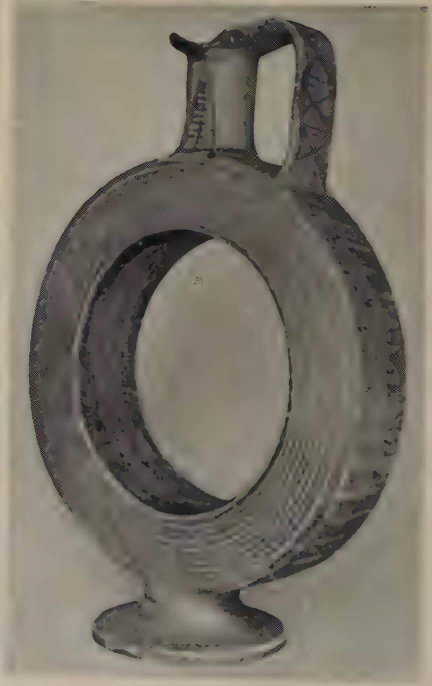
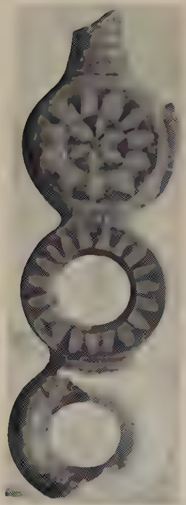


545 a





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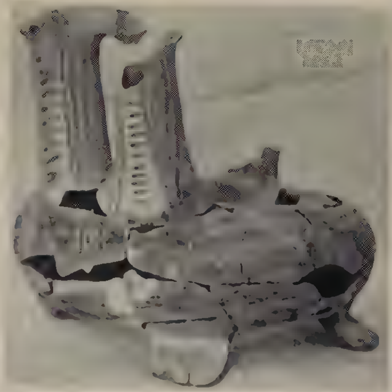
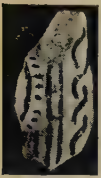


541

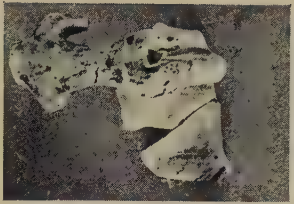
547

ITHACAN PITHOS, RING-VASES, ARYBALLOI AND ALABASTRON.



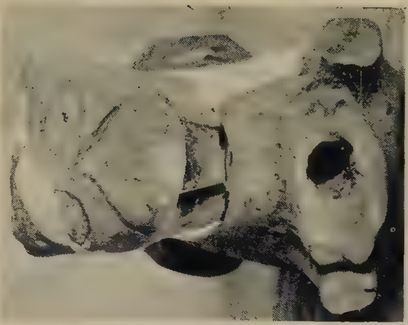
557 (*b*)

557 (*d*)



557 (*a*)

557 (*c*)



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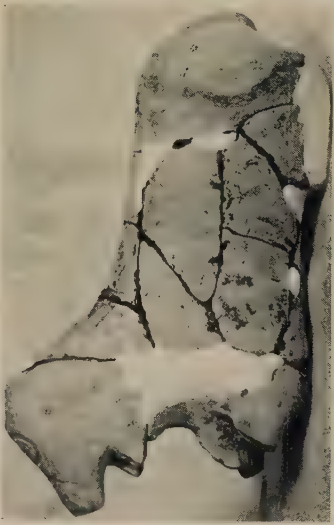

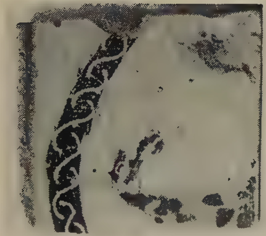

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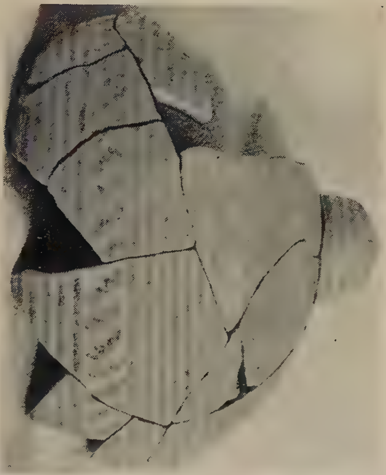

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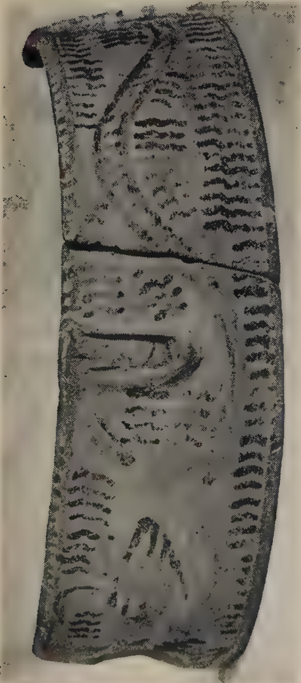

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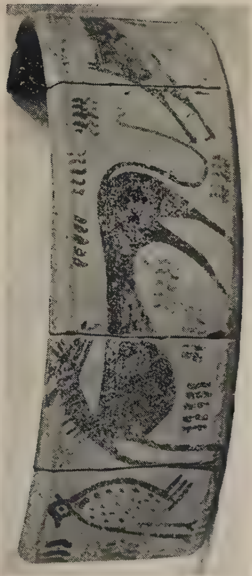

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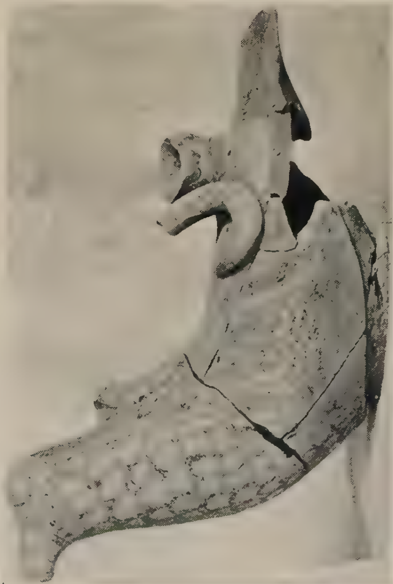
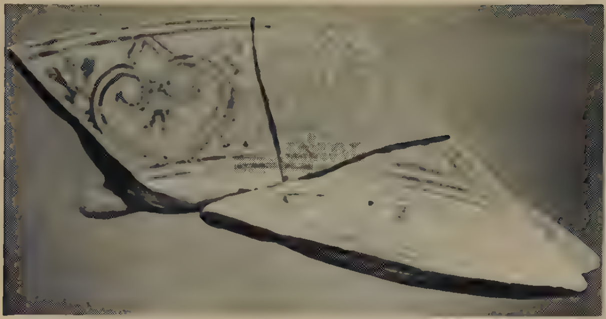
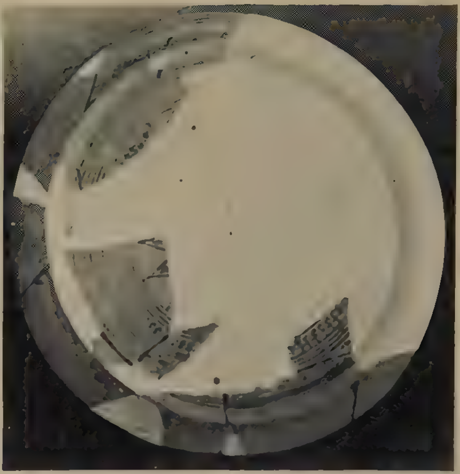


556

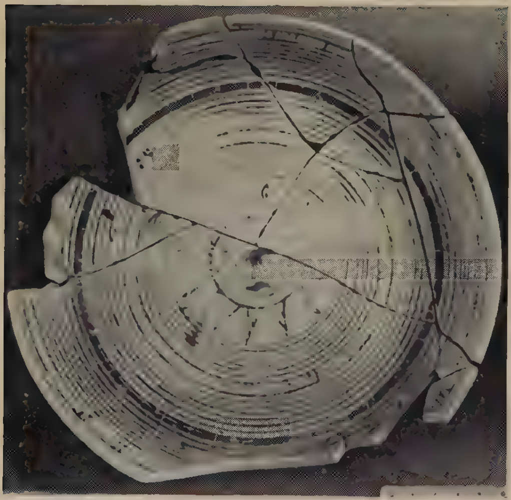
ITHACAN STANDS, POMEGRANATE AND PLASTIC VASES.



561 (a)



561 (b)



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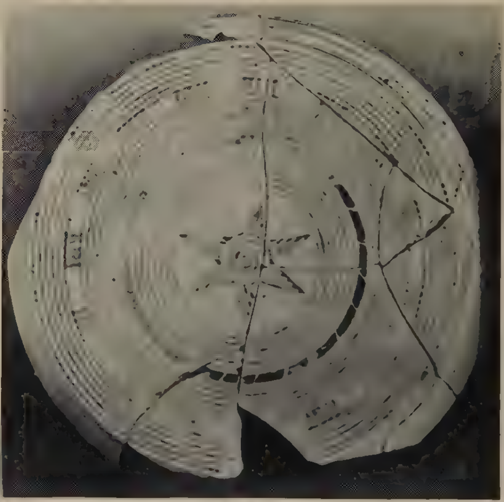

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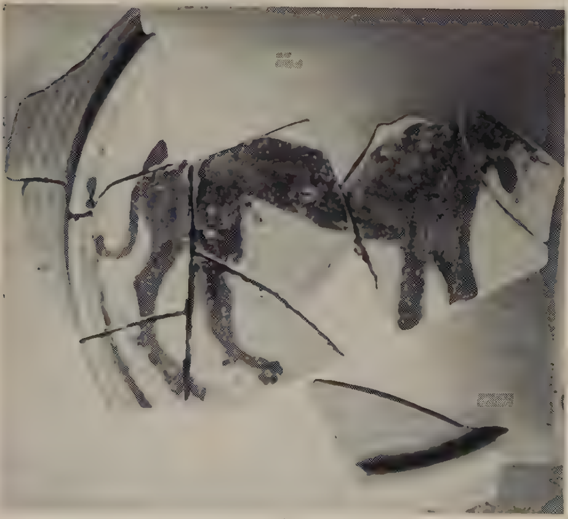

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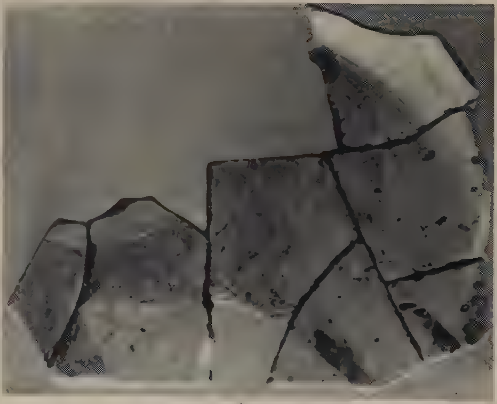
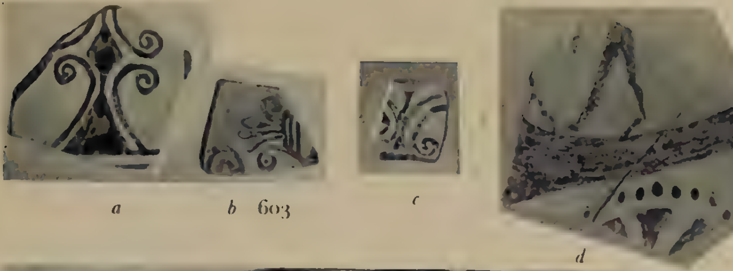
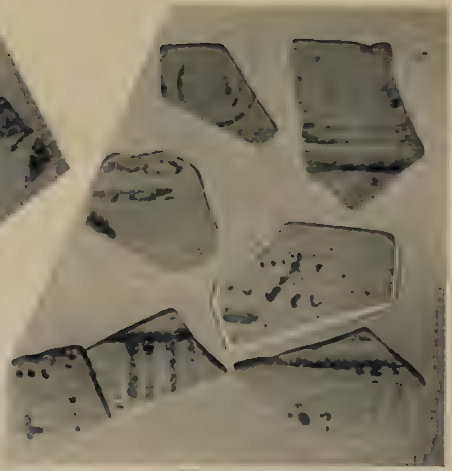


563

ITHACAN PLATES.


a b 603 c d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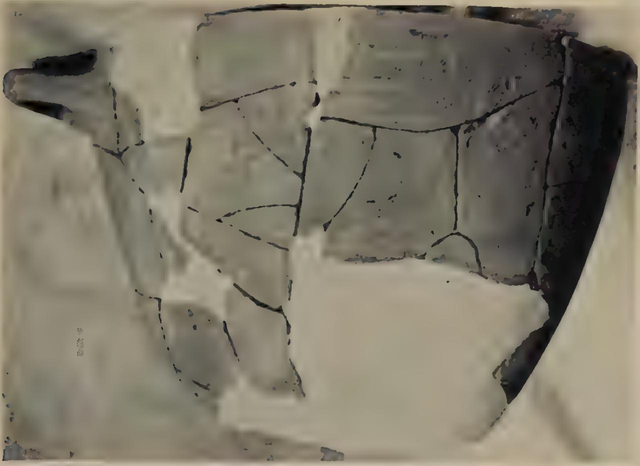
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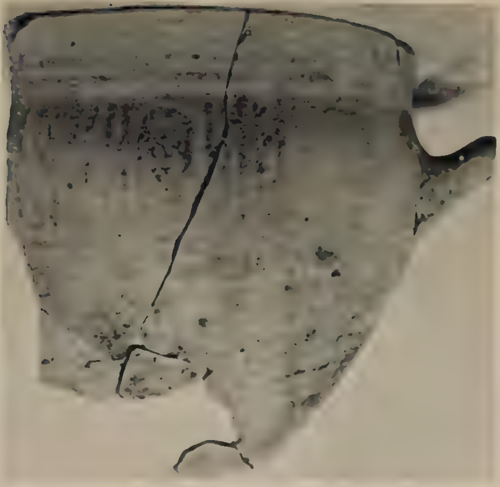
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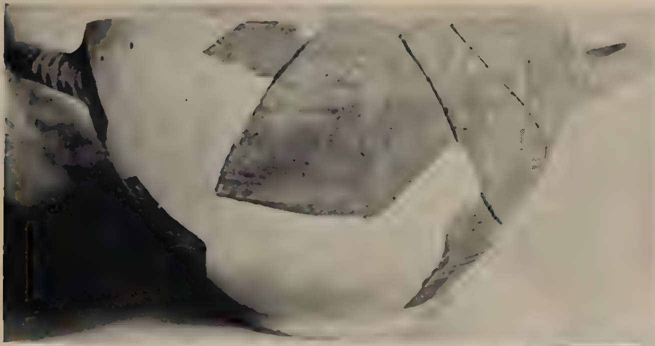
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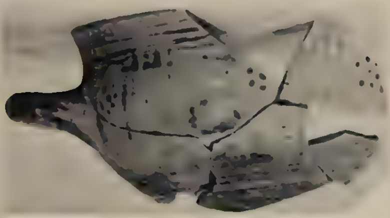
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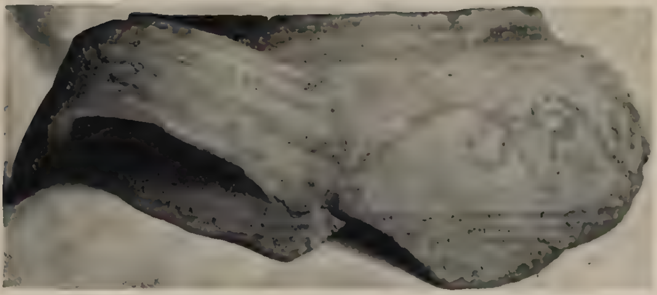
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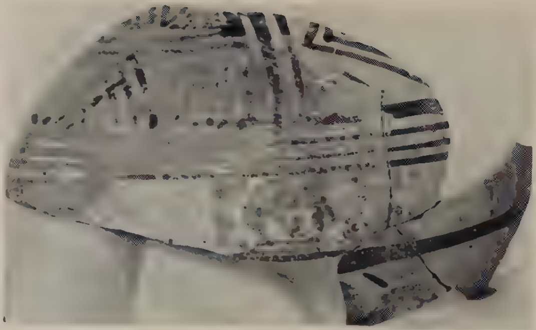
POTTERY OF CYCLADIC AND UNCERTAIN FABRICS.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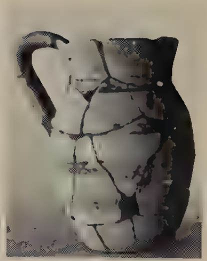
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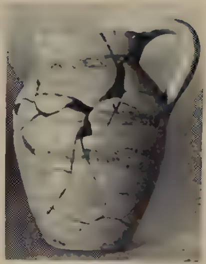
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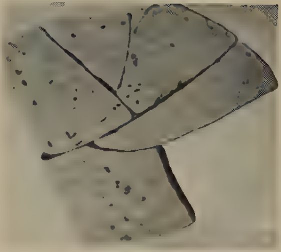
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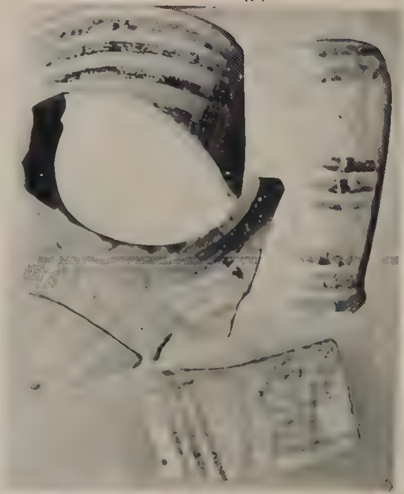
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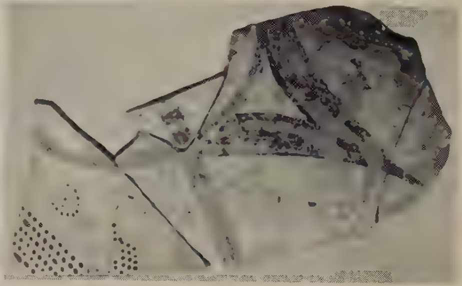
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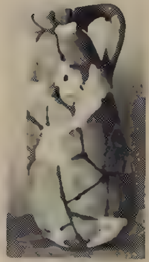
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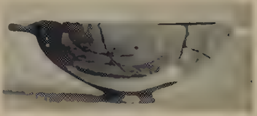
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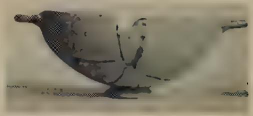
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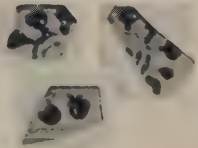
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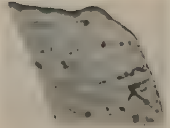
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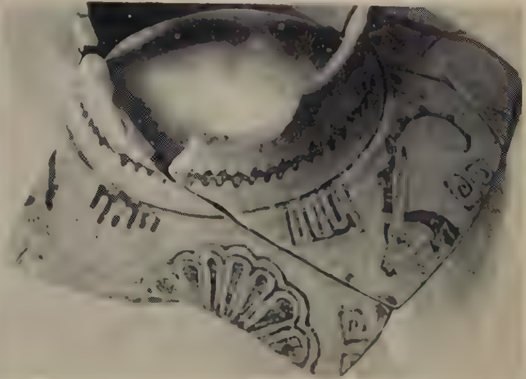
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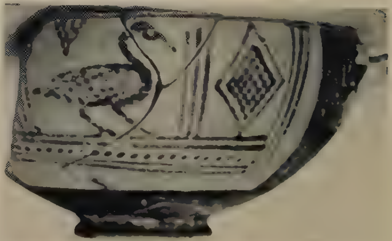
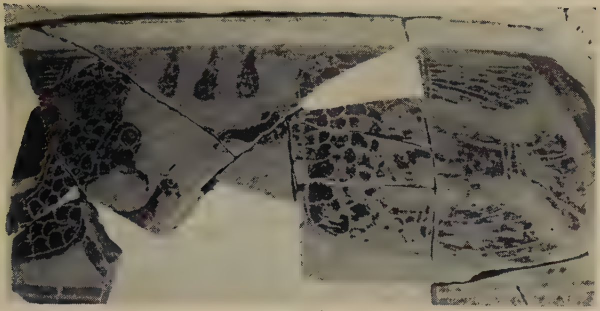
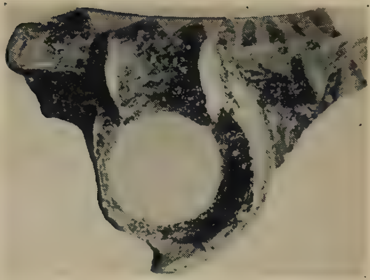

576

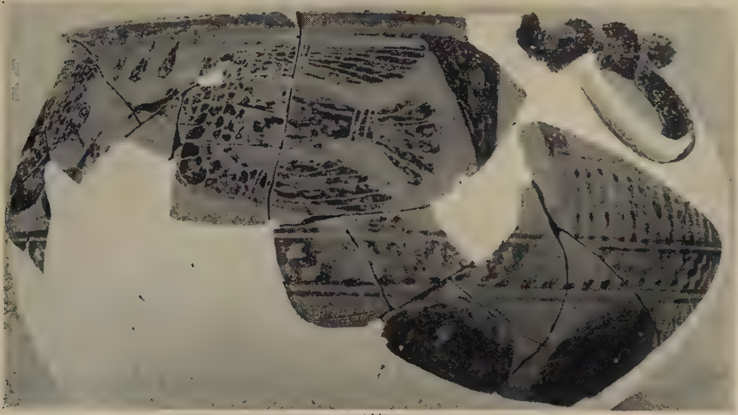
EAST GREEK POTTERY.



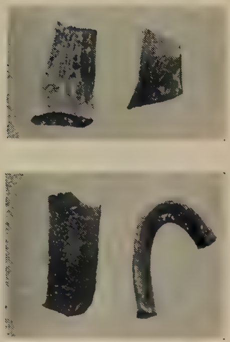
599 (*a*)



599 (*c*)



599 (*b*)



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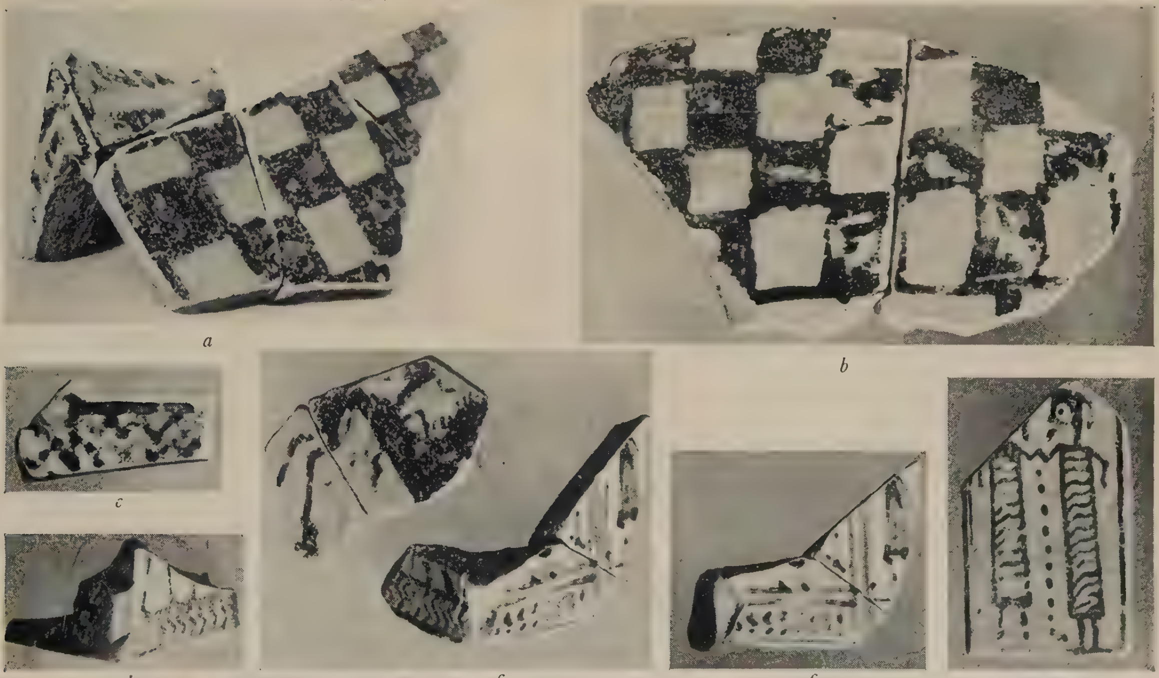
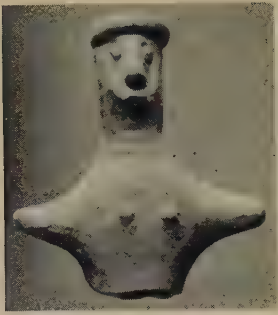


a *b* *c* *d* *e* *f* *f* *g*

600

CRETAN DINOS, ARGIVE TEMPLE-MODEL, AND ETRUSCAN KANTHAROS.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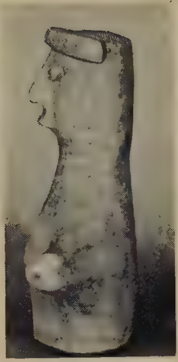
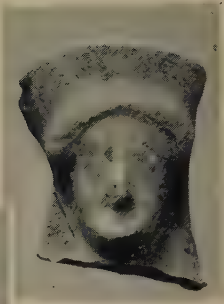

A20

A23 A22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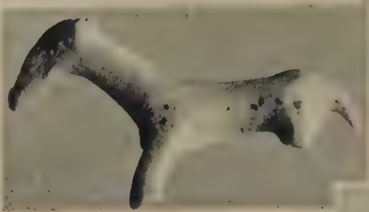
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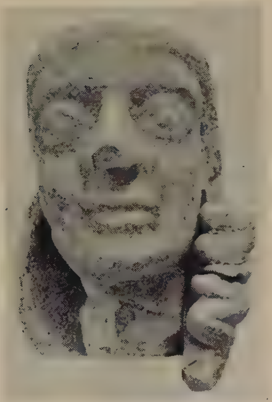
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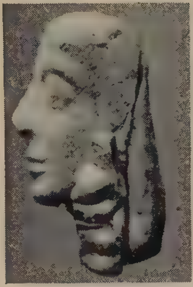
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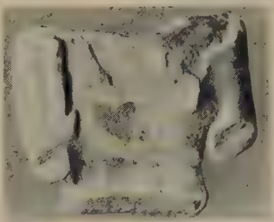
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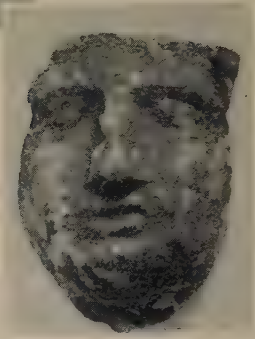
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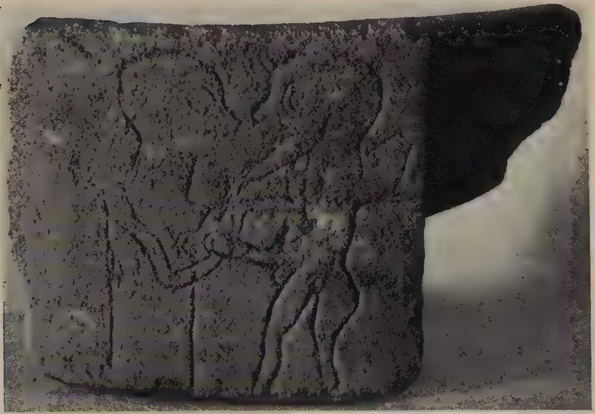
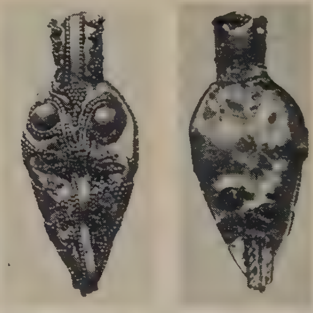
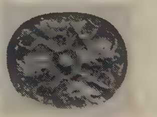

B1

G4



B8

B4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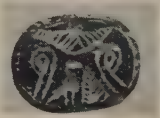
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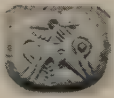
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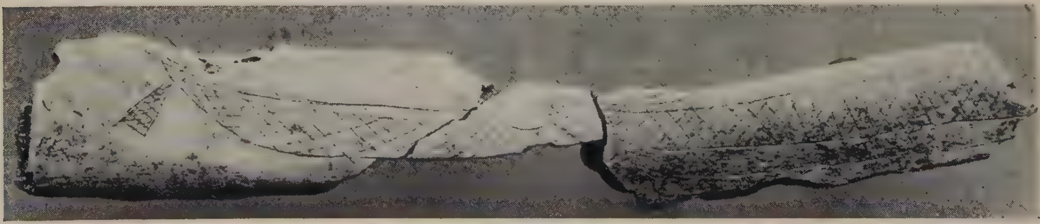
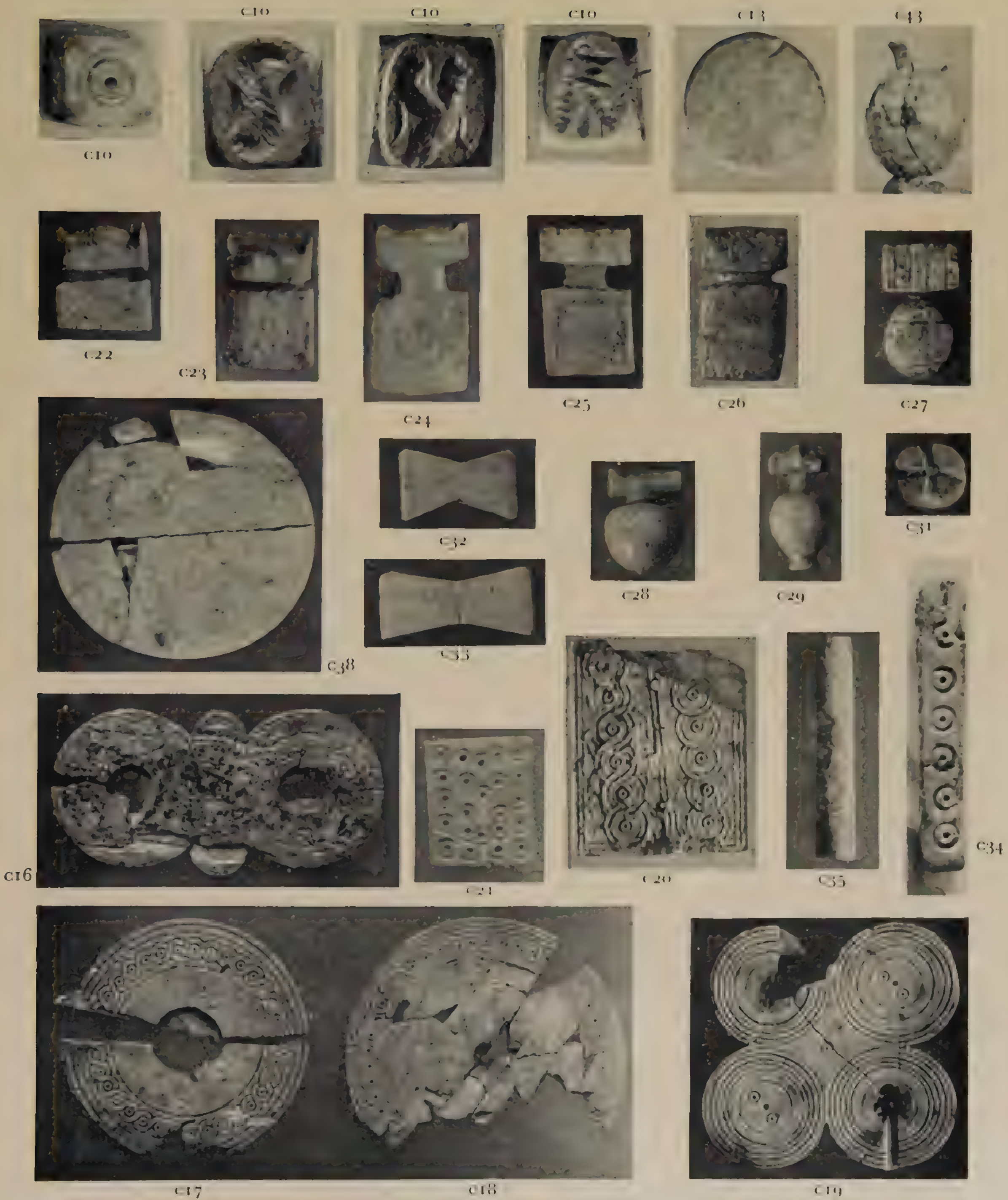
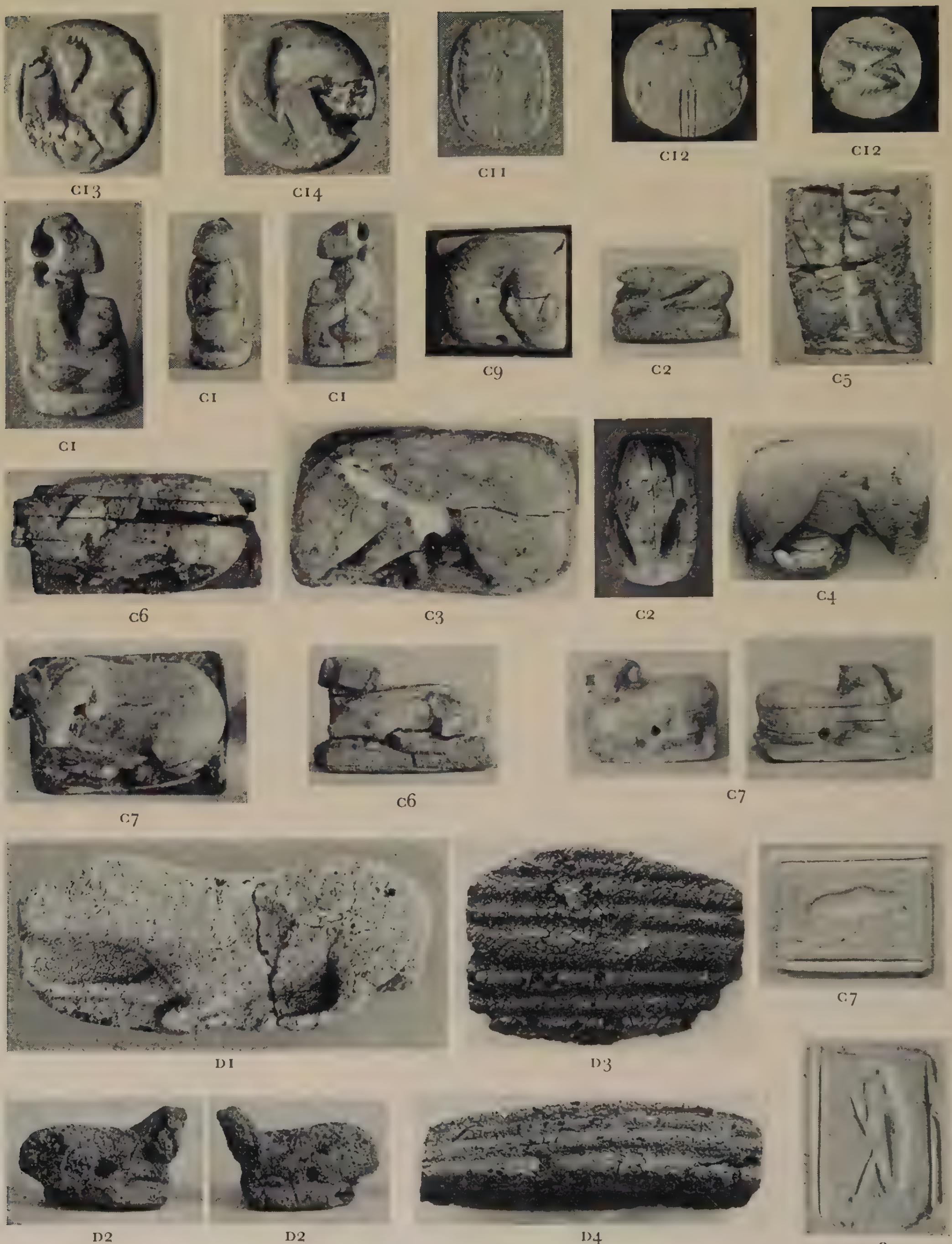

C44

OBJECTS IN TERRA-COTTA, STONE, BONE AND GOLD.


C10
C10
C10
C13
C43
C10
C22
C23
C24
C25
C26
C27
C32
C31
C28
C29
C33
C38
C34
C16
C21
C20
C35
C17
C18
C19

OBJECTS IN IVORY AND BONE.



C13 C14 C11 C12 C12

C1 C1 C1 C9 C2 C5

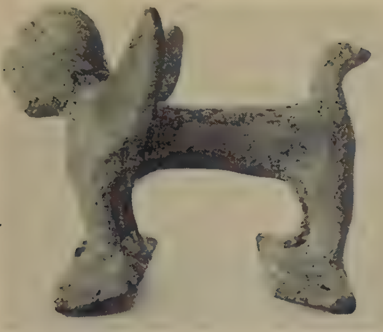
C6 C3 C2 C4

C7 C6 C7

D1 D3 C7

D2 D2 D4 C8

OBJECTS IN IVORY, BONE AND AMBER.



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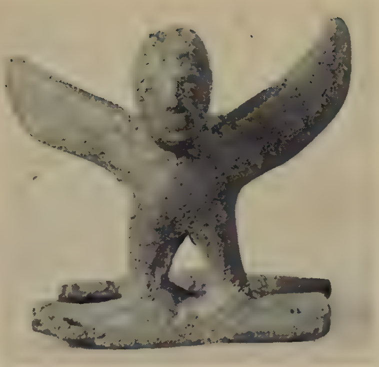

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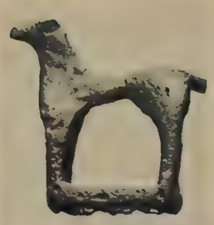

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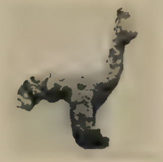

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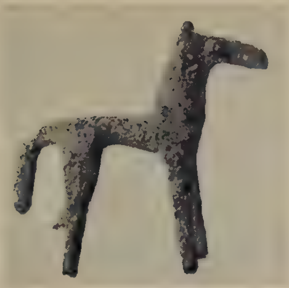

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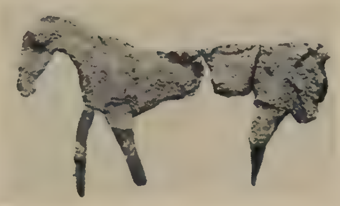

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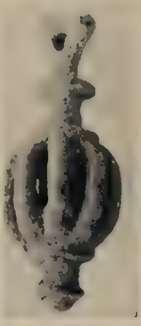

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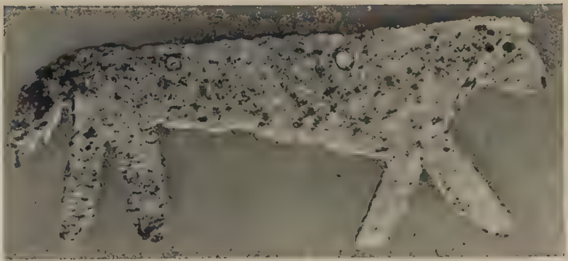

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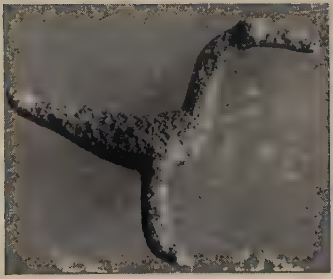

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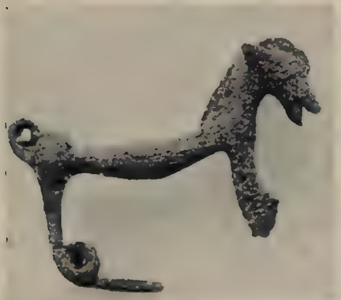

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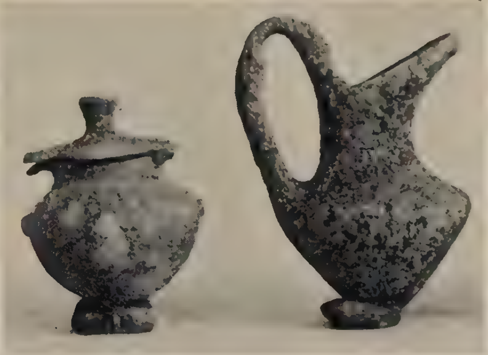

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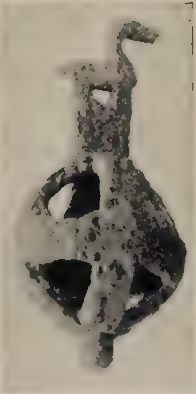

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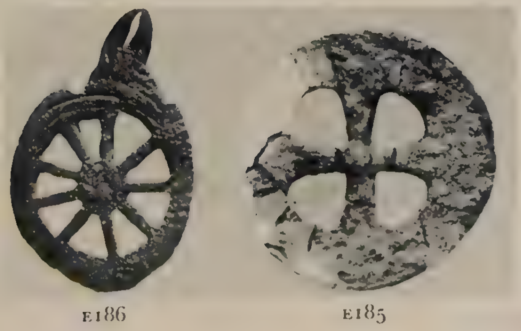

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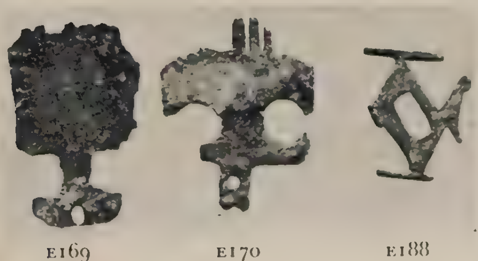
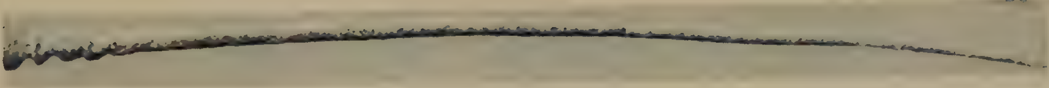


E169 E170 E188

BRONZES.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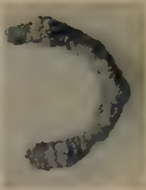
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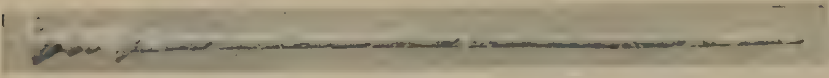
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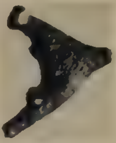
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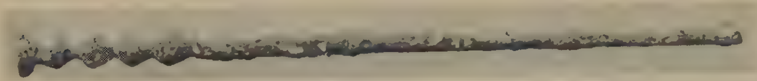
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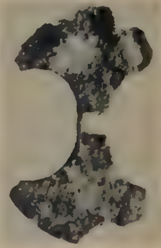
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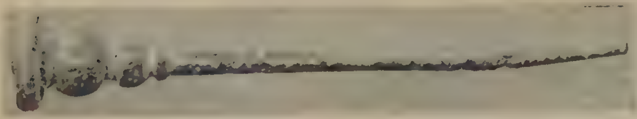
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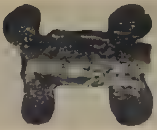
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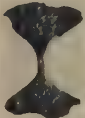
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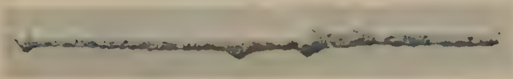
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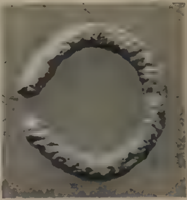
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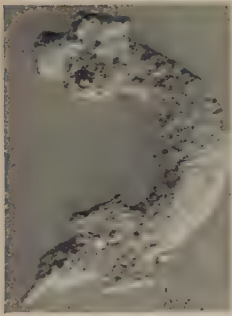
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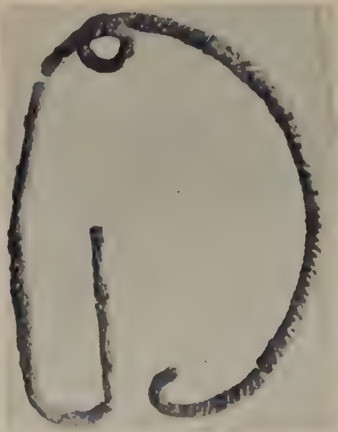
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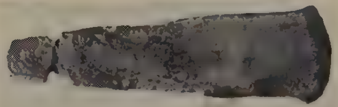
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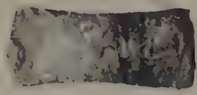
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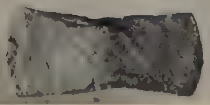
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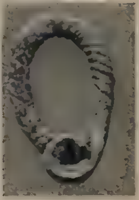
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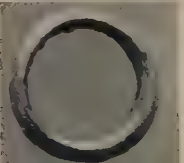
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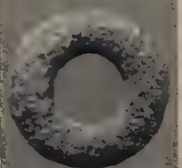
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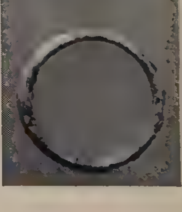
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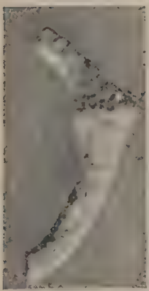
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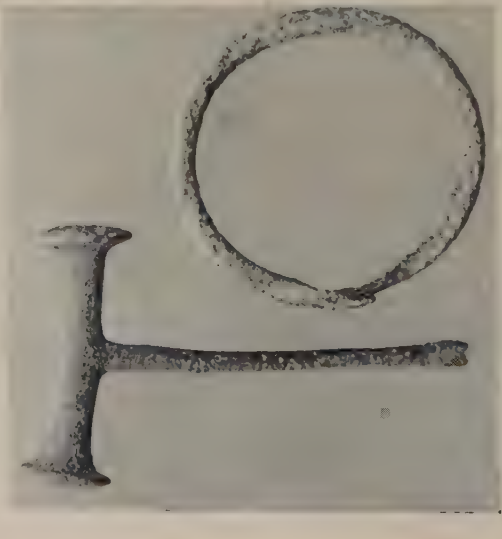
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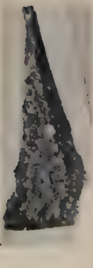
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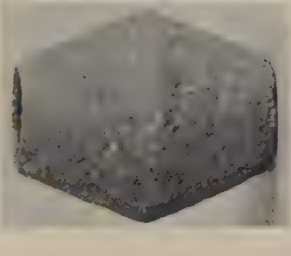
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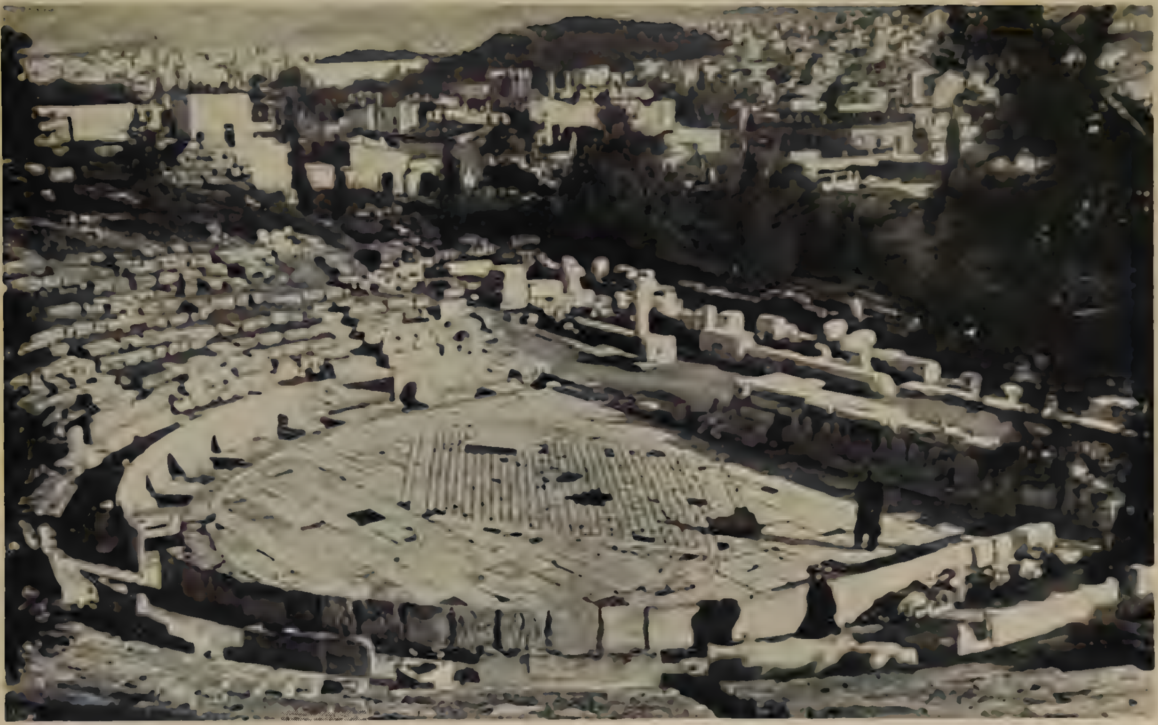
BRONZES.



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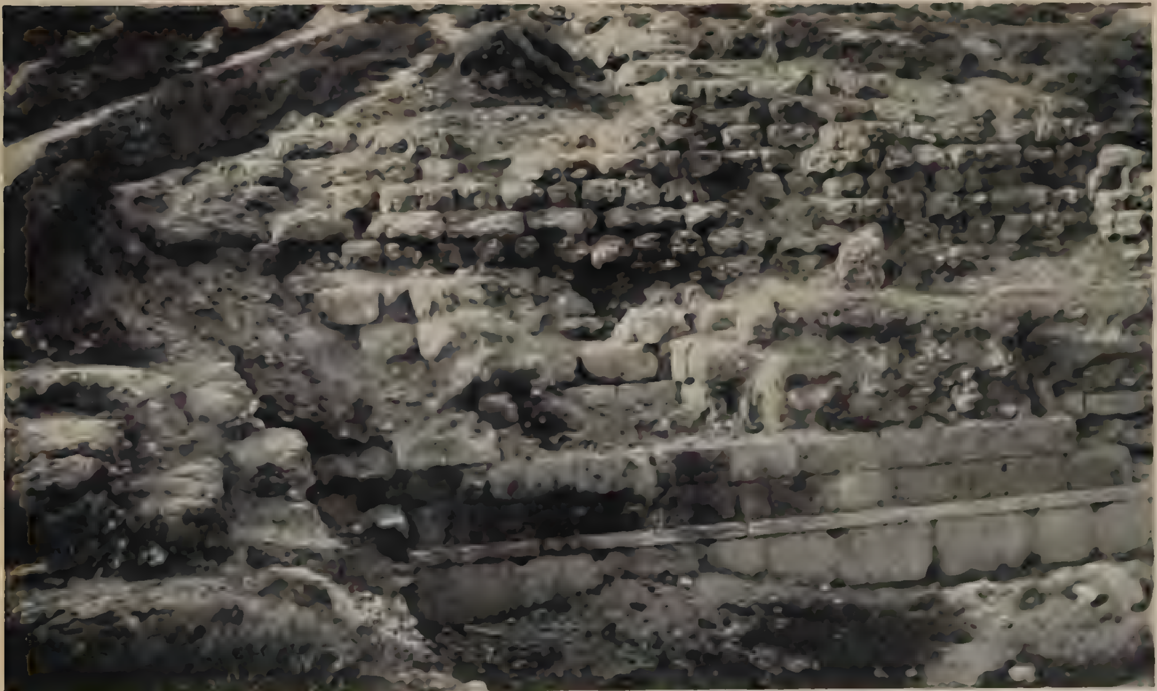
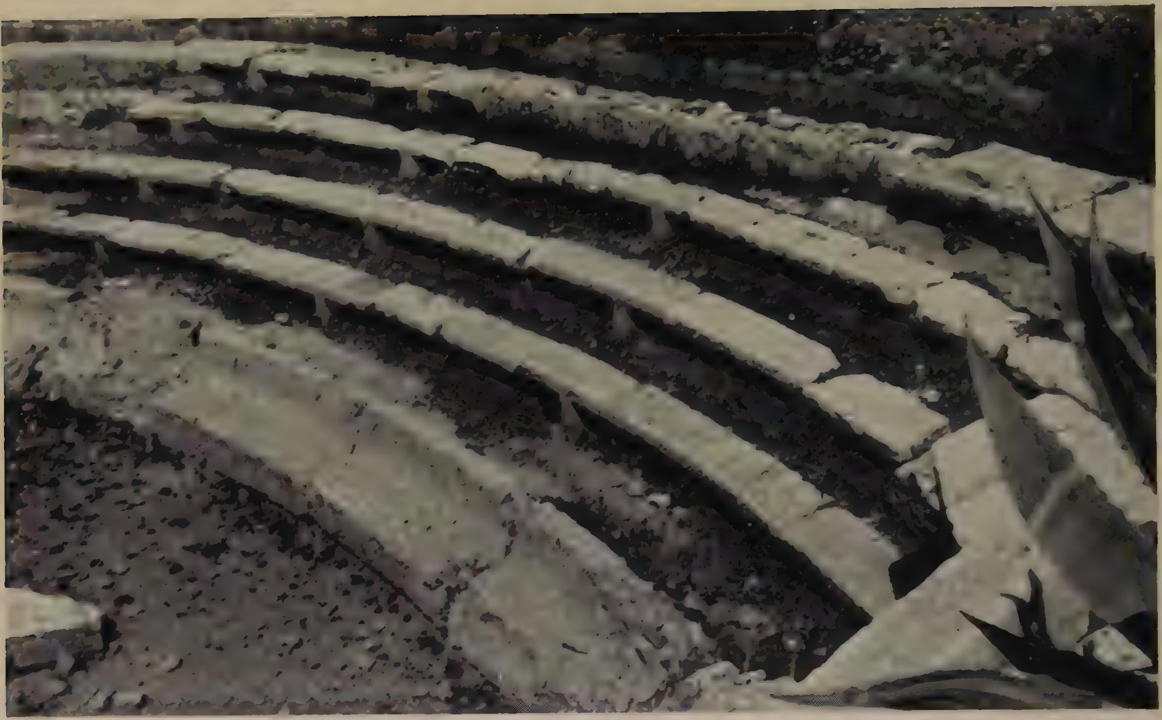


b

(*a*) ATHENS, THEATRE OF DIONYSUS, ORCHESTRA AND PROHEDRIA FROM N.W.
(*b*) ATHENS, ODEUM OF PERICLES, NORTH WALL.



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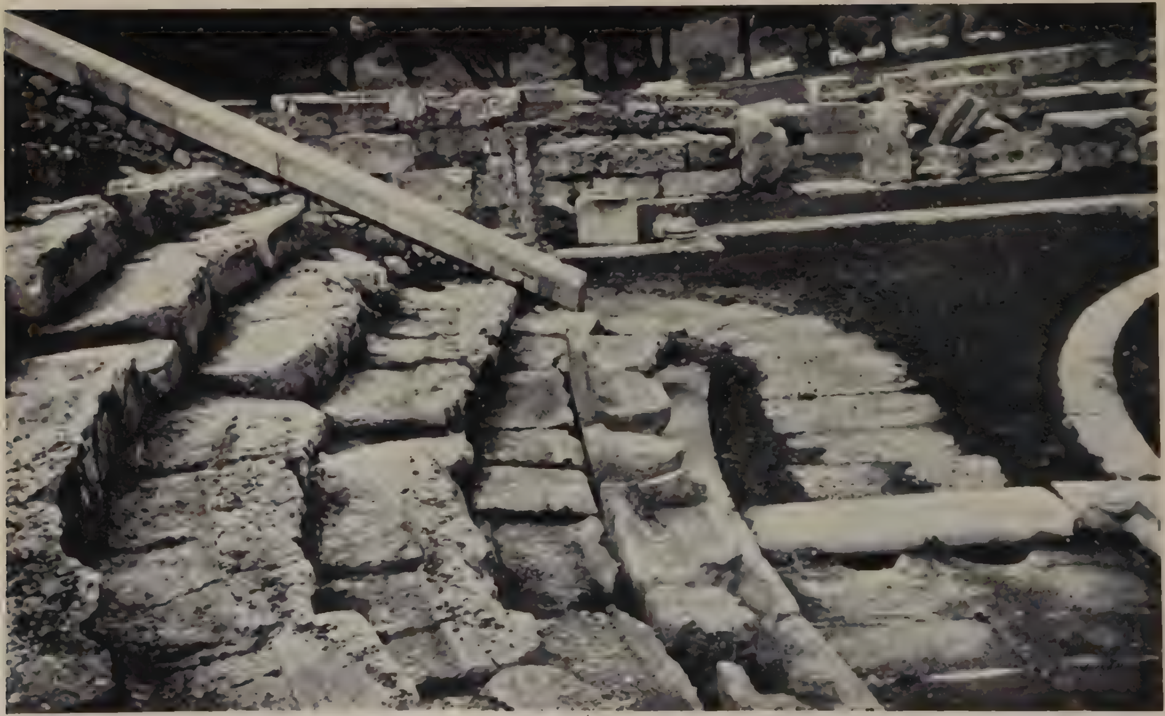
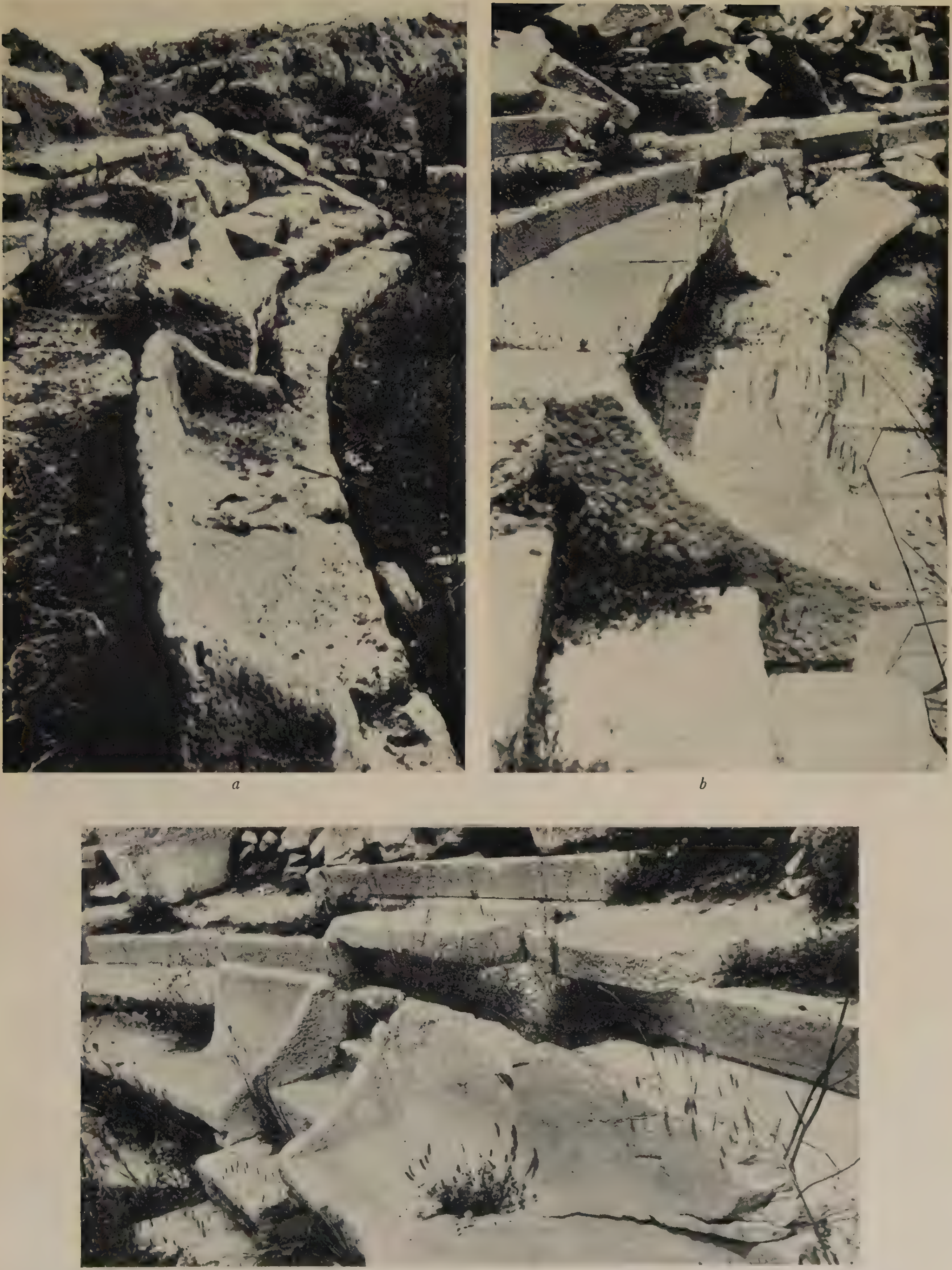


b

(*a*) ARGOS, NORTH END OF CAVEA; (*b*) EPIDAUROS, PROHEDRIA, PROSCENIUM AND ORCHESTRA CIRCLE.

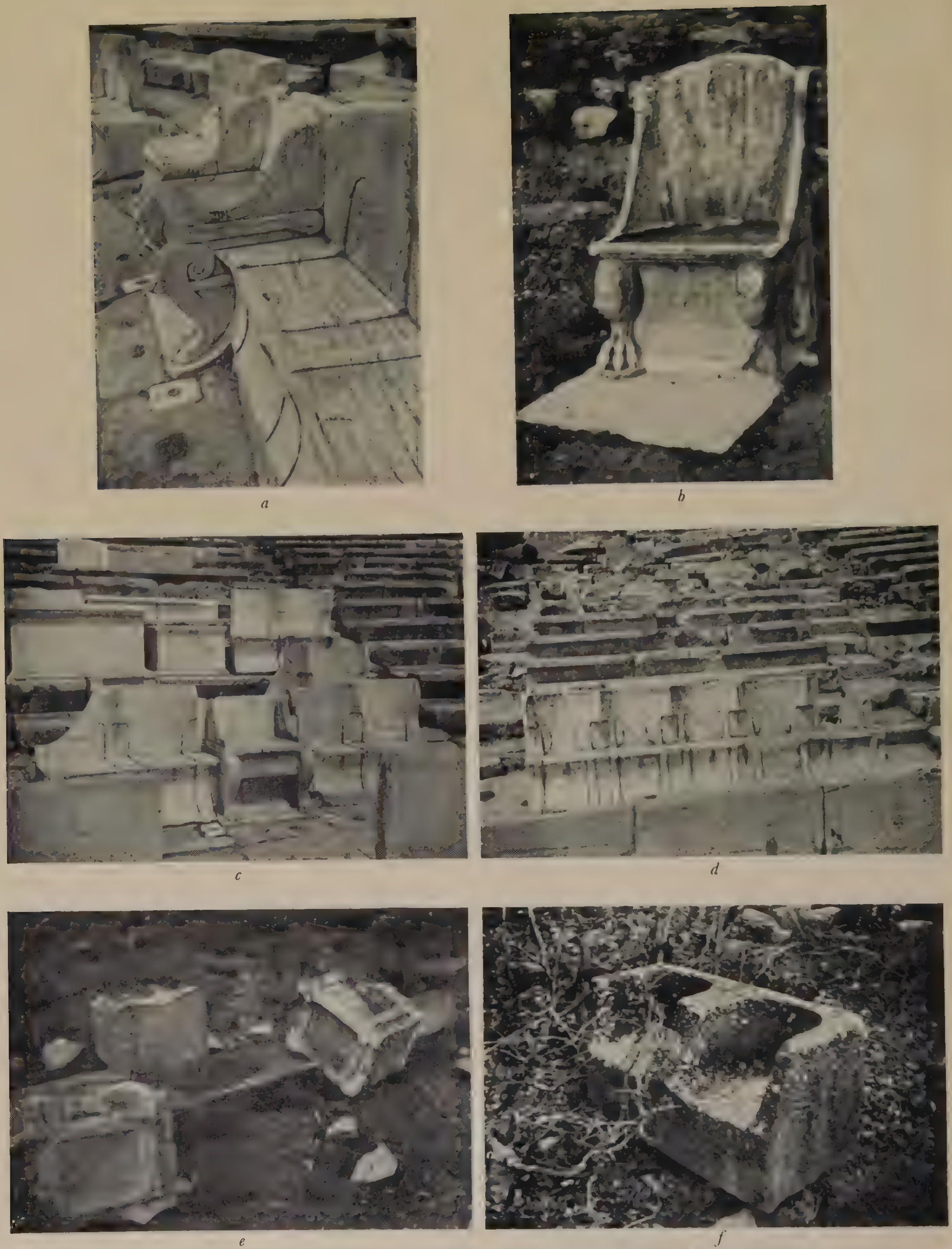


a

b

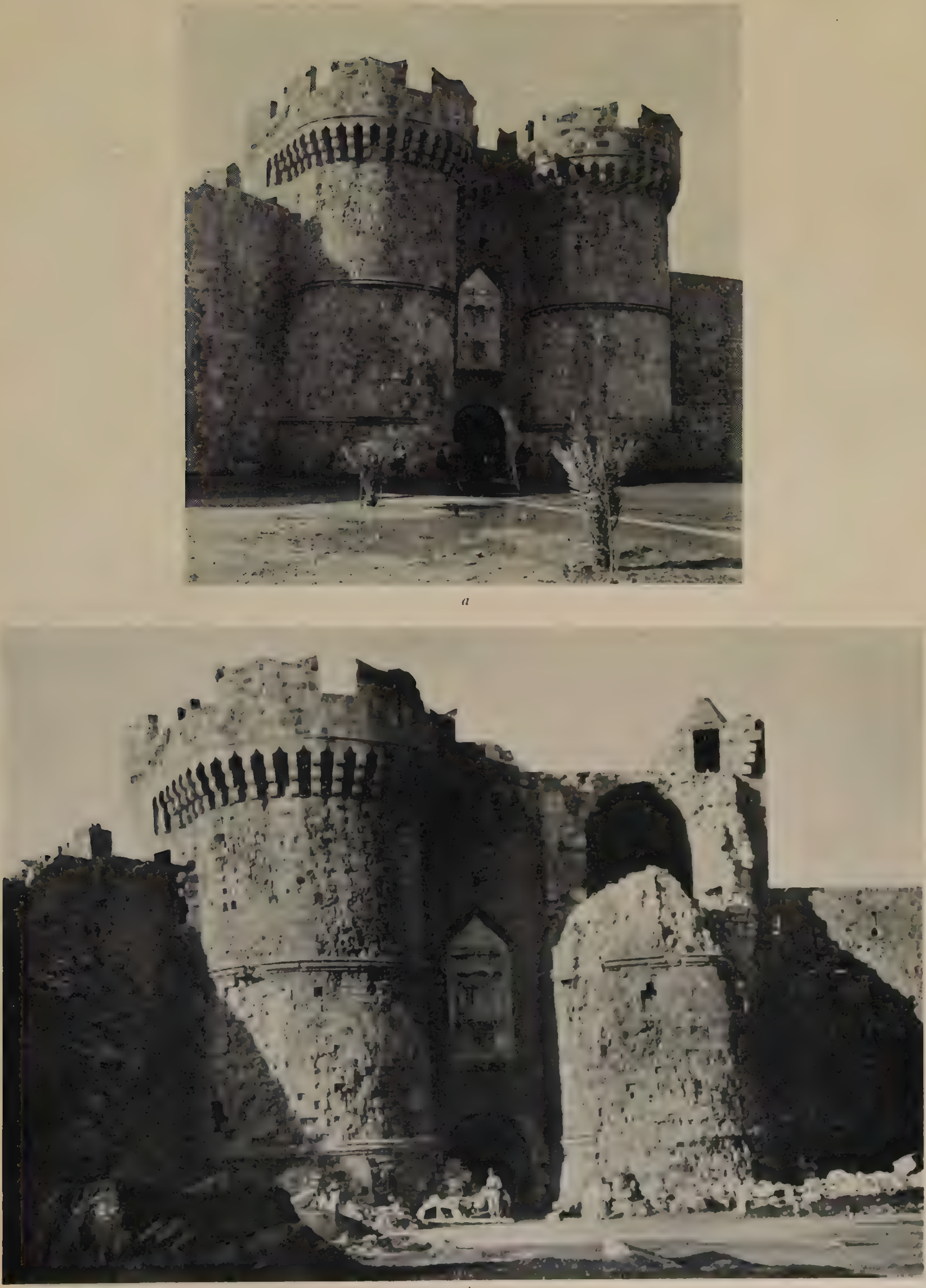
c

(*a*) SIKYON, WEST END OF CAVEA, WITH PROHEDRIA; (*b*), (*c*) DELOS, PROHEDRIA.



a *b* *c* *d* *e* *f*

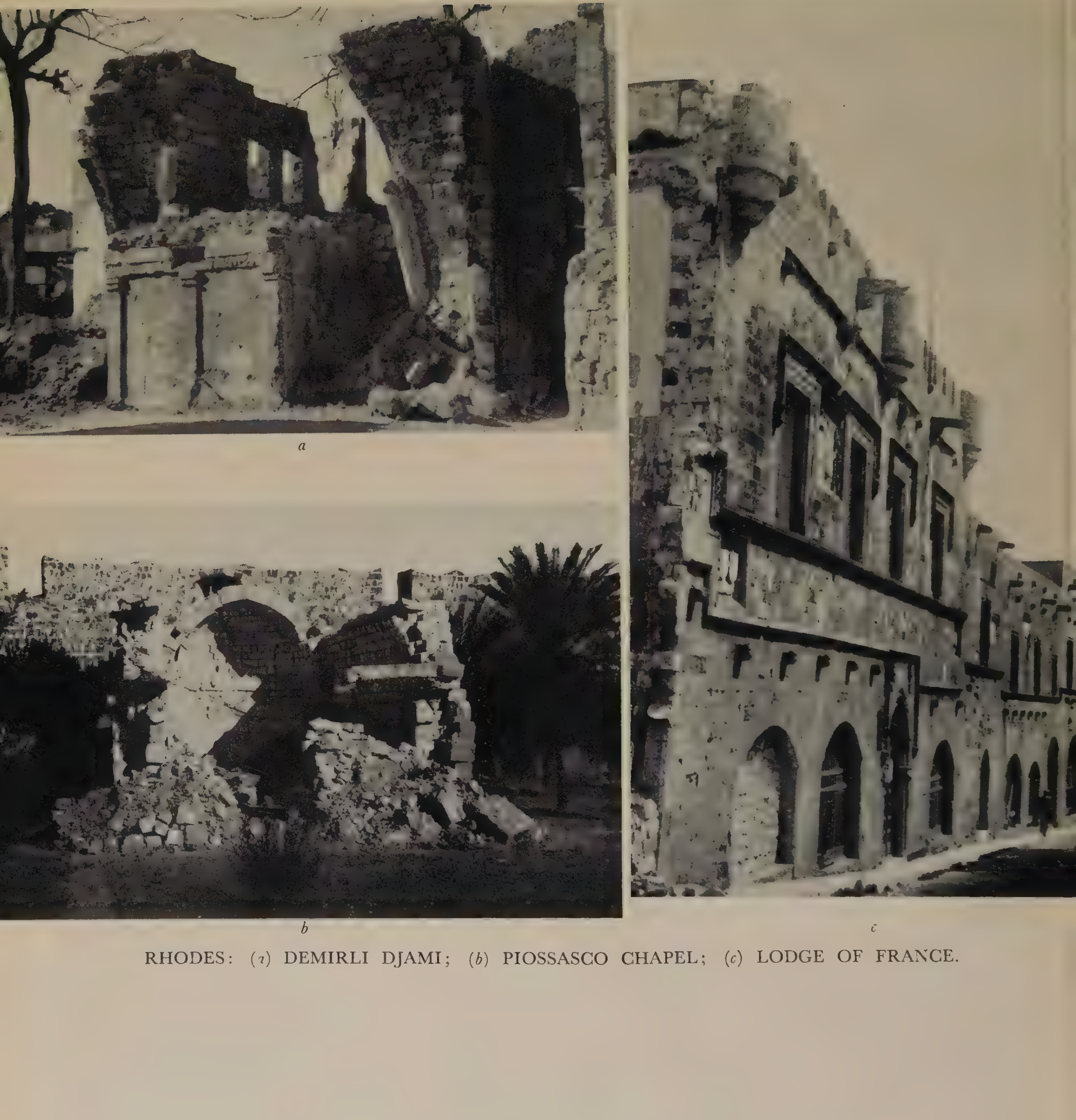
ATHENS, THEATRE OF DIONYSUS (*a*) PRIEST'S THRONE, (*c*) CENTRAL PROHEDRIA, (*d*) PROHEDRIA IN SECOND KERKIS; (*b*) OROPOS, PROHEDRIA THRONE IN ORCHESTRA; (*e*) RHAMNUS, BASE AND THREE OF THE THRONES; (*f*) IKARIA, DOUBLE THRONE.



a

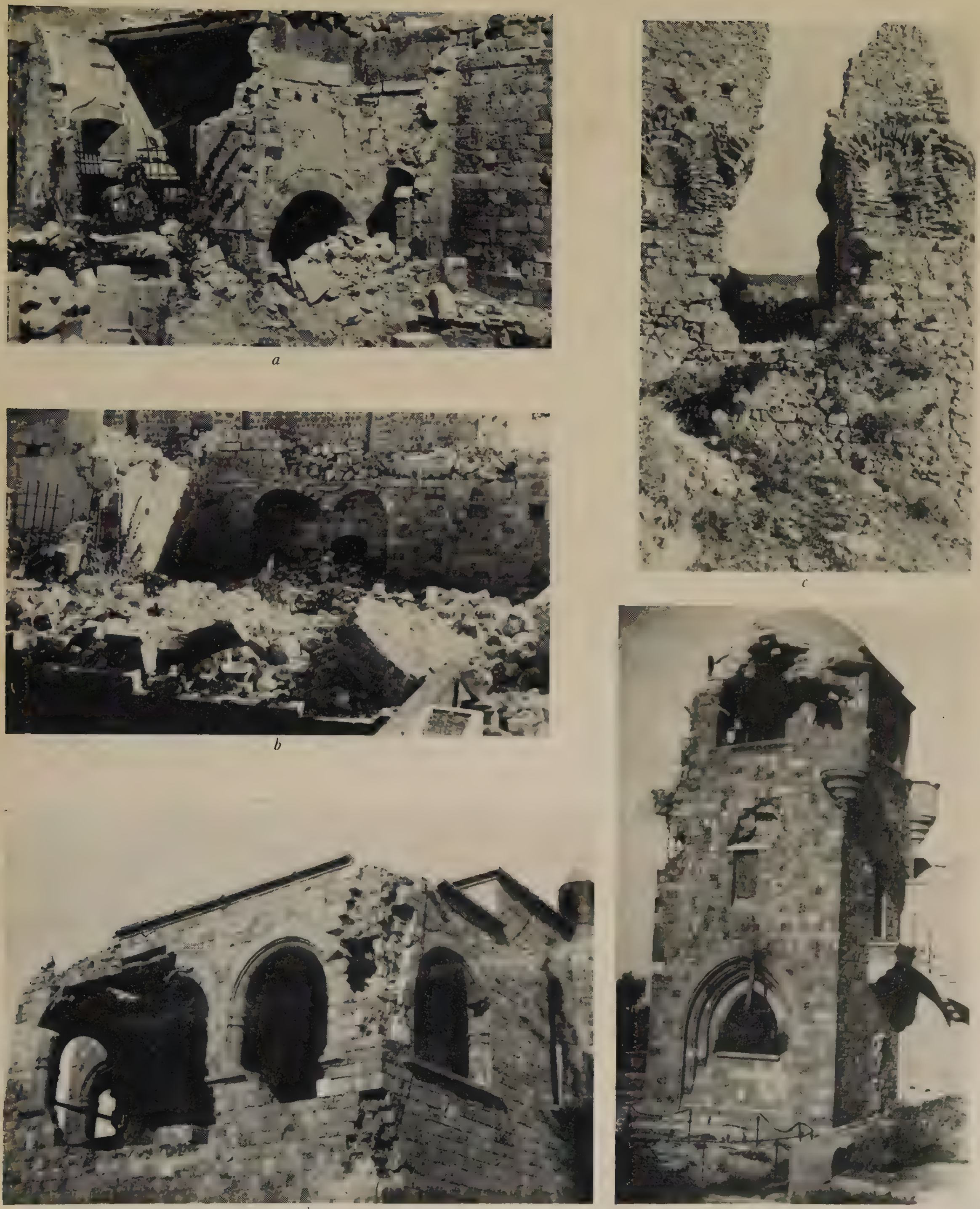
b

RHODES, ST. CATHERINE GATE, BEFORE AND AFTER BOMBARDMENT.

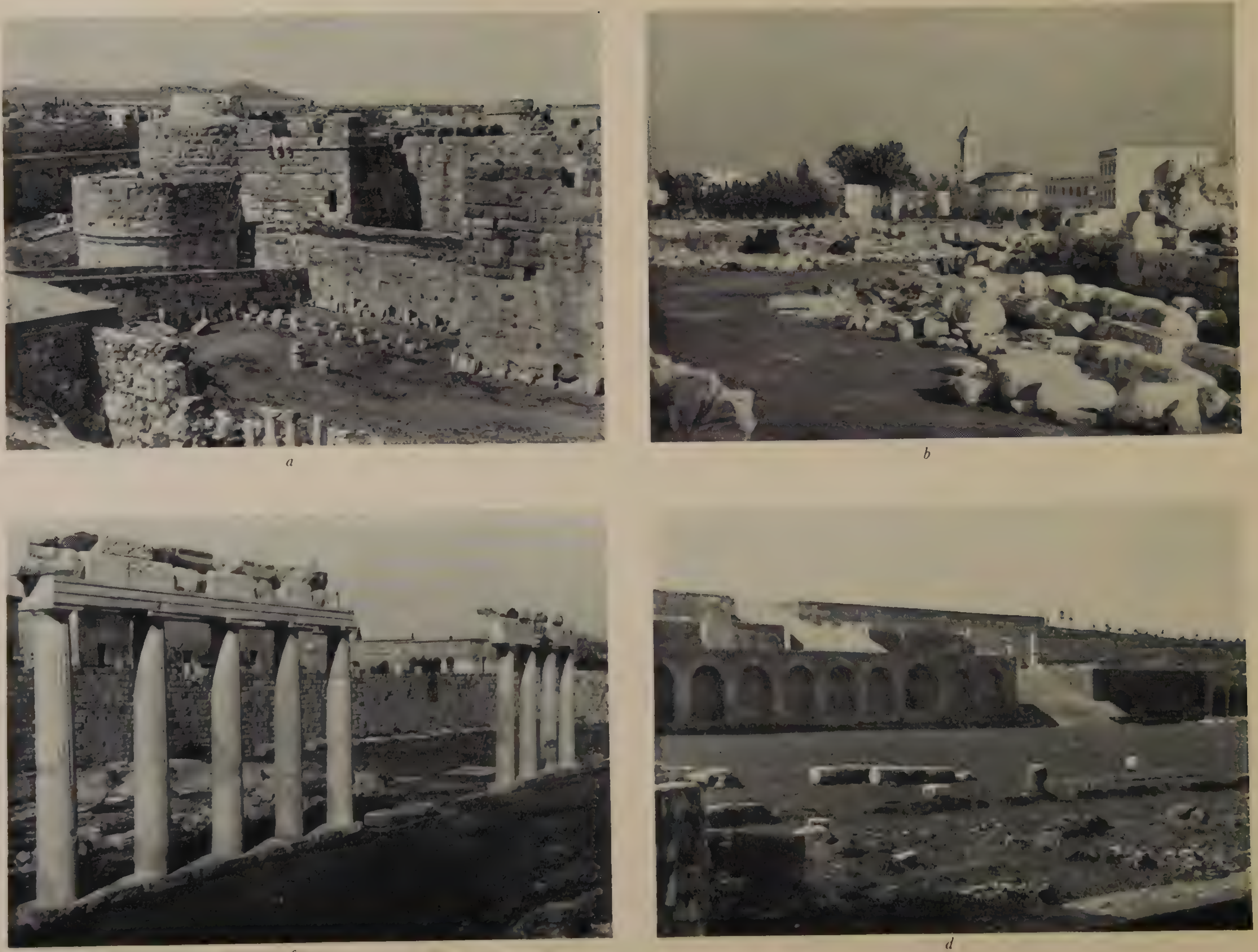


a *b* *c*

RHODES: (*a*) DEMIRLI DJAMI; (*b*) PIOSSASCO CHAPEL; (*c*) LODGE OF FRANCE.


a
b
c
d
e

(*a*), (*b*) RHODES, REFECTORY OF THE KNIGHTS; (*c*) KOS, CASTLE OF PALAIO-PYLI;
(*d*), (*e*) RHODES, FILEREMO.



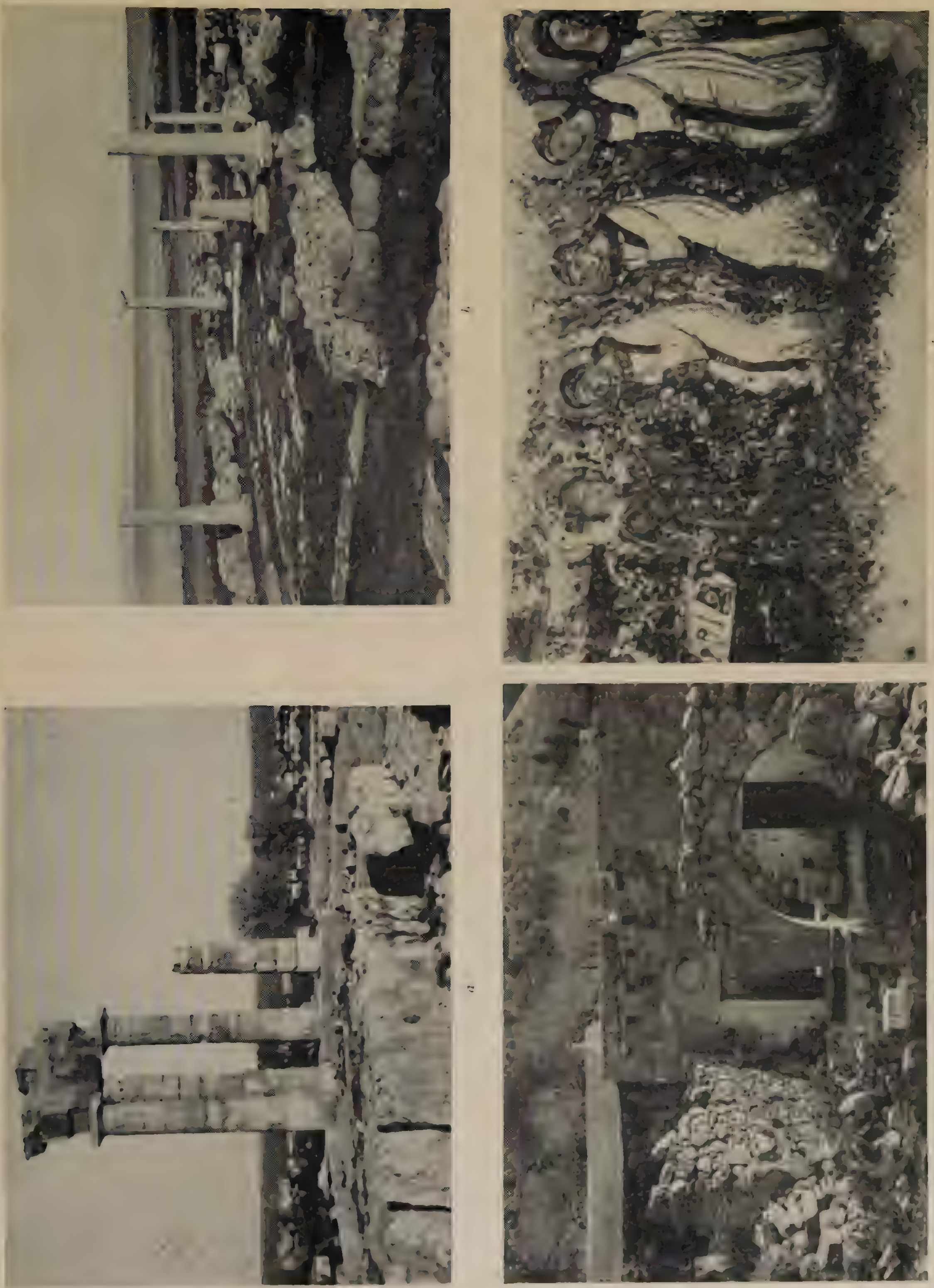
a

b

c

d

KOS. (*a*) CASTLE; (*b*) CLASSICAL CITY; (*c*) PALAESTRA; (*d*) ASKLEPIEION.



(*a*) RHODES, TEMPLE OF DELIAN APOLLO, (*b*) KOS, ST. GABRIEL; (*c*), (*d*) KOS, PALAIO-PYLI, ST. NICHOLAS.